

THE WRITTEN AND THE WORLD IN EARLY MEDIEVAL IBERIA

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SHORT ABSTRACT

The written was the world of early medieval Iberia. Literacy was limited, but textuality was extensive, in the authority conferred on text and the arrangements made to use it. Roman inheritance is manifest, in documentary and legal culture, engendering literate expectations which define the period; continuity across conquest by Visigoths and Arabs, and the weakness of states in the north of the Peninsula, must lay to rest the traditional coupling of literacy with politics which underlies the paradigm of the Middle Ages. Between the eighth and eleventh centuries, as estates expanded to surmount locality and enter communities which had made do with memory, engagement with documentation was incentivized for the laity. Organization to do so followed, at one remove: the person of the scribe, who wrote the charter and recorded all those involved in and present at it, before recycling the text back into the community by public reading. The scribe mediated the text, and as his occupation consolidated he became more fully a literate interpreter. The charter, once created, had an active afterlife of dynamic circulation, enabled by multiple and accessible archives, particularly in the hands of the clergy. Written evidence was the surest defence in case of dispute; charters were self-promoting in their mutual citation as well as practical efficacy. But they also diffused legal knowledge: as each rhetorical, pragmatic, silent, and legislative reference to written law was read aloud by the scribe, how to capitalize on its provisions became better known, so kings and counts seized the potential. For the clergy, the Bible, canon law, and monastic rules were the texts which bestowed identity, but as they interacted with the laity, they set the charter in the history of salvation, and modelled textuality to society, as their monasteries became the microcosms of its written framework.

THE WRITTEN AND THE WORLD IN EARLY MEDIEVAL IBERIA

LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of literacy, understood as textuality, in early medieval Iberia. The Christian kingdoms of Asturias-León and Navarra were formed in the aftermath of the Arab conquest of the Peninsula in 711, and almost four thousand charters survive from prior to 1031, a convenient end date when the Islamic caliphate at Córdoba collapsed, altering the geopolitical situation; I exclude the counties of Catalonia because they were a distinct cultural entity which looked to the Carolingian world. I investigate the sociocultural history of this corpus of charters by asking three questions of it: what it constitutes, how it relates to the world which it appears to describe, and how each element connects with other texts. By tracing the lifecycle of charters and the network of texts in which they embed themselves and society, I define the parameters of textuality in early medieval Iberia and explain its inscription in the written word.

Chapter one is an overview of the corpus which seeks an answer to the why of the text. After breaking down the numbers by authenticity, transmission, and geographical distribution, I demonstrate that this society was not being introduced to literacy, but was long accustomed to it, regardless of moments of great political change. Charting the numbers over time, I argue that royal bureaucracy was not motivating the expansion of the documentary habit, nor was the typology or complexity of charters fundamentally changing in this period. Instead the written word was coming into society, particularly to the laity, who began to make more extensive use of it. In order to account for this phenomenon, I propose a model of lateral diffusion: with the expansion of estates secured by charter into localities where memory had sufficed to guarantee title to property, self-interest incentivized neighbours to turn to documentation.

Chapter two is an attempt to find a home for the written word in society. I ask the basic reportorial questions of the charter: who wrote it, by what means, and in what context, before

considering how it was made known more generally. I demonstrate that personal literacy was distinctly limited, and that the text was instead accessed through the mediation of the scribe, a figure who becomes the object of enquiry. I describe the network of scribes ranging from the top to the bottom of society, and reconstruct their working methods, operating in a framework of standardized language derived from prior charters, with signs of regionalism, localism, and individualism in customizing texts to moments. Next I characterize the organic relationship of parties, witnesses, and scribes, which plays out in the preparation and placement of the charter on the parchment, its relationship in time to the transaction which it documents, and the context of its confirmation. Finally I argue that the charter is not only a record of a transaction, but also a convergence of people and places. The home of the text is in the communities which gathered to use it, collectively a society organized around the written word at one remove.

Chapter three profiles the afterlife of the charter in order to demonstrate its continuing utility beyond the moment of its creation. I consider the language of the sanction clause, which expects future use and seeks to safeguard the text against any who would violate it. I then study the practice of confirmation, by which kings and bishops affixed additional signs to charters or issued new documents confirming them, and I argue that this reflects how texts remained live participants in evolving social relationships. The dynamic circulation of the charter was made possible by functional archives at all levels of society, and I trace their locations and operations, before examining the dorsal notes which served to organize them and enable the consultation of archived material. Finally I take stock of the development of cartularies, and what it reveals about ecclesiastics coming to master the storage and retrieval of the written word.

Chapter four examines the first element of the network of texts in which charters were embedded. I argue that charters position themselves in the context of other charters in order to define the written history of property and provide key points of reference for the settlement of disputes. I begin by considering the four types of citation: in confirmation, to record means of

acquisition of property, for further information, or as justification for a transaction. I show that charters were self-promoting, making written title to property essential to hold by configuring ownership in these terms. I then explore how written evidence functioned in disputes, where it conferred an unquestionable advantage on the possessor, but was nevertheless complemented by a series of other established evidentiary procedures, including witness testimony, oaths, and ordeals, which integrated it into the process. Written evidence was not necessary as such, but I point out how seriously contemporaries regarded it by exploring attitudes to forgery.

Chapter five is an enquiry into the second component of the network of texts, which is Visigothic law. I begin by profiling citations of precepts and provisions which recur so often as to be formulaic: invoked in the preamble or corroboration to confirm the legality of the act, or in the sanction to assess or assign the penalty for interference with it, written law contributed fundamental legitimizing rhetoric to the charter. I then consider the many individual citations which imply, at some stage, a firsthand engagement with the code, unique or too extensive or adapted in wording to be formulas. These include laws on inheritance, property, procedures, and penalties, and collectively provide not a determinant of transactions and disputes, but the basis for them, witnessing a general yet flexible acceptance of a written framework in society. Next I study in detail how kings and counts in particular realized the potential for written law to function as a tool of lordship, and made use of it against rebels and adulterers to further their interests and construct their patrimonies, guided by the expertise of the scribes in their employ, who doubled as legal advisers in this period. Finally I define the practice of silent citation, by which the law framed the construction of the charter in the phrasing or force of relevant law. I argue for a widespread acceptance of written legal norms into the language of custom.

Chapter six explores the ecclesiastical elements of the network of texts, which consist of the Bible, canon law, and monastic rules. The Bible provided additional legitimizing rhetoric to the charter, a rich array of language, example, and allusion to contextualize the act and ensure

its endurance. Once the charter was infused with Scripture, it became sanctified and identified with the written record of sin and salvation. I then show how, although canon law was a source of norms, these were less specifically cited than Visigothic law; the clergy valued the rhetoric of living canonically, and normalized actions both near to and far from the canonical text with this notion. I also explore how monastic rules functioned as a source of ecclesiastical identity, in the fact of a rule rather than its particularity; monasteries came to be identified as the texts of their rules, as monks defined themselves as living regularly. Overall I argue that as clerical scribes emerged from textual communities which structured themselves by pacts or contracts, they created a documentary world which governed itself with reference to texts.

I conclude that the written was the world of early medieval Iberia. The skills of literacy were not prevalent, but the degree of textuality was extensive, in the authority conceded to the text and the arrangements made to use it. This textual society was built on the foundations of a textual economy, a network of texts in constant circulation and a written framework for social practice which was always accessible to its practitioners. Citations of charters, Visigothic law, the Bible, canon law, and monastic rules constitute imaginary libraries held in the mind of the scribe. He collected them in part through direct access: in libraries of monasteries and churches, property of his royal, episcopal, ecclesiastical, and lay patrons. Such libraries changed hands regularly, even as objects of sale, or shared by design within overarching monastic structures. But the scribe may also have remembered these texts from some exposure, as in the liturgy, or the charter itself: charters citing other texts were conserved, consulted, copied, and circulated as long as they were needed, and through them, contact with a codex of the source itself could be as rare as once every few generations and suffice. Early medieval Iberia was bonded by text, but for most readers and listeners, fragmentary texts were the whole written framework.

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*For Chris with all my gratitude
and for L.B. with all my love*

But if a stranger in the train asks me my occupation, I never answer 'writer' for fear that he may go on to ask me what I write, and to answer 'poetry' would embarrass us both, for we both know that nobody can earn a living simply by writing poetry. (The most satisfactory answer I have discovered, satisfactory because it withers curiosity, is to say *Medieval Historian*.)

-W.H. Auden, 'The Poet & The City'

ABBREVIATIONS

Sources

Major Collections

ACA Archivo de la Catedral de Astorga

Edition: G. Caverro Domínguez and E. Martín López, *Colección documental de la Catedral de Astorga, I (646-1126)* (León, 1999).

ACL Archivo de la Catedral de León

Edition: E. Sáez, *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230), I (775-952)* (León, 1987); E. Sáez and C. Sáez, *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230), II (953-985)* (León, 1990); and J.M. Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230), III (986-1031)* (León, 1987).

This is complemented by: J.M. Fernández Catón and J.M. Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230), VII. Apéndices e índices* (León, 2002); and J.M. Fernández Catón, *Index verborum de la documentación medieval leonesa: Archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1300)* (2 vols., León, 2002).

This supersedes: G.S. Quijano, *Documentación de la Catedral de León (siglos IX-X)* (Salamanca, 1981).

ACO Archivo de la Catedral de Oviedo

Edition: S. García Larragueta, *Colección de documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962).

Note: I prefer to use the numbering of S. García Larragueta, *Catálogo de los pergaminos de la Catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1957).

This is partially superseded by: J.A. Valdés Gallego, *El Liber Testamentorum Ovetensis: estudio filológico y edición* (Oviedo, 2000); and E.E. Rodríguez Díaz, *El libro de la Regla Colorada de la Catedral de Oviedo: estudio y edición* (Oviedo, 1995); cf. E. Fernández Vallina, M.J. Sanz Fuentes, and E.E. Rodríguez Díaz, *Liber Testamentorum Ecclesiae Ovetensis* (2 vols., Barcelona, 1994).

See now: X.L. García Arias and A. Miranda Duque, *Documentos orixinales de los siglos IX-X de los archivos del Monasteriu de San Pelayo y de la Catedral d'Uviéu* (Oviedo, 2011).

ABBREVIATIONS

CEL Celanova

Edition: E. Sáez and C. Sáez, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Celanova (842-1230), I (842-942)* (Alcalá de Henares, 1996); E. Sáez and C. Sáez, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Celanova (842-1230), II (943-988)* (Alcalá de Henares, 2000); E. Sáez and C. Sáez, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Celanova (842-1230), III (989-1006)* (Alcalá de Henares, 2006).

This is complemented by: J.M. Andrade Cernadas, *O Tombo de Celanova: estudio introductorio, edición e índices (ss. IX-XII)* (2 vols., Santiago de Compostela, 1995).

COR La Coruña

Edition: C. Sáez and M.V. González de la Peña, *La Coruña. Fondo Antiguo (788-1065)* (2 vols., Alcalá de Henares, 2003-4).

This supersedes: M. Lucas Álvarez, *El monasterio de San Martiño Pinario de Santiago de Compostela en la Edad Media* (Sada, 2003); M. Lucas Álvarez, *San Paio de Antealtares, Soandres y Toques: tres monasterios medievales gallegos* (A Coruña, 2001); and M. Lucas Álvarez, 'La colección diplomática del monasterio de San Lorenzo de Carboeiro', *Compostellanum*, 2 (1957), pp. 549-73, 3 (1958), pp. 221-308, 547-638.

OLD Otero de las Dueñas

Edition: J.A. Fernández Flórez and M. Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección documental del monasterio de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas, I (854-1108)* (León, 1999).

This supersedes: G.S. Quijano, *Colección diplomática de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas (León) (854-1037)* (Salamanca, 1994).

PMH *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*

Edition: *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintumdecimum. Diplomata et chartae*, i.1-2 (Lisbon, 1868-9).

SAH Sahagún

Edition: J.M. Mínguez Fernández, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (siglos IX-X)* (León, 1976); M. Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1230), II (1000-1073)* (León, 1988); and J.A. Fernández Flórez, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1300), IV (1110-1199)* (León, 1991).

This is complemented by: J.M. Fernández Catón, J.A. Fernández Flórez, and M. Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1300), VI. Índices* (León, 1999); and J.M. Fernández Catón, *Index verborum de*

ABBREVIATIONS

la documentación medieval leonesa: monasterio de Sahagún (857-1300) (2 vols., León, 1999).

SDC Santiago de Compostela

Edition: M. Lucas Álvarez, *La documentación del Tumbo A de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela: estudio y edición* (León, 1997).

This supersedes: A. López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A. M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela* (11 vols., Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1909).

SDM Santillana del Mar

Edition: L. López Ormazábal, C. Díez Herrera, and R. Pérez Bustamente, *Abadía de Santillana del Mar. Colección diplomática* (Santillana del Mar, 1983).

This is complemented by: M. Escagedo Salmón, *Privilegios, escrituras y bulas de la insigne y real iglesia colegial de Santillana* (Santander, 1926); and E. Jusué, *Libro de Regla o Cartulario de la antigua abadía de Santillana del Mar* (Madrid, 1912).

SJP San Juan de la Peña

Edition: A. Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*, i (Valencia, 1962).

This supersedes: M. Magallón y Cabrera, *Colección diplomática de San Juan de la Peña* (Madrid, 1903).

SJS San Julián de Samos

Edition: M. Lucas Álvarez, *El Tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII-XII). Estudio introductorio, edición diplomática, apéndices e índices* (Santiago de Compostela, 1986).

SLM Sobrado de los Monjes

Edition: P. Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes* (2 vols., Madrid, 1976).

SMA San Martín de Albelda

Edition: A. Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de Albelda* (2nd ed., Zaragoza, 1981).

SMC San Millán de la Cogolla

Edition: A. Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla (759-1076)* (Valencia, 1976).

ABBREVIATIONS

This supersedes: L. Serrano, *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla* (Madrid, 1930).

See now: F. García Andreva, *El Becerro Galicano de San Millán de la Cogolla. Edición y estudio* (Logroño, 2010).

SMV Santa María de Valpuesta

Edition: M.D. Pérez Soler, *Cartulario de Valpuesta* (Valencia, 1970).

This supersedes: L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Chartes de l'église de Valpuesta du IX^e au XI^e siècle', *RH*, 7/23-4 (1900), pp. 273-389.

See now: J.M. Ruiz Asencio, I. Ruiz Albi, and M. Herrero Jiménez, *Los Becerros gótico y galicano de Valpuesta* (2 vols., Burgos, 2010).

SPA San Pedro de Arlanza

Edition: L. Serrano, *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza, antiguo monasterio benedictino* (Madrid, 1925).

SPC San Pedro de Cardeña

Edition: G. Martínez Díez, *Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña* (Burgos, 1998).

This supersedes: L. Serrano, *Becerro Gótico de Cardeña* (Valladolid, 1910).

SPE San Pedro de Eslonza

Edition: J.M. Ruiz Asencio and I. Ruiz Albi, *Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Eslonza, I (912-1300)* (León, 2007).

This supersedes: V. Vignau y Ballester, *Cartulario del monasterio de Eslonza* (Madrid, 1885).

SSL San Salvador de Leire

Edition: Á.J. Martín Duque, *Documentación medieval de Leire: siglos IX a XII* (Pamplona, 1983).

SSO San Salvador de Oña

Edition: J. del Álamo, *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña (822-1284), I. 822-1214* (Madrid, 1950).

STL Santo Toribio de Liébana

Edition: L. Sánchez Belda, *Cartulario de Santo Toribio de Liébana. Edición y estudio* (Madrid, 1948).

ABBREVIATIONS

SVO San Vicente de Oviedo

Edition: P. Floriano Llorente, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1968).

This supersedes: L. Serrano, *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo (781-1200)* (Madrid, 1929).

See now: X.L. García Arias and A. Miranda Duque, *Documentos orixinales de los siglos IX-X de los archivos del Monasteriu de San Pelayo y de la Catedral d'Uviéu* (Oviedo, 2011).

Minor Collections

ACB Archivo de la Catedral de Burgos

Edition: J.M. Garrido Garrido, *Documentación de la Catedral de Burgos (804-1183)* (Burgos, 1983).

ACH Archivo de la Catedral de Huesca

Edition: A. Durán Gudíol, *Colección diplomática de la Catedral de Huesca, I* (Zaragoza, 1965).

ACM Arquivo da Catedral de Mondoñedo

Edition: E. Cal Pardo, *Colección diplomática medieval do Arquivo da Catedral de Mondoñedo. Transcripción íntegra dos documentos* (Santiago de Compostela, 1999).

ACP Archivo de la Catedral de Pamplona

Edition: J. Goñi Gaztambide, *Colección diplomática de la Catedral de Pamplona, I (829-1243)* (Pamplona, 1997).

ADA Archivo Diocesano de Astorga

Edition: G. Caverio Domínguez, C. Álvarez Álvarez, and J.A. Martín Fuertes, *Colección documental del Archivo Diocesano de Astorga* (León, 2001).

ADC Aguilar de Campoo

Edition: J.L. Rodríguez de Diego, *Colección diplomática de Santa María de Aguilar de Campoo (852-1230)* (Salamanca, 2004).

This supersedes: M.E. González de Fauve, *La orden premonstratense en España. El monasterio de Santa María de Aguilar de Campoo (siglos XI-XV), II. Documentación* (Aguilar de Campoo, 1991).

ABBREVIATIONS

- ALB Albelda y Logroño
- Edition: E. Sainz Ripa, *Colección diplomática de las colegiatas de Albelda y Logroño (Tomo I: 924-1.399)* (Logroño, 1981).
- AME Archivo Municipal de Elorrio
- Edition: C. Hidalgo de Cisneros Amestoy *et al.*, *Colección documental del Archivo Municipal de Elorrio (1013-1519)* (San Sebastián, 1988).
- ARO Arouca
- Edition: M.H.C. Coelho, *O mosteiro de Arouca do século X ao século XIII* (Coimbra, 1977).
- AVE Aveiro
- Edition: A.G.R. Madahil, *Milenário de Aveiro: colectânea de documentos históricos, I. 959-1516* (Aveiro, 1959).
- BEL Belmonte
- Edition: A.C. Floriano, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Belmonte. Transcripción y estudio* (Oviedo, 1960).
- BUR Burgos
- Edition: E. González Díez, *Colección diplomática del Concejo de Burgos (884-1369)* (Burgos, 1984).
- CAM San Salvador de Camanzo
- Edition: M. Lucas Álvarez, 'El monasterio de San Salvador de Camanzo', *AL*, 32/64 (1978), pp. 273-380.
- CAR Santa María de Cárdaba
- Edition: M.S. Martín Postigo, *Santa María de Cárdaba, priorato de Arlanza y granja de Sacramenia* (Valladolid, 1979).
- CAS San Martín de Castañeda
- Edition: Á. Rodríguez González, *El tumbo del monasterio de San Martín de Castañeda* (León, 1973).
- CDA Alfonso V
- Edition: J.M. Fernández del Pozo, 'Alfonso V, rey de León', in *LH*, v, pp. 165-262.

ABBREVIATIONS

CDF	Fernando I
	Edition: P. Blanco Lozano, <i>Colección diplomática de Fernando I (1037-1065)</i> (León, 1987).
CDG	Ordoño III
	Edition: M.R. García Álvarez, 'El gallego Ordoño III, rey de León', <i>CEG</i> , 22/68 (1967), pp. 281-336.
CDO	Ordoño II
	Edition: M.R. García Álvarez, 'Ordoño Adefonsiz, rey de Galicia de 910 a 914', <i>CEG</i> , 21/64 (1966), pp. 217-48.
CDR	Ramiro II
	Edition: J. Rodríguez Fernández, <i>Ramiro II, rey de León</i> (Madrid, 1972).
CDS	Sancho III
	Edition: R. Jimeno Aranguren and A. Pescador Medrano, <i>Colección documental de Sancho Garcés III el Mayor, rey de Pamplona (1004-1035)</i> (Pamplona, 2003).
CDV	Vermudo III
	Edition: L. Núñez Contreras, 'Colección diplomática de Vermudo III, rey de León', <i>HID</i> , 4 (1977), pp. 381-514.
COV	Covarrubias
	Edition: L. Serrano, <i>Cartulario del Infantado de Covarrubias</i> (Valladolid, 1907).
CRZ	Santa María de Carrizo
	Edition: M.C. Casado Lobato, <i>Colección diplomática del monasterio de Carrizo</i> (León, 1983).
	This supersedes: J.M. Fernández Catón, 'Documentos leoneses en escritura visigótica. Fondo del archivo del monasterio de Carrizo', <i>AL</i> , 72 (1982), pp. 195-291.
FLO	Floriano
	Edition: A.C. Floriano, <i>Diplomática española del período astur. Estudios de las fuentes documentales del reino de Asturias (718-910)</i> (2 vols., Oviedo, 1949-51).

ABBREVIATIONS

- JAC Jaca
- Edition: A. Ubieto Arteta, *Jaca: documentos municipales, 971-1269* (Valencia, 1975).
- LPC Livro Preto da Sé de Coimbra
- Edition: M.A. Rodrigues and A.J. da Costa, *Livro Preto: Cartulário da Sé de Coimbra. Edição Crítica. Texto Integral* (Coimbra, 1999).
- LTL Lorvão
- Edition: A.A. Nascimento *et al.*, ‘Transcripción del texto del *Liber Testamentorum* – Transcrição do texto do *Liber Testamentorum*’, in *Liber Testamentorum Coenobii Laurbanensis (Estudios)* (León, 2008), pp. 581-717.
- This supersedes: R. de Azevedo, *O mosteiro de Lorvão na reconquista cristã* (Lisboa, 1933).
- MIR Miranda de Ebro
- Edition: F. Cantera Burgos and J. Andrió Gonzalo, *Historia medieval de Miranda de Ebro* (Miranda de Ebro, 1991).
- NAV Navarra
- Edition: A. Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos reales navarro-aragoneses hasta el año 1004* (Zaragoza, 1986).
- OSE Santa María de Oseira
- Edition: M. Romaní Martínez, *Colección diplomática do mosteiro cisterciense de Santa María de Oseira (Ourense) (1025-1310)*, i (Santiago de Compostela, 1989).
- OUR Arquivo da Catedral de Ourense
- Edition: M.B. Vaquero Díaz and F.J. Pérez Rodríguez, *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de Ourense, I (888-1230)* (León, 2010).
- This supersedes: E. Duro Peña, *Documentos da Catedral de Ourense* (A Coruña, 1996).
- RCV Real Chancillería de Valladolid
- Edition: M. Herrero Jiménez, ‘Documentos de la colección de pergaminos del Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid (934-1300)’, in *RL*, xi, pp. 11-240.

ABBREVIATIONS

- RIO La Rioja
- Edition: I. Rodríguez de Lama, *Colección diplomática medieval de La Rioja (923-1225)*, II. *Documentos (923-1168)* (Logroño, 1976).
- SAF San Andrés de Fanlo
- Edition: C. Laliena Corbera and E. Knibbs, *El cartulario del monasterio aragonés de San Andrés de Fanlo (siglos X-XIII)* (Zaragoza, 2007).
- This supersedes: Á. Canellas, *Colección diplomática de San Andrés de Fanlo (958-1270)* (Zaragoza, 1964).
- SCI San Cristóbal de Ibeas
- Edition: G. Martínez Díez, 'Diplomatario de San Cristóbal de Ibeas', *BIFG*, 54/185 (1975), pp. 689-720, 55/186 (1976), pp. 845-72.
- SCL San Claudio de León
- Edition: S. Domínguez Sánchez, 'Colección documental del monasterio de San Claudio de León (954-1299)', in *idem*, *Colección documental medieval de los monasterios de San Claudio de León, Monasterio de Vega y San Pedro de las Dueñas* (León, 2001).
- SCR San Clodio do Ribeiro
- Edition: M. Lucas Álvarez and P. Lucas Domínguez, *El monasterio de San Clodio do Ribeiro en la edad media: estudio y documentos* (A Coruña, 1996).
- SCS Santa Cruz de la Serós
- Edition: A. Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de Santa Cruz de la Serós* (Valencia, 1966).
- SDB Santiago de Compostela (Tumbo B)
- Edition: M.T. González Balasch, *Tumbo B de la Catedral de Santiago: estudio y edición* (Santiago de Compostela, 2004).
- SDS Santo Domingo de Silos
- Edition: M.C. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (954-1254)* (Burgos, 1988).
- This supersedes: M. Férotin, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos* (Silos, 1897).

ABBREVIATIONS

- SEB San Sebastián
- Edition: J.L. Banús y Aguirre, *El Fuero de San Sebastián* (San Sebastián, 1963).
- SER San Esteban de Ribas de Sil
- Edition: E. Duro Peña, *El monasterio de San Esteban de Ribas de Sil* (Orense, 1977).
- SID San Isidro de Dueñas
- Edition: C.M. Reglero de la Fuente, *El Monasterio de San Isidro de Dueñas en la Edad Media: un priorato cluniacense hispano (911-1478). Estudio y colección documental* (León, 2005).
- SIL San Isidoro de León
- Edition: M.E. Martín López, *Patrimonio cultural de San Isidoro de León, A. Serie documental, I/1. Documentos de los siglos X-XIII. Colección diplomática* (León, 1995).
- SJC San Juan Bautista de Corias
- Edition: A. García Leal, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Juan Bautista de Corias* (Oviedo, 1998).
- SMB Santa María de Benevívere
- Edition: L. Fernández, *Colección diplomática de la Abadía de Santa María de Benevívere (Palencia), 1020-1561* (Madrid, 1967).
- SME San Miguel de Escalada
- Edition: V. García Lobo, 'Colección documental del monasterio de San Miguel de Escalada (940-1605)', in J.M. Ruiz Asencio, I. Ruiz Albi, M. Herrero Jiménez, and V. García Lobo, *Colección documental del monasterio de San Román de Entrepeñas (940-1608) – Colección documental del monasterio de San Miguel de Escalada (940-1605)* (León, 2000).
- SMI Santa María de Irache
- Edition: J.M. Lacarra, *Colección diplomática de Irache, I (958-1222)* (Zaragoza, 1965).
- SMN Santa María la Real de Nájera
- Edition: M. Cantera Montenegro, *Colección documental de Santa María la Real de Nájera, I. (Siglos X-XIV)* (San Sebastián, 1991).

ABBREVIATIONS

This supersedes: J. Cantera Orive, 'Un cartulario de Santa María la Real de Nájera del año 1209', *Berceo*, 45 (1957), pp. 477-94, *et seqq.*

SMO Santa María de Obona

Edition: M.J. Sanz Fuentes, 'Documentación medieval del monasterio de Santa María de Obona en el Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Oviedo', *AM*, 8 (1995-7), pp. 291-340.

SMP Santa María de Puerto

Edition: J. Abad Barrasús, *El monasterio de Santa María de Puerto (Santoña), 863-1210* (Santander, 1985).

This supersedes: M. Serrano y Sanz, 'Cartulario de la iglesia de Santa María del Puerto (Santoña)', *BRAH*, 73 (1918), pp. 420-42, *et seqq.*

SPL San Prudencio de Monte Laturce

Edition: F.J. García Turza, *Documentación medieval del monasterio de San Prudencio de Monte Laturce (siglos X-XV)* (Logroño, 1992).

SPM San Pedro de Montes

Edition: A. Quintana Prieto, *Tumbo Viejo de San Pedro de Montes* (León, 1971).

SPO San Pelayo de Oviedo

Edition: F.J. Fernández Conde, I. Torrente Fernández, and G.N. Menéndez, *El monasterio de San Pelayo de Oviedo: historia y fuentes, I. Colección diplomática (996-1325)* (Oviedo, 1978).

SPR San Pedro de Rocas

Edition: E. Duro Peña, *El monasterio de San Pedro de Rocas y su colección documental* (Orense, 1972).

SPS San Pedro de Siresa

Edition: A. Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de Siresa* (Valencia, 1960).

SRE San Román de Entrepeñas

Edition: J.M. Ruiz Asencio, I. Ruiz Albi, and M. Herrero Jiménez, 'Colección documental del monasterio de San Román de Entrepeñas (940-1608)', in *eidem* and V. García Lobo, *Colección documental del monasterio de San Román de Entrepeñas (940-1608) – Colección documental del monasterio de San Miguel de Escalada (940-1605)* (León, 2000).

ABBREVIATIONS

- SSC San Salvador de Cornellana
- Edition: A.C. Floriano, *El monasterio de Cornellana. Cartulario, índices sistemáticos y referencias documentales* (Oviedo, 1949).
- SSG São Salvador de Grijó
- Edition: R. Durand, *Le cartulaire Baio-Ferrado du monastère de Grijó (XI^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1971).
- SSS Sancti Spiritus de Salamanca
- Edition: M. Echániz Sans, *El monasterio femenino de Sancti Spiritus de Salamanca. Colección diplomática (1268-1400)* (Salamanca, 1993).
- SVP San Vincenzo de Pombeiro
- Edition: M. Lucas Álvarez and P. Lucas Domínguez, *El priorato benedictino de San Vincenzo de Pombeiro y su colección diplomática en la edad media* (A Coruña, 1996).
- TOL Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo
- Edition: F.J. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo: catálogo documental* (Madrid: 1985).
- TOR Tordesillas
- Edition: J. Castro Toledo, *Colección diplomática de Tordesillas, 909-1474* (Valladolid, 1981).
- VAL Valvanera
- Edition: F.J. García Turza, *Documentación medieval del monasterio de Valvanera (siglos XI a XIII)* (Zaragoza, 1985).
- VDJ Instituto Valencia de Don Juan
- Edition: P. Floriano Llorente, 'El fondo antiguo de pergaminos del Instituto "Valencia de Don Juan". Documentos reales, primera serie: (año 875-1224)', *BRAH*, 168/3 (1971), pp. 441-514.
- VEG Vega
- Edition: S. Domínguez Sánchez, 'Colección documental del Monasterio de Vega (921-1499)', in *idem*, *Colección documental medieval de los monasterios de San Claudio de León, Monasterio de Vega y San Pedro de las Dueñas* (León, 2001).

ABBREVIATIONS

This supersedes: L. Serrano, *Cartulario de Monasterio de Vega con documentos de San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1927).

VMH Vimarani Monumenta Historica

Edition: J.G.O. Guimarães, *Vimarani Monumenta Historica a saeculo nono post Christum usque ad vicesimum* (2nd ed., Guimarães, 1931).

Texts

- Alfonso III* J. Gil Fernández, *Crónicas asturianas: Crónica de Alfonso III (Rotense y “a Sebastián”) y Crónica albeldense (y “profética”)* (Oviedo, 1985).
- Breviarium* F.A. Lorenzana, *Breviarium Gothicum secundum Regulam Beatissimi Isidori Archiepiscopi Hispalensis* (Madrid, 1775).
- CM* R. Arbesmann and W. Hümpfner, ‘Consensoria Monachorum’, in *eidem*, *Iordani de Saxonia Liber Vitasfratrum* (New York, 1943), pp. 485-8.
- Compostela* G. Martínez Díez, ‘El concilio compostelano del reinado de Fernando I’, *AEM*, 1 (1964), pp. 121-38.
- Coyanza* G. Martínez Díez, ‘La tradición manuscrita del Fuero de León y del Concilio de Coyanza’, in *RL*, ii, pp. 173-84.
- Fuero* G. Martínez Díez, ‘La tradición manuscrita del Fuero de León y del Concilio de Coyanza’, in *RL*, ii, pp. 155-72.
- FV* J. Gil, ‘Formulae Wisigothicae’, in *idem*, *Miscellanea Wisigothica* (2nd ed., Seville, 1991), pp. 70-112.
- Hispana* G. Martínez Díez and F. Rodríguez (eds.), *La colección canónica Hispana* (Madrid, 1966-), iv-vi, to XV Toledo; with J. Vives, T. Marín Martínez, and G. Martínez Díez (eds.), *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona, 1963).
- LV* K. Zeumer, ‘Liber Iudiciorum sive Lex Visigothorum’, in *idem*, *Leges Visigothorum. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Leges Nationum Germanicarum I* (Hannover, 1902), pp. 33-456.
- RC* J. Campos Ruiz and I. Roca Meliá, ‘Regla común o regla de los abades’, in *Santos Padres Españoles*, ii (Madrid, 1971), pp. 172-211.
- Sampiro* J. Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro, su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X* (Madrid, 1952).

Literature

Monographs

- Antigüedad* *De la Antigüedad al medievo. Siglos IV-VIII. III Congreso de Estudios Medievales* (Madrid, 1993).
- Bible* R. Marsden and E.A. Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge, 2012).
- Blaise* A. Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Turnhout, 1975).
- Cantabria* R.M. Blasco Martínez, *Los cartularios de Cantabria (Santo Toribio, Santa María del Puerto, Santillana y Piasca): estudio codicológico, paleográfico y diplomático* (Santander, 1986).
- Codiphis* J.Á. García de Cortázar, J. Antonio Munita, and L.J. Fortún, *CODIPHIS: Catálogo de colecciones diplomáticas hispano-lusas de época medieval* (2 vols., Santander, 1999).
- Condes* M. Zabálza Duque, *Colección diplomática de los condes de Castilla* (Salamanca, 1998).
- DRA* M. Lucas Álvarez, *La documentación real astur-leonesa (718-1072)*. RL, viii.
- Escritos* *Escritos dedicados a José María Fernández Catón* (2 vols., León, 2004).
- Estudos* *Estudos em homenagem ao professor doutor José Marques* (4 vols., Porto, 2006).
- Glossarium* C. du Fresne, Sieur du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (8 vols., Paris, 1883-7).
- Homenaje* M. Domínguez García *et al.* (eds.), *Sub luce florentis calami. Homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz* (Santiago de Compostela, 2002).
- Iglesia* *Iglesia y religiosidad en España: historia y archivos* (3 vols., Guadalajara, 2002).
- Inventario* X.R. Barreiro Fernández, E. Portela Silva, and M.C. Pallares Méndez, *Inventario das fontes documentais da Galicia medieval* (Santiago de Compostela, 1988).
- Latín I* M. Pérez González (ed.), *Actas del I Congreso Nacional de Latín Medieval* (León, 1995).
- Latín III* M. Pérez González (ed.), *Actas del III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval* (2 vols., León, 2002).

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Latín IV</i>	A.A. Nascimento and P.F. Alberto (eds.), <i>Actas do IV Congresso Internacional de Latim Medieval Hispânico</i> (Lisbon, 2006).
<i>Léxico</i>	R. Menéndez Pidal, R. Lapesa, and C. García, <i>Léxico hispánico primitivo (siglos VIII al XII). Versión primera del Glosario del primitivo léxico iberrománico</i> , ed. M. Seco (Madrid, 2003).
<i>Lexicon</i>	M. Pérez González (ed.), <i>Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Regni Legionis (s. VIII-1230) Imperfectum</i> (Turnhout, 2010).
<i>Legislación</i>	G. Martínez Díez, <i>Legislación conciliar del reino astur (718-910) y del reino de León (910-1230)</i> (León, 2009).
<i>LH</i>	<i>León y su historia</i> (8 vols., León, 1969-2003).
<i>MC</i>	A. Millares Carlo, <i>Corpus de códices visigóticos</i> , ed. M.C. Díaz y Díaz (2 vols., Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1999).
<i>Monacato</i>	<i>El monacato en los reinos de León y Castilla (siglos VII-XIII). X Congreso de Estudios Medievales</i> (Madrid, 2007).
<i>Monarquía</i>	<i>Monarquía y sociedad en el reino de León. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VII</i> (2 vols., León, 2007).
<i>Niermeyer</i>	J.F. Niermeyer, C. van de Kieft, and J.W.J. Burgers (eds.), <i>Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus</i> (2 nd ed., 2 vols., Leiden, 2002).
<i>Orígenes</i>	<i>Orígenes de las lenguas romances en el Reino de León: siglos IX-XII</i> (2 vols., León, 2004).
<i>RL</i>	<i>El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media</i> (11 vols., León, 1988-2004).
<i>Settimane</i>	<i>Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo</i> (Spoleto, 1954-).
<i>USML</i>	<i>Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy</i> (Turnhout, 1999-).
<i>VI Congreso</i>	C. Sáez and A. Castillo Gómez (eds.), <i>Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Cultura Escrita</i> (2 vols., Madrid, 2002).
<i>VII Congreso</i>	<i>La Península Ibérica en torno al año 1000. VII Congreso de Estudios Medievales</i> (Ávila, 2001).
<i>VII Semana</i>	J.I. de la Iglesia Duarte (ed.), <i>VII Semana de Estudios Medievales</i> (Logroño, 1997).

ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals

<i>AAMN</i>	<i>Anales de la Academia Matritense del Notariado</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>Antigüedad y Cristianismo</i>
<i>AEM</i>	<i>Anuario de Estudios Medievales</i>
<i>AFDUC</i>	<i>Anuario da Facultade de Dereito da Universidade da Coruña</i>
<i>AH</i>	<i>Art History</i>
<i>AHDE</i>	<i>Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español</i>
<i>AL</i>	<i>Archivos Leoneses</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Asturiensia Medievalia</i>
<i>ASD</i>	<i>Acta Salmanticensia. Derecho</i>
<i>BDC</i>	<i>Bulletin Du Cange</i>
<i>BFDUC</i>	<i>Boletim da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade da Coimbra</i>
<i>BIFG</i>	<i>Boletín de la Institución Fernán González</i>
<i>BIHBR</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
<i>BRABLB</i>	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona</i>
<i>BRAH</i>	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</i>
<i>BRIEA</i>	<i>Boletín del Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Codex Aquilarensis</i>
<i>CEG</i>	<i>Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos</i>
<i>CEHM</i>	<i>Cahiers d'Études Hispaniques Médiévales</i>
<i>CHE</i>	<i>Cuadernos de Historia de España</i>
<i>CSSH</i>	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>
<i>ED</i>	<i>Estudios de Deusto</i>
<i>EEM</i>	<i>En la España Medieval</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>EHH</i>	<i>Estudios Humanísticos. Historia</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>EMin</i>	<i>Estudios Mindonienses</i>
<i>EMir</i>	<i>Estudios Mirandeses</i>
<i>ETFHM</i>	<i>Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III, Historia Medieval</i>
<i>GLM</i>	<i>Gazette du Livre Médiéval</i>
<i>HID</i>	<i>Historia, Instituciones, Documentos</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hispania Sacra</i>
<i>HWJ</i>	<i>History Workshop Journal</i>
<i>IAMR</i>	<i>Inter-American Music Review</i>
<i>IRMA</i>	<i>Ius Romanum Medii Aevi</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>JMIS</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies</i>
<i>LCD</i>	<i>La Ciudad de Dios</i>
<i>MCV</i>	<i>Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez</i>
<i>ME</i>	<i>Memoria Ecclesiae</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Medieval History</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Madriдер Mitteilungen</i>
<i>MTM</i>	<i>Miscelánea de Textos Medievales</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PV</i>	<i>Príncipe de Viana</i>
<i>RABM</i>	<i>Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos</i>
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue Hispanique</i>
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>RM</i>	<i>Revue Mabillon</i>
<i>RPF</i>	<i>Revista Portuguesa de Filologia</i>
<i>SHHM</i>	<i>Studia Historica. Historia Medieval</i>
<i>SM</i>	<i>Studi Medievali</i>
<i>SMRH</i>	<i>Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Sancho el Sabio</i>
<i>SZ</i>	<i>Studia Zamorensia</i>
<i>TL</i>	<i>Tierras de León</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

Figures

Diplomatic Classification

A	Authentic
S	Suspicious
I	Interpolated
F	Forged

Source Texts

O	Original
C	Copy
CC	Cartulary copy
LC	Late copy
L	Lost
PO	Photograph of original

ABBREVIATIONS

Personnel Types

R	Royal
C	Comital
E	Ecclesiastical
L	Lay

Document Types (Donations)

D	Donation
DC	Donation with circumstances or conditions
DP	Donation by <i>per filiatio</i>
DPM	Donation <i>post mortem</i>
RD	Royal donation
RDC	Royal donation with circumstances or conditions

Document Types (Sales)

S	Sale
SC	Sale with circumstances or conditions
E	Exchange

Document Types (Other)

C	Confirmation
DS	Dispute settlement
I	Inventory
MP	Monastic pact
N	<i>Notitia</i>
P	<i>Placitum</i>
RC	Royal confirmation

INTRODUCTION

LITERACY AS TEXTUALITY

The study of literacy should justify itself: it should ask our sources the question of their own existence and investigate how texts mattered. Why was the record of the past made? What relation does it have to the world which it seems to describe? This is the study of literacy – or it should be. The problem is that it easily becomes the study of everything written down, rather than of what was written down when, by and for whom, and why. Maybe a new word is needed: ‘literacy’ began life as the antithesis of ‘illiteracy’, but it has outgrown its initial application to the ability to read and write, and can now be modified to mean familiarity with any set of skills or knowledge. Thinking of ‘literacies’ instead only underlines the point: the term is an empty vessel, to be filled with cultural priorities and used to gauge their attainment in society.¹ For as long as there have been Middle Ages, the question of literacy has been asked by the standards of Antiquity and the Renaissance, but a reluctance to query the question itself has directed the search for an answer toward description and evaluation by these terms and away from definition and analysis within the sociocultural framework of the period. This keeps us in the business of measuring surface phenomena, the survival of the Classics and literary education, but I propose a more fundamental enquiry. Before we can securely make any use of such text as we have, we must find its home in the world which produced it, and the result, a sense of the ‘textuality’ of that world, will be a truer guide than literacy to the significance of the written word.

Medieval literacy was until recently defined as continuity with the ancient world. What measured it was the relative degree not of the ability to read and write, but of the cultivation of the Classics, especially by the laity. The work of Pierre Riché stands at the end of this tradition,

¹ OED Online, s.v. ‘literacy’, March 2015 (at <http://www.oed.com/>); P. Crain, ‘New Histories of Literacy’, in S. Eliot and J. Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Chichester, 2009), pp. 467-70; W.A. Johnson and H.N. Parker (eds.), *Ancient Literacies: the Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 2009).

delineating the decline of the urban schools of grammar and rhetoric which were the foundation of educated culture in Roman secular society, and the rise of the monastic *schola* which retained only those aspects of the Classical curriculum useful for studying Scripture and taught a clerical and royal élite. Change came through dichotomy: by the eighth century, *Romanitas* had yielded to *Germanitas*, and ‘written civilization had been destroyed’, surviving in debased form in the monasteries but hardly meriting the name.² Behind this is an economic determinism. Although Henri Pirenne argued that bureaucratic administration by literate laymen survived the barbarian invasions, he held that, once the Arabs had ‘closed the Mediterranean’ and cities and commerce had disappeared, the urban schools which underpinned this system followed; in the Carolingian world, the clergy monopolized learning and provided such governmental skills as were needed, but the laity were illiterate.³ This became an iron law: absent urban and commercial dynamism, the clergy and the laity represented literacy and orality.⁴ The problem is that no one asked what need these disappointing heirs to Roman culture had of it, or realized that, while education and schools may depend on economics, they are only one particular variety of literacy.

Change came with a turn from literature to documentation as the main object of study. Michael Clanchy traced how the Norman kings of England employed bureaucratic government to secure their new conquest, resulting in greater use of written records over time; a by-product of this was the promotion of trust in them, witnessed by a shift from memory to documentation as the primary form of legal evidence. He further showed how literate and oral modes remained mixed: dictation, reading aloud, and documentary seals were all means by which the illiterate

² P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, transl. J.J. Contreni (Columbia, 1976), p. 495; *idem*, *Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Âge: fin du V^e siècle – milieu du XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1989); H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, transl. G. Lamb (Madison, 1956), pp. 314-50.

³ H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, transl. B. Miall (London, 1939), pp. 118-44, 236-85.

⁴ C.M. Cipolla, *Literacy and Development in the West* (Harmondsworth, 1969), pp. 8, 42; E. Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public*, transl. R. Manheim (Princeton, 1965), p. 23; E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. W.R. Trask (Princeton, 1973), p. 25; M.B. Parkes, ‘The Literacy of the Laity’, in D. Daiches and A. Thorlby (eds.), *Literature and Western Civilization* (6 vols., London, 1972-6), ii, pp. 556-61; J. Barrow, ‘Churches, Education and Literacy in Towns, 600-1300’, in D.M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, I. 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 127-52.

could participate indirectly but effectively in writing, such that personal literacy mattered less than the ability and willingness to engage with the written word.⁵ This is literacy without the Classics and economics, working outward from its manifestations to its meanings, yet Clanchy was himself reacting against a technological determinism, that the invention of printing created the wider reading public of the early modern period. In order to vindicate the high Middle Ages, he contrasted them unduly with the preceding centuries, the ‘old literacy’ of the religious caste, largely sealed off from society, giving way to the ‘new literacy’ of government, which touched everyone.⁶ In Weberian terms, royal authority articulated by personal means became routinized through bureaucracy; the working model remains dichotomous, between a Norman state which generalized literacy, and an early medieval clergy who restricted it.⁷

The obstacle was the Latin language, long thought to be unintelligible to the vernacular of the laity and so to justify a presumption of illiteracy. But this notion has been undermined for western Europe in the early Middle Ages by the work of Roger Wright, who has proposed a wide variation in spoken Romance allied to a single conservative written standard, after the model of modern English and French (and indeed Arabic). If the vernacular was Latin, texts were comprehensible when read aloud; only with reforms to orthography and pronunciation by the Carolingians did writing and speaking begin to diverge in the areas under their influence.⁸ This was the basis for a reconsideration of early medieval literacy, and Rosamond McKitterick took the lead, arguing that, in the Carolingian world, the written word was not limited to a clerical élite, but part of everyday life for the laity; even in the Germanic east, bilingualism would have been the norm. Government exploited documentation in administration, witnessed

⁵ M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (3rd ed., Chichester, 2013).

⁶ M.T. Clanchy, ‘Looking Back from the Invention of Printing’, in D.P. Resnick (ed.), *Literacy in Historical Perspective* (Washington, 1983), pp. 7-22; cf. *idem*, *From Memory*, pp. 336-43.

⁷ M. Weber, *Economy and Society: an Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich, transl. E. Fischhoff *et al.* (3 vols., New York, 1968), i, pp. 226-55.

⁸ R. Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool, 1982); M. Banniard, *Viva voce. Communication écrite et communication orale du IV^e au IX^e siècle en occident latin* (Paris, 1992).

by a tremendous growth in the number of charters and manuscripts during the period and the many well-worn legal codices which survive; legislation cannot have been merely the minutes of oral pronouncements recorded by clerics or symbols of the Roman legislative tradition. And the clergy promoted, rather than constrained, wider use of documentation: charters from St Gall reveal that the monastery provided scribes for transactions and legal assemblies in its environs. The logistical complexities involved indicate the social arrangements which were considered necessary to make in order to accommodate engagement in literate modes of doing business on the part of members of the laity who were not themselves literate. Yet in reacting against early medieval illiteracy, McKitterick ultimately comes back to assessing the period in the terms which had labelled it a dark age, and charters recede before culture. The object of the search becomes learning amongst the lay aristocracy, but in concluding that some Carolingians were cultivated consumers of literature, she echoes what Pirenne had already granted.⁹

This nonetheless led the way in a wholesale reassessment of literacy in the early Middle Ages, beginning with a companion volume of articles setting out its uses all across Europe. The work of a generation of scholars ready to rewrite the period more positively, its chapters demonstrate that literacy, both literary and documentary, was less confined to cities and clerics than previously thought, while formal distinctions such as dispositive versus probative charters mattered less in practice. Procedures developed over time to enable and encourage the usage of written records by the laity; they never displaced oral forms of transaction, but instead were complementary, equally important to the functioning of lay society. The volume is essentially a survey of the evidence, a valuable reminder of its scope, but beyond that the conclusions are

⁹ R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989); cf. *eadem*, 'Latin and Romance: an Historian's Perspective', in R. Wright (ed.), *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1991), pp. 135-7; *eadem*, 'Some Carolingian Law-Books and their Function', repr. in *eadem*, *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th to 9th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), §VIII, pp. 13-27; P. Wormald, 'Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut', repr. in *idem*, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 15-8, 37-9; P. Wormald and J.L. Nelson (eds.), *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2007).

tentative. While the contributors note a correlation between dynamic government and literacy, they qualify this by observing that a weak state did not have to spell decline, since local exercise of power remained.¹⁰ Regions which were neglected have since been treated with like optimism by a stock-taking of what they have: even the Lombards, the ‘quintessential barbarians’, have been cleared of blame for terminating lay literacy in Italy, by moving past tabulating signatures on charters to assessing the utility of written law for participants in court cases, whatever their own literacy, and the enduring epigraphic habit as a literate means of self-promotion.¹¹

Once historians lowered their sights from Classics to charters, the mirage of an illiterate early medieval laity was bound to disperse. Cataloguing uses and users of the written word has served its purpose, but there is no real argument to have here anymore; there was a lot of literacy about, and anyone who predicates a thesis on absence of evidence which may yet be discovered or re-evaluated does so at risk.¹² The first rehabilitations of the period were catalogues in all but name – they have only really been superseded because they shared with its detractors the same use of ‘literacy’ as a shorthand for Classical education.¹³ The problem then as now is the difficulty of transcending description, which can prove little beyond presence or absence, rise or fall. Even if we keep on compiling as much literacy as we can find, redefining it as the use of the written word, the result will remain anecdotal, for there is no way to assess the degree to which our source base is representative.¹⁴ What will our conclusions be other than a shorthand for what survives? We have hardly begun to answer the why of literacy. The Carolingians are the Normans of the early Middle Ages, other dynasties lesser imitations; we have reworked the association of literacy with development, substituting social complexity as the determinant, but

¹⁰ R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 319-33; cf. M. Vessey, ‘Literacy and *Litteratura*, A.D. 200-800’, *SMRH*, 13/23 (1992), pp. 152-8.

¹¹ N. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568-774* (Cambridge, 2003).

¹² M. Garrison, “‘Send More Socks’: on Mentality and the Preservation Context of Medieval Letters”, in *USML*, i, pp. 70, 99.

¹³ e.g. J.W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1939).

¹⁴ cf. W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 285-322.

government still looms too large, and needs relativizing.¹⁵ Clanchy proposed a model for a place and time – not a universal constant. When Simon Franklin looked at the birchbark letters from Novgorod, he found routine and casual literacy, hardly the preserve of a mandarin class, and more at home amongst the diversity of informal writing in the Roman world. Yet no developed state or administration accounts for this: an urban society, hence a certain economic underpinning, but use of the written word seems to be a simple personal choice.¹⁶ If so, when studying literacy in the early medieval west, can we still think with the fall of Rome?¹⁷

The field has reached something of an impasse because it has resisted articulating a new purpose for itself despite outgrowing its descriptive origins as an index of culture. The present situation is encapsulated in a series directed by Marco Mostert and billed as an effort to situate the ‘relative importance’ of literacy amongst other forms of communication. Intellectually this takes the lead of Gerd Althoff, who advocated studying gestures and ceremonies on the (false) premise that Ottonian Germany was illiterate, and ritual the replacement for an absence of any literate capabilities in society.¹⁸ But the published volumes largely take traditional approaches: some compile inventories of documentation, others trace the passage ‘from memory to written record’ in northern and eastern Europe under the influence of government or trade, and a third group just reverts to the study of literary culture.¹⁹ Despite several entries dedicated to the early Middle Ages, there is an odd resistance to ‘attempts at rehabilitating early medieval pragmatic literacy’, which marks the underlying focus of the project on urban and commercial contexts.²⁰ And the volumes which engage with its declared objectives have yielded rather flaccid results:

¹⁵ R. Britnell, ‘Bureaucracy and Literacy’, in C. Lansing and E.D. English (eds.), *A Companion to the Medieval World* (Chichester, 2007), pp. 413-34.

¹⁶ S. Franklin, ‘Literacy and Documentation in Early Medieval Russia’, *Speculum*, 60/1 (1985), pp. 1-11, 25-6, 36-8; cf. *idem*, *Writing, Society, and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950-1300* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 129-86.

¹⁷ cf. N. Everett, ‘Literacy from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, c. 300-800 AD’, in D.R. Olson and N. Torrance (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Literacy* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 362-85.

¹⁸ M. Mostert, ‘New Approaches to Medieval Communication?’, in *USML*, i, pp. 15-37; cf. G. Althoff, *Family, Friends, and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe*, transl. C. Carroll (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 136, 162-3.

¹⁹ e.g. *USML*, v-vi, xxix; ix, xi, xvi; iii, vii, xxv.

²⁰ *USML*, ix, pp. 34-6; xxvii-xxviii.

we learn from Merovingian hagiography that, while writing was an everyday tool for the upper strata of society, speech and ritual were ‘equally valid’.²¹ We are caught between transplanting Clanchy around medieval Europe and raising the flag for one form of communication over the others. There is a return to description, but perhaps we never left it: the study of literacy, even redefined as a communicative mode, so easily slips into listing literature, counting enough of the chosen cultural products to reach a positive conclusion. The problem is akin to that posed by the renaissances regularly being found in the most improbable places: if literacy can be any writing and any writing can be taken to prove literacy, what do we learn from it?²²

Like the rise of Late Antiquity in the historiography, the ‘literacy industry’ has spotted its quarry everywhere, and more or less contents itself with that. We each want our period to be literate, because of its association with sophistication.²³ The mid-twentieth century saw an extraordinary debate about the ‘consequences of literacy’, which Jack Goody identified as the cognitive ability to distinguish past from present: logical analysis arose in Greece because it is predicated on widespread personal alphabetic literacy, while in literate societies where it failed to emerge some restriction on literacy such as a complex script or ‘caste literacy’ can be blamed.²⁴ Goody sought neutral grounds for the ‘rise of the west’, but his ‘technologies of the intellect’ leave little for the historian to do: if the ‘consequences’ seem absent, one simply credits caste literacy, as he himself did for medieval Europe, where the subordination of literacy to religious tradition restricted the Classical golden age of a literate laity. And indeed over time all religious, economic, and administrative innovations in history became further consequences of literacy; when it was reborn in later medieval England, they were ‘recapitulated’, as if going

²¹ *USML*, xv, pp. 198-200.

²² J. Goody, *Renaissances: the One or the Many?* (Cambridge, 2010).

²³ C.F. Briggs, ‘Literacy, Reading, and Writing in the Medieval West’, *JMH*, 26/4 (2000), pp. 397-420; cf. B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 1-10; C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: a History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2009), pp. 3-12.

²⁴ J. Goody and I. Watt, ‘The Consequences of Literacy’, in J. Goody (ed.), *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 33-49, 67-8; *idem*, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 105-7.

through the motions.²⁵ The debate was driven by a contemporary revolution in communications media which accounts for its technological determinism. Walter Ong stated that ‘interiorized’ literacy was ‘absolutely necessary’ for human consciousness to reach its ‘fuller potentials’, and coined the term ‘residual orality’ to denote societies such as the Middle Ages in transition from orality to literacy, where writing took place in an oral psychological setting and written works were memorized and recycled back into a world of speech.²⁶ Yet these theories are ultimately just pseudo-scientific cover for the familiar bond between literacy and development.

The problem is the underlying assumption that literacy has a fixed and independent role in society. Much has been made of phrases like ‘the Bible says’, the survival of oral formulaic poetry, and a persistent reliance on memory as indices of relative literacy, as if conventions of speech and cultural practices can be straightforwardly mapped onto cognitive states.²⁷ Insofar as these have been explored through experiment, observable change is a function not of literacy itself, but of the particular form of education in it; the agency lies, in other words, with the uses of the technology, rather than with the technology itself.²⁸ Brian Street has formulated the two models of literacy as ‘autonomous’ and ‘ideological’. He argues that, while technologies offer constraints and opportunities, how these are dealt with is the result of social organization, so technology is not neutral, but a product of political and ideological processes which shape its forms and functions.²⁹ The point made by Marshall McLuhan has taken a long time to process: the nature of a medium structures its surroundings through the arrangements made to use it.³⁰

²⁵ Goody (ed.), *Literacy*, pp. 12-5; *idem*, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 16-8, 146-7; *idem*, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 176.

²⁶ W.J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982), pp. 7-15; cf. J. Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, transl. G.C. Spivak (Baltimore, 1976), pp. 107-40.

²⁷ M.J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 2008); cf. K. O’Brien O’Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 4-22, 191-2; M. Camille, ‘Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy’, *AH*, 8/1 (1985), pp. 27-8.

²⁸ S. Scribner and M. Cole, *The Psychology of Literacy* (Cambridge, 1981).

²⁹ B.V. Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 1, 65, 96; cf. R. Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 6-12, 175-8.

³⁰ M. McLuhan, *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man* (London, 1964).

The ‘message’ of the written word is therefore the means of its use, rather than a signifier of development, and the study of it is an enquiry into sociocultural organization.

When literacy is looked at in this way, orality and memory become components of the measures which enabled its employment. One need not agree with Michael Richter that written evidence, in Carolingian society and the early Middle Ages more widely, represents an artificial clerical gloss on a world of speech to recognize this as a salutary warning against assuming the accessibility or representativeness of text.³¹ No one can seriously argue that many could read and write in the period, and these skills were not necessary as such: social memory provided the means to retain information and commemorate the past. We can explore how it functioned as a counterpart to text, but in doing so we see how recalling, speaking, and writing were constantly in contact and mutually influential.³² If oral and literate modes complemented each other, the question becomes how they were integrated, rather than which mattered most. The most illuminating recent studies have consequently been those not focussed on literacy at all, but which seek a home for the written word in specific contexts and processes, such as the management of land, the settlement of disputes, or most recently the continuous but changing archival practices of the laity. Whereas the predominance of ecclesiastical estates in the documentary record has traditionally been seen as evidence of a clerical monopoly of literacy, and the use of oral procedures in court cases as proof of the decline of lay literacy, the work of Wendy Davies and others has elucidated how written evidence nonetheless played an important role for all parties in defending ownership and resolving differences, just as in the late Roman world.³³ Wherever we see disputes, we find documentation introduced through oral and ritual

³¹ M. Richter, *The Formation of the Medieval West: Studies in the Oral Culture of the Barbarians* (Dublin, 1994), pp. 45-77; *idem*, *The Oral Tradition in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 1994).

³² J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 145-6, 170-72; cf. M. Innes, ‘Memory, Orality, and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society’, *PP*, 158 (1998), pp. 5-34.

³³ W. Davies and P. Fouracre (eds.), *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 212-4; W.C. Brown *et al.* (eds.), *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 363-76; cf. J.M.H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: a New Cultural History, 500-1000* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 13-50.

processes, read aloud, sworn upon, and often proving decisive. What remains is to generalize, and to think through what part literacy played in social life as a whole.

And yet, before we do so, we need to decentre the presence of text from the study of its usage. Working on high and late medieval heretical groups, Brian Stock formulated the notion of a ‘textual community’, whose thoughts and actions were founded on their interpretation of a particular set of texts or, absent the texts themselves, the guidance of a ‘literate interpreter’ who enabled the group to internalize them. Stock claimed that this social configuration did not exist in the early Middle Ages because of lesser literacy, as exemplified by the supposedly probative rather than dispositive role of documentation, but he himself argues that text need not be involved, at least firsthand; what matters is whether the written word was accepted into the framework for social behaviour, and if so, how it was disseminated.³⁴ Both have to be demonstrated in practice, from the inside out: as subsequent work has explored, the textual community is really the integration of literacy and orality. Whatever the type of text, the written word was communicated through speech, and medieval writing often demonstrably had an eye to both private reading and public recital.³⁵ This is a reconfiguration of the distinction between primary and secondary literacy, firsthand and secondhand; if text can be accessed not only by a literate, but also by an illiterate through a literate, assessing who used what and how becomes crucial to understanding the meaning of the written record.³⁶ If text can serve to frame social behaviour regardless of its presence, contact with it matters less than ‘acting textually’.

The textual community as stated, however, does not go far enough. The significance of social memory is that a literate interpreter need not have been literate to transmit an originally

³⁴ B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 3-49, 522-3.

³⁵ D.H. Green, ‘Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies’, *Speculum*, 65/2 (1990), p. 277; *idem*, *Medieval Listening and Reading: the Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge, 1994); K. Haines-Eitzen, ‘Textual Communities in Late Antique Christianity’, in P. Rousseau (ed.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (Chichester, 2009), pp. 246-53.

³⁶ F.H. Bäuml, ‘Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy’, *Speculum*, 55/2 (1980), pp. 237-47.

written code to a group: once the first transmission of the text took place, its content could be communicated amongst illiterates thereafter – spoken, recalled, and internalized. Literacy can be tertiary in the sense that the rules of a text can be operative at several removes from the text itself. How can we assess the significance of the written word without taking this full reach into account? But to do so, we also have to let go of its singularity. The term ‘intertextuality’ arises out of the linguistic turn, and describes the state of each text as a product of other texts, a transposition of their systems of signs into one of its own. As developed by Roland Barthes, the reader is the space where all references to other texts which constitute a text are interpreted; whatever the authorial intention, the reader constructs the meaning of a text by recognizing and acknowledging the combination of codes residing within its intertextuality.³⁷ The point is that we miss the full scope of the written word if we limit ourselves to texts in primary, secondary, and tertiary use. We have to take the logical next step and study the interrelationship of texts. What other texts gave each one its total meaning – and how? Texts circulated not only in copies of themselves, through reading aloud, and by retention in memory, but also as intertextualities: as quotations, citations, and allusions, a network of texts all contributing to the signification of each one. Only by identifying the sources involved and tracing the connections amongst them can we go beneath the surface to map the underlying written structure of society.

I have chosen early medieval Iberia as a case study in textuality because of its rich but underexploited source material. The Christian kingdoms of Asturias-León and Navarra were formed in the aftermath of the Arab conquest of the Peninsula in 711, and almost four thousand charters survive from prior to 1031, a convenient terminus when the Islamic caliphate based at Córdoba collapsed (followed six years later by the union of León and Castilla), fundamentally

³⁷ R. Barthes, *Image Music Text*, transl. S. Heath (London, 1977), pp. 160-61; J. Kristeva, *Desire in Language: a Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. L.S. Roudiez, transl. T. Gora, A. Jardine, and L.S. Roudiez (New York, 1980).

altering the geopolitical situation. I exclude the counties of Catalonia, which could add a further six thousand charters or more, because they were a distinct cultural entity, looking to the Carolingian world, but there are points of comparison.³⁸ In both regions, charters account for by far the majority of the written evidence from the period, rather limiting the opportunity to fall back on literary culture instead of the written word as such. Yet when the charters have been studied – not just used – as sources, it is typically through the lens of palaeography or diplomatic.³⁹ What I propose to explore instead is the sociocultural history of this material, and to do so, I ask three questions: what it constitutes, how it relates to the world which it seems to describe, and how each element interconnects with other texts. This is how I define literacy: as textuality. I treat the corpus of charters as a text and ask the basic historical questions of author, audience, composition, and sources. The closest comparison may be with ‘paperwork studies’: the fact of a mass of writing and its relationship to the world around it.⁴⁰ By tracing the lifecycle of charters and the network of texts in which they embedded both themselves and society, we can outline the textuality of early medieval Iberia – its inscription in the written word.

The literacy of the late Roman world was contingent upon the demands of bureaucracy and functioned to provide the imperial élite with a shared cultural identity, privileged because difficult to obtain without an expensive education, but if this represents only a possible pairing of cause and effect, how do we explain what survives from the following centuries?⁴¹ Scholars from Riché to Roger Collins have recognized the Romanized literary and legal culture of the

³⁸ M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IX^e-XII^e siècle)* (2 vols., Madrid, 2003); J.A. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks: Property, Proof, and Dispute in Catalonia around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 2004), pp. 1-29, 228-47; A.J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000-1200* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 268-94.

³⁹ C. Mendo Carmona, *La escritura como vehículo de cultura en el reino de León (siglos IX-X)* (Madrid, 2001); cf. A. Castillo Gómez and C. Sáez, ‘Paleografía versus alfabetización. Reflexiones sobre historia social de la cultura escrita’, *Signo*, 1 (1994), pp. 133-68.

⁴⁰ L. Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Durham, 2014); B. Kafka, *The Demon of Writing: Powers and Failures of Paperwork* (New York, 2014); cf. B. Bedos-Rezak, ‘Diplomatic Sources and Medieval Documentary Practices: an Essay in Interpretive Methodology’, in J. van Engen (ed.), *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies* (Notre Dame, 1994), pp. 313-43.

⁴¹ P. Heather, ‘Literacy and Power in the Migration Period’, in A.K. Bowman and G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 177-98.

Visigothic kingdom, its learned bishops and ambitious state, but before the edition and study of the slate texts, there was little to complement this view from the top on the ground. We can now see complex uses of the written word for land management, legal affairs, elementary education, and devotional practice in the sixth and seventh centuries, essentially in the middle of nowhere on the northern Meseta.⁴² This should force us in particular to reconsider the institutionalization of literacy: despite no evidence for schools in the area, basic but broadly diffused access to the written word was clearly the case, so the inhabitants of this corner of the post-imperial world were able to keep using it much as they had before. While literary culture may have relied on urban schools, in other words, literacy as such could evidently exist in the absence of that structure.⁴³ And if the end of the Roman state had no ‘automatic’ effect in this regard, why should the other great historiographical caesura, the Arab conquest of 711, be any different?⁴⁴ There is no rationale for presuming discontinuity in making use of the written word, only the possibility that the need for it and arrangements to access it changed over time.

Studies of literacy in early medieval Iberia suggest an unusual degree of continuity, but with an outline sense of how it worked and why. Collins has argued, in a series of important investigations of the charters, that although the clergy were responsible for writing, the laity made use of them, while in court cases, lay judges referred regularly to their working copies of Visigothic law, which remained a source of norms and procedures in the settling of disputes.⁴⁵

⁴² G. Barrett, ‘Everyday Literacy in Visigothic Spain: from the Ground Up’ (Oxford, M.St. Thesis, 2008); C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 223-6; I. Velázquez Soriano, ‘La cultura gráfica en la Hispania visigoda: las escrituras anónimas’, in J. Arce and P. Delogu (eds.), *Visigoti e Longobardi* (Florence, 2001), pp. 185-95, 208-9; *eadem*, ‘Las pizarras visigodas como reflejo de una cultura’, in *Los Visigodos y su mundo* (Madrid, 1998), pp. 129-32; R. Collins, ‘Literacy and the Laity in Early Mediaeval Spain’, in McKitterick (ed.), *Uses*, pp. 114-8; *idem*, *Visigothic Spain, 409-711* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 170-73; Riché, *Education*, pp. 246-65, 274-9, 281-2, 285-90, 293-303, 352-60.

⁴³ F.N. Akinas, ‘Schooling, Language, and Knowledge in Literate and Nonliterate Societies’, *CSSH*, 34/1 (1992), pp. 68-109.

⁴⁴ W. Davies, ‘The Early Middle Ages and Spanish Identity’, in H. Pryce and J. Watts (eds.), *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages. Essays in Memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford, 2007), p. 70; J.N. Hillgarth, *The Visigoths in History and Legend* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 57-81.

⁴⁵ R. Collins, ‘“Sicut lex Gothorum continet”: Law and Charters in Ninth- and Tenth-Century León and Catalonia’, *EHR*, 396 (1985), pp. 489-512; *idem*, ‘Visigothic Law and Regional Custom in Disputes in Early Medieval Spain’, in Davies and Fouracre (eds.), *Settlement*, pp. 85-104; *idem*, ‘Literacy’, pp. 122-33; *idem*, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000* (2nd ed., New York, 1995), pp. 241-3, 252-63.

He is echoed by Adam Kosto, who reconstructs a diversity of lay archives in the tenth century.⁴⁶ Spanish scholarship, meanwhile, tends to survey the sources before veering into literary culture and education.⁴⁷ When it has remained focussed on charters, it has credited their increasing use to a nebulous feudalization, and argued that the written word aided the growth of seigneurial power.⁴⁸ The problem is that this confuses what is recorded in the charters – transactions and relationships – with the decision to write it down. There is no inherent need for documentation here: these studies amount to saying that we have more charters over time. Much scope remains for a study of literacy as textuality, asking whether the written record matters, and if so, how and why. Accepting a textual way of doing things and choosing which texts to use are cultural decisions; arranging to use texts and determining how textually to act are social processes. If we think socioculturally, we shall realize not one rule but particularities: moments when text seemed advantageous, systems enabling access to it, and fragments framing society.

The study of literacy should be the study of textuality – of interaction with text. What did it do, what uses of the written word are revealed by or can be inferred from the surviving material, and what factors may have determined that role for it? All these functions represent what was made possible by the ability to use the written word, and therefore how that ability shaped the structures of society. Ascertain what the ability constituted, personal literacy of whatever kind or access to literates, then who had access to it and how they acquired and

⁴⁶ A.J. Kosto, 'Sicut mos esse solet: Documentary Practices in Christian Iberia, c. 700-1000', in Brown *et al.* (eds.), pp. 259-82.

⁴⁷ M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La cultura literaria en la España cristiana en torno al año 1000', in *VII Congreso*, pp. 195-204; L. Casado de Otaola, 'Escribir y leer en la Alta Edad Media', in A. Castillo Gómez (ed.), *Historia de la cultura escrita del Próximo Oriente Antiguo a la sociedad informatizada* (Gijón, 2002), pp. 113-77; A.B. Sánchez Prieto, 'Dónde aprender a leer y escribir en el año mil', *AEM*, 40/1 (2010), pp. 3-34; M. Quilis Merín, 'Lectura, escritura y enseñanza en la época de orígenes', in M. Aleza-Izquierdo and Á. López-García (eds.), *Estudios de filología, historia y cultura hispánicas* (Valencia, 2000), pp. 162-9; J. Alturo Perucho, 'El sistema educativo en la Cataluña altomedieval', *ME*, 12 (1998), pp. 31-61.

⁴⁸ L. Sierra Macarrón, 'El aumento de la producción escrita en los tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes (siglos IX-XIII)', in *VI Congreso*, ii, pp. 119-31; *eadem*, 'La escritura y el poder: el aumento de la producción escrita en Castilla y León (siglos XI-XIII)', *Signo*, 8 (2001), pp. 249-74; *eadem*, 'Producción y conservación de la documentación altomedieval: del Cantábrico al Duero (siglos IX-XI)', *Signo*, 13 (2004), pp. 99-120; L. Casado de Otaola, 'Cultura escrita, dominio y "clases populares" en la Alta Edad Media en Hispania', in A. Castillo Gómez (ed.), *Cultura escrita y clases subalternas: una mirada española* (Oietzun, 2001), pp. 35-55.

exercised their access. This serves to complement an image of the functions of the written word with an idea of its functioning. Finally probe mental landscapes: to what degree were users of texts in contact with and shaped by other texts and norms originating in texts? The study of literacy matters because it seeks an understanding of why literacy mattered: the role of the written word in the workings of society, what was done with it and by whom, how attitudes and actions were organized around it – how the presence of this particular technology played out in society.⁴⁹ Scattered texts are our entrance into the past. We have to grasp how they interacted with their surroundings, how they shaped and were shaped by them. The complex and changeable interface between the written and the world is our point of departure into what lies behind and beyond the text.

⁴⁹ D.R. Olson, 'Why Literacy Matters, Then and Now', in Johnson and Parker (eds.), pp. 385-403.

I

THE LIFECYCLE

The lifecycle of the charters has yet to run its course. Early medieval birth gave way to centuries of changing hands, from archive to archive, until their only homes were ecclesiastical institutions. In 1835, all but the cathedrals were dissolved, and their collections of charters and codices were gradually reassembled in what became the national archive at Madrid, or gathered in regional centres, with many lost in transit.¹ Cataloguing and edition have proceeded fitfully and unevenly, but near completion for our period. Yet transmission of the documentation from past to present has been a quieting of the multiplicity of voices which originally spoke through it, and we must try to hear them anew. The charters record interactions of thousands of granters and recipients, and if we group those delivered to the same recipients, we can reconstruct hundreds of early medieval archives – institutional and personal, ecclesiastical and lay – now subsumed into a couple dozen major collections constituting our corpus. Many charters were even issued to singly attested individuals, pointing to a hinterland beyond what remains, but they all survive because they were incorporated into one of these larger ecclesiastical archives, a process largely complete by the high Middle Ages. Most charters are preserved in cartularies of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, compiled amidst political and cultural crisis in Iberia, when safeguarding title to property was paramount for religious institutions; some are known only in summaries from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a period of archival reform.² Criteria of selection and transcription applied at these moments condition what survives, just as decisions about what to keep or discard have made originals a partial history.³ The Church

¹ F.J. Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (ed.), *La desamortización: el expolio del patrimonio artístico y cultural de la Iglesia en España* (Madrid, 2007).

² C. Sáez, 'Origen y función de los cartularios: el ejemplo de España', *GLM*, 46 (2005), pp. 12-5; C. Mendo Carmona, 'El cartulario como instrumento archivístico', *Signo*, 15 (2005), pp. 126-36.

³ P.J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 177-81.

and land are the concerns of the charters, but only because they endure; removed in time, we have to reimagine the textuality of early medieval Iberia with respect for these limits.

Casting a wide net seems the best compensation, for only by comparison and contrast can we hope to control for even some of what has changed or been changed during the lifecycle of our corpus. But doing so is neither straightforward nor the norm. Publication of the charters has been highly regionalized: from archive to archive, it varies in date, quality, and completion, remaining in progress in Galicia.⁴ And only for royal diplomas has it been usual for scholars to take all documentation into account, with the exceptions of Antonio Floriano, in his survey of charters of the Asturian period, and Wendy Davies, in her fundamental socioeconomic studies.⁵ Maintaining a firm macroscopic awareness is especially important in studying literacy, since it can easily devolve into anecdote, so I have assembled a corpus of 23 major archives, with many minor additions, which I profile in an attached gazetteer.⁶ To lay a foundation for interregional comparison, I have organized these into three regions: centre (Asturias, Cantabria, León), west (Galicia, Portugal), and east (the county of Castilla and kingdom of Navarra, including Aragón and La Rioja). Only the east offers difficulty of delimitation, where it blurs into Catalonia, but since the charters of the Ribagorza identify themselves as in the Carolingian world, I treat this as the boundary of Aragón.⁷ So let us see what we have and how it has reached us.

The corpus consists of 3919 charters, ranging in date from as early as 718 to 1031, the limit of our period of enquiry.⁸ This total takes into account the numerous overlaps between the archives as published; symptomatic of the mainly localized study of the documentation, the recent preliminary catalogue of its components involves no cross-referencing of collections to

⁴ *Inventario*, pp. 11-4; A. Castro, *Colección diplomática altomedieval de Galicia, I. Documentación editada en escritura visigótica (662-1234)* (Noia, 2011), pp. 9-16; J.I. Fernández de Viana y Vieites, 'Las fuentes documentales gallegas de la Edad Media. Estado de su publicación', in *Galicia en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1990), pp. 1-7.

⁵ *Codiphis*, i, pp. 15-6; cf. FLO, i, pp. 17-8; W. Davies, *Acts of Giving: Individual, Community, and Church in Tenth-Century Christian Spain* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 22-6.

⁶ See appendix.

⁷ See R. de Abadal y Vinyals, *Els Comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça* (2 vols., Barcelona, 1955).

⁸ See figs. 1-2.

identify duplicated charters, rendering the tables and graphs useless.⁹ The first question to ask of the documentation is its authenticity, but this has received uneven answers. The problem of how much standardization to expect and the challenge of discriminating between alteration of form and content are compounded in some cases by a sentimental desire to preserve historical traditions.¹⁰ I have usually deferred to the editors, as well as the standard guides, and recorded divergent verdicts in cases of reasonable disagreement; the only problematic area is the east, where rigorous criticism is lacking.¹¹ All told 3627 or 93% of the charters are authentic, while a comparatively insignificant 211 (5%) are forgeries; interpolations of wording or content have been detected in another 53 (1%) documents, while a further 22 (1%) are suspicious.¹²

But inauthentic charters are distributed unevenly. They are by far the most common in the east, at San Juan, San Millán, and Leire; elsewhere, the cathedral archive of Oviedo alone approaches a similar incidence of falsification. The majority are royal and especially (Castilian) comital diplomas, since high-status granters are the obvious choice to legitimize spurious acts, chiefly forerunners of the kings of León-Castilla in the high Middle Ages, the golden age of forgery; relatively few ecclesiastical charters are falsified, and not one lay document. Virtually all false charters take the form of donations or confirmations, which can be expanded in extent almost infinitely and readily enhanced with imposing words; most have been transmitted in cartulary or especially single-sheet copies, a correlation to keep in mind. Forgeries are scattered across the whole period, but in blocs corresponding to reigns of certain kings and counts: Alfonso III in the late ninth century and Ordoño II in the 920s, then García Sánchez I and Fernán González in the 940s and 950s, before Ramiro III and García Fernández in the 970s, Sancho Garcés II in the 990s, and finally Sancho III in the 1010s. Except for Ramiro III, whose

⁹ *Codiphis*, i, pp. 15-6.

¹⁰ J.I. Fernández de Viana y Vieites, 'Problemas y perspectivas de la Diplomática de los reinos asturiano, leonés y castellano leonés en la Alta Edad Media', in *VI Congreso*, ii, pp. 45-9; M.J. Sanz Fuentes, 'El lenguaje de los documentos falsos', in *Orígenes*, i, pp. 119-20.

¹¹ FLO; DRA, pp. 92-202; *Condes*, pp. 97-568; CDS; NAV.

¹² See figs. 3-5.

false diplomas were probably misdated for Ramiro II, all these figures were famed for territorial conquests or pious benefactions, able to lend great authority to dubious transactions.

Authenticity is not the only limiting factor on our corpus, however, for the means of its survival have also shaped its composition. In classifying the source texts of the charters, I have again deferred to the editors, taking notice on occasion of more recent discoveries, but the same caveat applies, since identifying originals and distinguishing them from contemporary copies are by no means straightforward; some charters have also been preserved in multiple sources, and here I have noted all forms and classified it by the earliest. The originals of 833 or 21% of the charters survive, 126 (3%) transcribed into cartularies as well, while 231 (6%) are preserved as single-sheet copies, 95 (2%) duplicated in cartularies. By far the majority, in total 2379 (61%) documents, have been transmitted in the first instance by cartulary copies, with all the problems of that medium; a further 475 (12%) charters survive in more attenuated form, including 127 (3%) early modern copies and 310 (8%) archival notices.¹³ The originals mostly come from the centre, especially León, Otero, and Sahagún, plus a notable number in Portugal; the east has virtually none. Correspondingly, the west and east rely more on copies of all kinds, particularly in cartularies, which account for nearly every charter in many of the archives. This matters because each source type has a profile. We have observed a correlation between single-sheet and cartulary copies and forgery, but there is also a relationship between originals and lay charters, and a concomitantly greater rate of royal, comital, and ecclesiastical documents in copies of all kinds. In view of the overall numbers, this suggests that the total of lay charters underrepresents lay documentary use, reflecting archival priorities at the religious institutions which have transmitted the documentation, but it also means that we are less informed about the laity in the west and especially the east than in the centre. Similar adjustment seems to be needed for documentary typology, since sales are overrepresented as originals, while donations

¹³ See figs. 6-8.

and other varieties are proportionately more frequent as copies. One last observation to make is that, during the Leonese period, originals become more common over time at the expense of the other three source types, rising from about 15% of the total at the outset to 30% in 1031. We are therefore progressively better informed about the laity as the decades pass.

The most important result of taking the corpus as a whole, however, is a foundation for making comparisons between regions. The numbers are unequal: over half the total, some 2068 or 53% of the charters, come from the centre, compared with 1148 (29%) from the west and just 703 (18%) from the east.¹⁴ Not only can we say less about the east, but we can also say it less securely, since a full 114 (3%) of eastern documents are forgeries, or 16% of the total for the east, a far higher proportion than elsewhere. This is reflected in the fact that virtually no eastern originals survive, whereas 658 (17%) have been preserved in the centre; both the east and the west, indeed, rely on cartulary copies for more of their documentation.¹⁵ Sharp differences can also be seen in the personnel breakdown. Royal diplomas are more prominent in the west and east, and comital diplomas limited to the east, apart from Cantabrian outliers. Surprisingly, geography does not seem to be a factor in the spread of ecclesiastical charters; the opposite applies to lay charters, which are significantly overrepresented in the centre, and next to absent from the east. In terms of documentary typology, the centre stands out for an almost even total of donations and sales, whereas the former outnumber the latter in the west and east. So the regions certainly present differences in all features of their charters: authenticity, sources, personnel, and transactions. Although the markedly contrasting transmission profiles for the three regions needs to be kept in mind, regionalized documentary practice seems indicated. And indeed, when we turn to the chronological distribution, there are three distinct patterns as

¹⁴ See figs. 9-11.

¹⁵ J. Escalona, 'Antes de los cartularios: gestión de archivos y transmisión de los documentos de la Castilla condal (siglo IX-1038)', in *idem* and H. Sirantoine (eds.), *Chartes et cartulaires comme instruments de pouvoir. Espagne et Occident chrétien (VIII^e-XII^e siècles)* (Toulouse, 2013), pp. 132-5; E. Pastor Díaz de Garayo, 'Los testimonios escritos del sector meridional de Castilla (siglos X-XI). Ensayo de crítica documental', *HID*, 24 (1997), pp. 355-79.

well. While the eastern numbers hover above and below 20% of the total across the Leonese period without changing overall, the western and eastern rates fluctuate in alternation; at the outset both are just slightly apart at 40% but by 1031 central charters are 60% and western documents 25% of the corpus. Change is afoot amongst the regions.

i. Changes

Why write a charter at all? Literacy tends to be studied in terms of progress, from lesser to greater use of the written word, or else regression in periods of crisis. Where there is positive development, whether the impetus is perceived to proceed from the top down or the ground up, change over time is normally presented as a transition toward a more ‘literate society’; both the phenomenon and its causation are observed and explained primarily at the gross level. Taking stock of the overall shape of things is necessary, but it must be followed up by detailed analysis. The mistake is to interpret documentation as a straightforward index of literacy: what we have are instances of individuals and institutions deciding to engage in certain transactions in written form and preserve their records. To understand the general pattern, we must be sensitive to underlying trends. We cannot take the fact of the documentation for granted, even if it does itself: insofar as the charters contain a ‘rhetoric of literacy’, it is one of banalities of preserving an account for the future, writing things down to last.¹⁶ More explicit justification of the written record is often a feature of forgeries.¹⁷ Making a written record seems to have been normal, its purpose self-evident, so we have to work from the charters to their reasons for being.¹⁸

In early medieval Iberia, the habit of documentation was not an innovation. The earliest surviving authentic charter dates to 745, barely a generation after the Arab conquest of 711, so there is little interruption between our period and the preceding Visigothic kingdom in which

¹⁶ *e.g.* COR.9.

¹⁷ *e.g.* ACB.2 [F].

¹⁸ *cf.* Zimmermann, *Écrire*, i, pp. 9-112.

the written word was part of everyday life.¹⁹ The documentation of Asturias-León and Navarra, moreover, is directly comparable in form with Visigothic charters, on parchment or slate, from the sixth, seventh, and early eighth centuries; standardization pre-dates the effective ‘horizon of preservation’ in the mid-eighth century, indicating continuity of documentary practice across it.²⁰ The point is that writing down transactions was not novelty but normality – just the way things were done. Yet charters are unevenly distributed from year to year. This has to be taken into account, because we cannot be certain that bare numbers represent real trends. If the total number, say, of lay charters increases over time, this may only reflect the total number of charters rising at that rate, rather than a change in documentary practice. By way of correction, I present all breakdowns of the data as percentages of the whole, in order to demonstrate how a given category develops proportionately, instead of absolutely and perhaps misleadingly. So what can be said of the chronological distribution of the documentation? Broadly speaking, the number of charters becomes larger over time, but far from linearly, and both features call for explanation. External evidence to help us, however, is hard to come by: beyond the charters, the written history of early medieval Iberia consists of the most skeletal of notes in a handful of chronicles.²¹ And employing them to contextualize all observable aspects of the distribution runs the risk of a reductionist circularity, fitting everything into the chronicles since they are everything we have. We are also limited to the written history of Asturias-León, because that of the kingdom of Navarra is so uncertain until so late.²² But let us first make the attempt to explain what we can observe in the documentation, and then decide where to go next.

By number of charters, the Asturian period can be divided into two phases, from 711 to 850 and from 850 to 910. In the eighth century, the kingdom was little more than a chiefdom,

¹⁹ FLO.4 [I]; see figs. 12-3.

²⁰ J.A. Fernández Flórez, *La elaboración de los documentos en los reinos hispánicos occidentales* (ss. VI-XIII) (Burgos, 2002); M.C. Díaz y Díaz, ‘Un document privé de l’Espagne wisigothique sur ardoise’, *SM*, 1 (1960), pp. 52-71.

²¹ *Alfonso III; Sampiro*.

²² R. Collins, *Caliphs and Kings: Spain, 796-1031* (Chichester, 2012), pp. 205-13.

and the surviving written record, correspondingly, is slight; whatever campaigns, depopulation, and resettlement Alfonso I allegedly carried out, they have left no documentation. Charters are first preserved in concentration under Alfonso II, the first ruler of real note: after a rough early reign with Arab incursions and a palatine revolt, he made Oviedo the royal capital, promoted a restoration of Visigothic culture, founded the episcopal church of San Salvador and the palace of Santullano, and built the first shrine to Santiago at Compostela on the invention of his tomb in 813.²³ Stability and prosperity: one can certainly see these as circumstances more favourable to the survival of documentation. Steady increase begins in 850. Ordoño I won early victories over the Basques and Banu Qasi, before conquering or ‘repopulating’ Tuy, Astorga, León, and Amaya; his son and successor Alfonso III channelled the energy of Galician magnates into taking or restoring Orense, Chaves, Braga, Porto, Lamego, Viseu, and Coimbra. Once he had beaten back punitive expeditions from Córdoba and the emir sued for peace in 883/4, the rest of his rule was defined by internal development, as the king (may have) populated Zamora with Mozarabs and restored Simancas, Dueñas, Toro, Burgos, and Castrojeriz.²⁴ So expansion and consolidation: one can imagine more opportunity for transactions, alongside greater likelihood of their preservation, but there is no obvious new reason to write them down.

The 265 (7%) charters surviving from the Asturian kingdom are far fewer than the 3654 (93%) for the Leonese period. The chronological distribution of the latter divides into three distinct phases: to 965, characterized by a steady rise in numbers, to 998, by a dramatic regression and stagnation, to 1031, by a gradual if partial recovery. The trend of phase one does not correspond with any great territorial expansion; Ordoño II won a victory over at San Esteban de Gormaz in 917 and helped Sancho Garcés I to conquer La Rioja in 924, while

²³ J.I. Ruiz de la Peña Solar, ‘La monarquía asturiana (718-910)’, in *RL*, iii, pp. 46-60, 75-88; *idem*, ‘El rey y el reino en la monarquía asturiana (718-910)’, in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 42-61; A. Isla Frez, *La Alta Edad Media. Siglos VIII-XI* (Madrid, 2002), pp. 15-20.

²⁴ *Alfonso III*, c. 25; Ruiz de la Peña, ‘Monarquía’, pp. 95-127; *idem*, ‘Rey’, pp. 61-84; Isla Frez, *Alta Edad Media*, pp. 28-36.

Ramiro II defeated Abd al-Rahman III at the battle of Simancas in 939, bringing Salamanca into his realm, but overall the balance of power was near equilibrium. What territorial stability and security enabled was the foundation of many religious institutions, and the expansion of many others founded in the immediately preceding decades, so the trend of growth reflects, at least in part, the development of their archives.²⁵ The rather pronounced trough in 957-9, interestingly, maps exactly onto the chronology of the overthrow of Sancho I 'the Fat' by Ordoño IV 'the Bad' and his subsequent restoration, but could high politics have been serious enough to depress usage of documentation?²⁶ The second phase precisely spans the reigns of Ramiro III and Vermudo II, beginning with another noticeable dip between 966 and 971; these years saw an uprising of the Galician nobility and, in the minority of Ramiro, a lengthy Viking campaign in the west, but the numbers remain flat thereafter. Both reigns experienced internal instability and external insecurity. Galicia aristocrats elevated Vermudo, setting off civil war with Ramiro, while Vermudo himself later faced noble revolts across the kingdom, compelling him to take refuge in Galicia. Both kings also faced a resurgent and aggressive caliphate under al-Mansur, who launched more than twenty campaigns in the reign of Ramiro, reaching León in 982, and almost thirty under Vermudo, razing the capital in 986 and its bastions in 994, and sacking Astorga in 996 and Compostela in 997.²⁷ This is unquestionably a political context which we might expect to have at least some effect on the survival of documentation, but then again it should also affect the preservation of earlier documentation as well.

²⁵ J. Rodríguez Fernández, 'La monarquía leonesa. De García I a Vermudo III (910-1037)', in *RL*, iii, pp. 174-88, 266-89; *idem*, *Ramiro II, rey de León* (Madrid, 1972), pp. 339-90; Isla Frez, *Alta Edad Media*, pp. 100-103.

²⁶ Rodríguez Fernández, 'Monarquía', pp. 308-30; *idem*, *Sancho I y Ordoño IV, reyes de León* (León, 1987), pp. 20-50, 149-74; A. Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, *Ordoño III (951-956), Sancho I (956-966), Ordoño IV (958-959), Ramiro III (966-985), Vermudo II (982-999)* (Burgos, 2000), pp. 95-128.

²⁷ Rodríguez Fernández, 'Monarquía', pp. 331-70; *idem*, *Sancho I*, pp. 86-104; Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, pp. 129-95; P. Martínez Sopena, 'Reyes, condes e infanzones. Aristocracia y *alfetena* en el reino de León', in *Ante el milenario del reinado de Sancho el Mayor. Un rey Navarro para España y Europa. XXX Semana de Estudios Medievales* (Pamplona, 2004), pp. 137-40; J.M. Ruiz Asencio, 'Rebeliones leoneses contra Vermudo II', *AL*, 45-6 (1969), pp. 215-41; *idem*, 'Campanas de Almanzor contra el reino de León (981-986)', *AEM*, 5 (1968), pp. 31-64; J.M. Mínguez Fernández, *La España de los siglos VI al XIII. Guerra, expansión y transformaciones* (San Sebastián, 2008), pp. 183-7.

The problem is that the charters are not in the first instance ‘political’ documents. They are records of social and economic transactions, as logical to be carried out in moments of crisis as in times of peace, if not more so. Political contexts can at most suggest reasons for greater or lesser preservation, although even here it is difficult to credit these various campaigns with destroying archives everywhere; what they do not answer is the question of why charters were written at all. The known political contexts are limiting or conditioning rather than explanatory factors. Phase three, however, sees an erratic recovery, coinciding with the reign of Alfonso V, initially under the regency of his mother Elvira and then the Galician count Menendo González. Recovery begins amidst the final major incursions by al-Mansur, reason enough to rethink the relationship between military campaigns and documentary activity, but an ensuing decline does fit the difficult years of 1005 to 1014, which witnessed Arab raids into Castilla, Viking attacks in Galicia and on the Duero, and aristocratic uprisings throughout León. The year 1017 marked a turning point: as the caliphate started heading downhill rapidly toward collapse, Alfonso took action to rebuild and restore his realm, enacting the *Fuero de León*. As well as local privileges to incentivize the repopulation of León and ensure its supply and defence, the decree passed laws applicable to the whole kingdom, favouring the uppermost social strata and aiming to end four decades of internal disorder; one of these laws confirmed that documentation was the most secure title to property, while others insisted on the inviolability of charters.²⁸ This is the first sign of ‘top-down’ promotion of documentation, and the numbers do pick up from this point, rising (despite the king dying in battle at Viseu in 1028) into the reign of Vermudo III.

With the exception of this final decade and a half, the chronological distribution of the charters mostly fits contemporary events as far as we know them without those events sufficing to account for the fact of the charters. No narrative of ambitious royal government lies behind

²⁸ Rodríguez Fernández, ‘Monarquía’, pp. 374-408; Isla Frez, *Alta Edad Media*, pp. 97-100; J.M. Fernández del Pozo, *Alfonso V (999-1028)*, *Vermudo III (1028-1037)* (Burgos, 1999), pp. 15-143, 231-56; Martínez Sopena, ‘Reyes’, pp. 141-6; CDA, pp. 31-111; *Fuero*, pp. 155-72; Fernández Flórez, *Elaboración*, pp. 82-92.

the documentation, and only an initial dynamic of territorial expansion which soon gives way to a general equilibrium. In this sense, the overall numbers with their ups and downs are simply the sum of 23 archival histories and their vicissitudes. Yet this is hardly an explanation: without doubt the central institutions of these archives, the great monasteries and churches, each charted their own course of prosperity and poverty, recorded in their documentation, but only a few of them account for all or nearly all the charters in their collections. How do we explain the other cases – and the other charters? Nor do the total numbers rise neatly in concert with the dates of foundation of these institutions, allowing for a trailing generation or so of prior documentation of the formation of their patrimonies; this applies to Celanova and Sobrado, but in both archives pre-monastic charters date back much farther. Conversely, consider Sahagún and its collection: leaving aside the Piasca material, it just begins, and the monastery is already there, established. What about the Otero collection? Here there is no religious foundation at all, not for centuries. Even accepting the particularities of the archives comprising the corpus, the question remains: why does the number of charters change over time? Conditioned by stability and prosperity, expansion and consolidation, internal instability and external insecurity, finally with a bit of pressure from the top, why should the total, however irregularly, be expanding? First we need more information about what the documentation comprises.

ii. Actors

Every charter is the product of a decision by its parties to have it written, so in order to understand the documentation better, we need to look closer at its composition, differentiated by the type of personnel involved. I have assigned one of four categories to every charter based on my identification of the granters and recipients as royal, comital, ecclesiastical, or lay, the last defined as both non-royal and non-comital. If a king is involved, I have classified it as royal, subdividing this category by the type of the other party, if a (Castilian) count, as comital,

unless the other party is a king, and if a member of the clergy, as ecclesiastical, unless a king or count figures; lay charters therefore feature the laity alone.²⁹ Determining the social identity of granter and recipient is straightforward when a royal, comital, or ecclesiastical title is used, but this kind of labelling is inconsistent, and the absence of it by no means justifies categorizing the party as a member of the laity. Use of epithets such as *famulus Dei* and *ancilla Domini* complicates matters: they can denote ecclesiastics, but are often simply honorifics recognizing piety. These uncertainties can be limited by cross-referencing, to identify ecclesiastics, for example, who employ their titles only on occasion, but then there is the difficulty of deciding if two like names stand for one person. For consistency, I have classified bearers of ambiguous epithets like those above as laymen unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, but a large margin for error remains; one aim of treating such a sizeable database is to minimize the effects. This is also a simplification of a complex variability of granters and recipients. Women both known and unknown, peasant proprietors, and unexpected parties such as labourers and slaves, remind us of the range of participation in the documentary process.³⁰ Acts undertaken by entire or extended families or whole villages bear witness to a communal interest in documentation.³¹ All these instances command close study, but what I aim to provide here is an overview.

This is also necessarily a simplification of the range of personnel involved in a charter and their variable labels or titles. All manner of agents can act for granters, whether designated representatives of kings, counts, bishops, or laymen, or monks like Cresconius of Celanova and

²⁹ cf. A.J. Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 262-8; *idem*, 'Laymen, Clerics, and Documentary Practices in the Early Middle Ages: the Example of Catalonia', *Speculum*, 80/1 (2005), pp. 53-6.

³⁰ M.C. Pallares, 'Grandes señoras en los siglos IX y X', in I. Morant (ed.), *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina* (2nd ed., 4 vols., Madrid, 2005-6), i, pp. 423-42; L. Sierra Macarrón, 'La presencia de la mujer en la documentación del siglo X: Paterna Gundesindiz y el monasterio de Sobrado', in M.V. González de la Peña (ed.), *Mujer y cultura escrita del mito al siglo XXI* (Gijón, 2005), pp. 47-57; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 16-22, 164-81, 189-93; M.I. Loring García, 'Poder económico y relaciones sociales en las Asturias de Santillana en los siglos X y XI', *EEM*, 8 (1986), pp. 603-15; cf. Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', p. 268; A. Gómez Rabal, 'Mujeres testadoras y herederas en documentos latinos catalanes de la Alta Edad Media', *Euphrosyne*, 33 (2005), pp. 261-77.

³¹ Davies, *Acts*, pp. 198-202; J. Escalona, 'De "señores y campesinos" a "poderes feudales y comunidades". Elementos para definir la articulación entre territorio y clases sociales en la alta edad media castellana', in I. Álvarez Borge (ed.), *Comunidades locales y poderes feudales en la edad media* (Logroño, 2001), p. 129.

Velasco of Cardaña charged particularly with making purchases on behalf of their monasteries; in such cases, the party being represented may not even be present.³² This is notably true of the testamentary executor, carrying out the last wishes of a deceased party who nonetheless is often formally identified as fellow granter.³³ There are various other more informal stand-ins as well, introduced by a term such as *personarius*, but a reason for their appointment is seldom given, while disputes in particular involve a whole host of actors beyond the appellant and respondent. These typically deputized an *assertor* and a *responsor* as their advocates to represent them, rather than acting *pro se*. In theory the most important but in practice the most elusive figures in attendance were the *iudices* or judges. Various the king and his court, delegates of the king or count, bishops and the clergy, or still others of more uncertain identity and authority, their precise role in the proceedings is not always clear, but appears to have been procedural as often as determinative.³⁴ Judges were assisted by the *saio* or ‘officer of the court’, a bailiff of sorts who arranged the different stages of the settlement process, received oaths or managed ordeals, and seized or restored property.³⁵ And resolutions were reached with the assistance of a variety of others functioning almost like jurors: the *boni homines* or better members of the community who intervened to barter down the severity of the verdict.³⁶ Both transactions and disputes also involved the occasional use of guarantors or sureties, frequently labelled *fideiussores*, for future

³² M.I. Carzolio de Rossi, ‘Cresconio, prepósito de Celanova. Un personaje gallego al filo del siglo XI’, *CHE*, 57-8 (1973), pp. 225-79; V. de la Cruz, ‘Fray Velasco, procurador del monasterio de Cardaña en Poza de la Sal’, *BIFG*, 213 (1996), pp. 251-66.

³³ P. Merêa, ‘Origens do executor testamentário’, repr. in *idem*, *Estudos de direito hispânico medieval* (2 vols., Coimbra, 1952-3), ii, pp. 1-54.

³⁴ W. Davies, ‘Judges and Judging: Truth and Justice in Northern Iberia on the Eve of the Millennium’, *JMH*, 36 (2010), pp. 193-203; *eadem*, ‘Holding Court: Judicial Presidency in Brittany, Wales and Northern Iberia in the Early Middle Ages’, in F. Edmonds and P. Russell (eds.), *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 150-53; Collins, ‘Law and Charters’, pp. 506-8; *idem*, ‘Visigothic Law’, p. 86; G. Martínez Díez, ‘Las instituciones del reino astur a través de los diplomas (718-910)’, *AHDE*, 35 (1965), pp. 156-61; A. Prieto Morera, ‘El proceso en el reino de León a la luz de los diplomas’, in *RL*, ii, pp. 424-501; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 81-108.

³⁵ Martínez Díez, ‘Instituciones’, pp. 75-7.

³⁶ M.C. Carlé, ‘*Boni homines* y hombres buenos’, *CHE*, 39-40 (1964), pp. 133-68; P. Martínez Sopena, ‘La justicia en la época asturleonense: entre el *Liber* y los mediadores sociales’, in A. Rodríguez (ed.), *El lugar del campesino en torno a la obra de Reyna Pastor* (Valencia, 2007), pp. 239-55; C. Estepa Díez, *Estructura social de la ciudad de León (siglos XI-XIII)* (León, 1977), pp. 255-66; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 108-15.

actions or appearances by one or another party.³⁷ In order to keep the focus on the granting and receiving of the documentation, I have included only those making a direct contribution to one of these two roles in my tabulation of the personnel: the representatives and the guarantors. But the many others involved – like the witnesses present – must be kept in mind.

Starting at the top, there are 506 royal diplomas, for 13% of the total corpus, the majority granted to religious institutions or individuals, but also more than forty issued to members of the laity.³⁸ The counts of Castilla are represented by 71 (2%) diplomas, again mostly granted to ecclesiastics. Treating them separately from those of other counts in Asturias-León may seem an arbitrary artefact of historiographical tradition, but they use the comital title by far the most consistently and, because Castilla subsequently emerged as the dominant power in Iberia, have been the object of the most later manipulation, so it is worth keeping them apart, if only to test their difference.³⁹ The bulk of the corpus is ecclesiastical: some 2599 (66%) charters involve a cathedral, monastery, church, or member of the clergy, which can be divided into three subsets. The largest is comprised of the 1652 (42%) documents granted by laymen to ecclesiastics, mainly recording the transfer of property from one to the other and accounting for a plurality of the material which the Church has preserved. Only 115 (3%) charters were issued to laymen by ecclesiastics, a small figure but notable given the inalienability of Church property; a further 791 (20%) texts involve members of the clergy alone. Finally there are 724 charters both granted and received by the laity, accounting for 18% of the corpus. By whatever channels of transfer of property these have survived in ecclesiastical archives, they witness, in the very fact of their existence and extent, significant lay participation in documentary practice.

³⁷ W. Davies, 'On Suretyship in Tenth-Century Northern Iberia', in J. Escalona and A. Reynolds (eds.), *Scale and Scale Change in the Early Middle Ages: Exploring Landscape, Local Society, and the World Beyond* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 138-52; G. Martínez Díez, 'Terminología jurídica en la documentación del reino de León. Siglos IX-XI', in *Orígenes*, i, pp. 248-50; cf. Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 124-34.

³⁸ See figs. 14-6.

³⁹ *Condes*, p. 73.

We can explore the meaning of these categories by considering the relationship between the parties to the charters and their other properties. Royal diplomas are most common in the centre, but if we take into account the total numbers for each region they are in fact distributed relatively evenly. Castilian comital diplomas are largely limited to the east, although a handful have been preserved in Cantabrian archives. Ecclesiastical charters are more or less ubiquitous to early medieval Iberia, and the numbers roughly parallel the totals for each region. There is a marked difference with lay charters, however, the majority of which come from the centre, followed by the west; hardly any have been preserved from the east. Means of preservation are crucial: whereas royal and comital diplomas mainly survive in single-sheet copies or cartulary copies, and ecclesiastical charters are again parallel to the overall numbers for the various forms of media, lay charters are uniquely more likely to survive as originals than as cartulary copies.⁴⁰ We therefore have the most in the centre, at the archives of León and Otero, and in Portugal; the east, with few originals, has transmitted hardly any lay charters. As we have already noted, royal and comital diplomas, as the most prestigious texts, account for the majority of forgeries, and single-sheet copies are the most prone to tampering; ecclesiastical charters, in contrast, are for the most part genuine, and lay charters are essentially authentic. A glance suffices to reveal major differences in documentary practice between types of personnel.⁴¹ Kings and counts, in what survives, chiefly grant donations, or else confirmations; ecclesiastical charters recording donations make up 37% of the corpus, but those documenting sales represent 23%, and other types 6%, so there is a fair degree of diversity. Lay charters, however, stand out for recording sales over twice as often as donations: indeed lay sales account for nearly a third of all sales in the corpus, despite lay charters making up less than a fifth of the total. If the royal and comital world was one of giving, and the ecclesiastical of receiving, the laity bought and sold.

⁴⁰ cf. J. Escalona, I. Velázquez Soriano, and P. Juárez Benítez, 'Identification of the Sole Extant Original Charter Issued by Fernán González, Count of Castile (932-970)', *JMIS*, 4/2 (2012), pp. 259-88.

⁴¹ cf. Kosto, 'Laymen', pp. 47-53.

This impression of distinctive practices is confirmed by the chronological distribution of the documentation by personnel type. The numbers for the Asturian kingdom are too slight to yield reliable trends, but the patterns for the Leonese period are clear. Royal diplomas ‘begin’ in 775 with the earliest authentic example to survive, and while the numbers peak noticeably in the first third of the tenth century, they remain thereafter at about 10% of the total.⁴² There is no narrative of ‘pressure from above’, of an ambitious royal bureaucracy driving the adoption of documentary practice by the weight of its presence; however voluble, royal diplomas are essentially background noise in the corpus. This applies even more to comital diplomas, which make up a negligible percentage of the yearly numbers, and feature in only two short bursts of monastic foundation in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Ecclesiastical charters are the most readily comprehensible: for almost the whole Leonese period, they account for over half the total and increase radically as a proportion in the early tenth century, bearing written witness to the establishment and expansion of the great monasteries and their estates. But the most striking trend is that, over the course of the tenth century and into the early eleventh, the predominance of ecclesiastical charters begins to give way to lay charters, which become more common with each passing year from the late tenth century. The first lay charter to survive dates to 788, a Galician sale distinctly humble in the status of its parties and the value of its object: this is only the sixth charter to be preserved overall, making a strong case for continuity of documentary practice from the Visigothic period at every level of society, but also making a strong case against any notion of the habit of using the written word being a response to the demands of royal bureaucracy, or a ‘trickling down’ of an ecclesiastical way of doing things.⁴³ At the outset of the Leonese period, the number of lay charters is underpinned by the records of Hermegildo and Paterna, amassing what would become the patrimony of Sobrado, and at

⁴² ACL.1.

⁴³ COR.1.

the close of the period by the archives of the Flaínez and Muñoz families at Otero, but overall the numbers rise as a fraction of the total from under 20% to roughly 30%. The dynamic of documentary practice in early medieval Iberia is greater use of the written word by the laity over time. But absent evidence for the usual explanations, why should this be so?

iii. Actions

In order to answer the question of why charters were written, I have further categorized the corpus by function. There are risks here of becoming lost in particularity or else strangled by diplomatic technicality and rigidity: accordingly, while maintaining much of the traditional terminology, I have given absolute priority to function over form and endeavoured to provide the simplest and most transparent summary of the purpose of the charters.⁴⁴ At the most general level, the documentation can be classified into three broad groups. There are 2117 charters of donation, accounting for 54% of the total, and 1419 (36%) sales; the remaining 381 (10%) record a miscellaneous variety of other transactions, and indeed statements of information involving no transaction of any kind.⁴⁵ Virtually all the charters, no matter the type, concern landed property, but we cannot safely conclude from this that land is what led people to use the written word; it is rather what led people to preserve the written word, and what above all conditions the corpus of surviving charters. Stepping back from diplomatic for a moment, however, two main goals are achieved by resorting to documentation, including in the cases of more miscellaneous acts. The first is to make a lasting record of something: primarily this takes the form of establishing title to property, but more broadly it extends to any kind of account or narrative. The majority of the charters fit this description. The second is to regulate something,

⁴⁴ *DRA*, pp. 237-61; *Condes*, pp. 73-86; Á. Riesco Terrero, 'Diplomática eclesiástica del reino de León hasta 1300', in *RL*, vii, pp. 385-416, 494-541; *ACL*, i, pp. xxxv-lxiv; *SAH*, ii, pp. xxxvii-lxii; A.C. Floriano, *Curso general de Paleografía y Paleografía y Diplomática españoles* (2 vols., Oviedo, 1946); Á. Canellas López, *Diplomática hispano-visigoda* (Zaragoza, 1979); T. Marín Martínez, *Paleografía y diplomática* (2 vols., Madrid, 1998).

⁴⁵ See figs. 17-9.

whether by setting out contractual terms or through listing a series of rules; such charters presume an ongoing and active application of things written down. There are no surprises here: these are basic functions of writing, and if we look at the types of charters we can see how they were realized.

Most donations are simple statements documenting only the fact of the transaction, and these account for 1062 (27%) of the corpus of charters.⁴⁶ But the next largest subset consists of 293 (7%) donations including circumstantial details or contextual explanations, or specifying contractual obligations; the contents are as varied as happenstance, and we shall have occasion to return to the most common, judicial proceedings settled by a compulsory gift from the losing party, but for now we can categorize these charters as complex donations. Kings grant simple and complex donations in a similar manner, and although these are at times distinguished by a lengthier text and a greater solemnity of formulation, the actual diplomatic differences between ‘public’ and ‘private’ documentation are relatively insignificant during this period.⁴⁷ There are 142 (4%) charters with the particular condition of taking effect *post mortem*, a deferred application which assumes retention of the document until its enforcement at the moment of death; until then, the property, at least formally, remained with the donor, in part or in whole, perhaps obliging the recipient toward him in his lifetime.⁴⁸ In practice these can be difficult to distinguish from simple pious donations, and frequently feature in the details of complex gifts. The next most common type, with 44 (1%) surviving cases, is donation in *perfiliatio*, by which the granter adopted the recipient in order that he could inherit his property; unique to Iberia,

⁴⁶ Martínez Díez, ‘Terminología’, pp. 233-5; *idem*, ‘Instituciones’, pp. 148-51; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 30-35, 113-26; *eadem*, ‘Buying with Masses: “Donation” *Pro Remedio Animae* in Tenth-Century Galicia and Castile-León’, in F. Bougard, C. La Rocca, and R. Le Jan (eds.), *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer: transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au Haut Moyen Âge* (Rome, 2005), pp. 401-6.

⁴⁷ DRA, pp. 238-44; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 93-5, 126-30, 143-54.

⁴⁸ Martínez Díez, ‘Terminología’, pp. 240-43; F. de Arvizu y Galarraga, *La Disposición “mortis causa” en el derecho español de la alta edad media* (Pamplona, 1977), pp. 129-31, 187-211; J.A. Rubio, ‘“Donationes post obitum” y “donationes reservato usufructu” en la alta Edad Media de León y Castilla’, *AHDE*, 9 (1932), pp. 1-32.

this document also created a lasting bond between the parties, which may have been its goal.⁴⁹

In addition, there are more rarely instanced categories of donation: to bestow a dowry, to secure burial for oneself, to grant a *fuero* or set of privileges and immunities, or to make an *unitas* or joint transfer of ecclesiastical property, as well as many ‘multi-functional’ charters.⁵⁰

This schematic simplification, however, tells only a part of the story. Donation does not always straightforwardly transfer title to property: verbs such as *incommuniare* seem to imply common or shared ownership, a relationship between the parties, as with *perfiliatio*, which is as much the object of record as the land.⁵¹ Charters of donation, indeed, forge and make lasting accounts of relationships, including entry into a monastery, acceptance of patronage, and (very) occasionally the lease or usufruct of property by dependants; the practice of ‘countergifts’ is evidence enough that gift involved more than simply property changing hands.⁵² But they also preserve stories and formalize identities: long preambles commemorating pious foundations or restorations are ‘house histories’ in all but name, written memories of benefactors and events, while more personal narratives can be ‘family histories’, donors memorializing themselves.⁵³ Thinking of preambles as preamble may miss the point: the record is as much of place or person as the transfer of ownership.⁵⁴ Conversely what needed setting down may have been negative:

⁴⁹ Martínez Díez, ‘Terminología’, pp. 244-8; A. Barbero and M. Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo en la Península Ibérica* (Barcelona, 1978), pp. 379-94; P. Merêa, ‘Perfilhação’, *RPF*, 7 (1956), pp. 119-26; G.B. da Cruz, ‘Algumas considerações sobre a “perfiliatio”’, *BFDUC*, 14 (1937-8), pp. 407-78.

⁵⁰ Martínez Díez, ‘Terminología’, pp. 243-4, 269-70; J. Orlandís, ‘La elección de sepultura en la España medieval’, repr. in *idem*, *La iglesia en la España visigótica y medieval* (Pamplona, 1976), pp. 257-306.

⁵¹ A. Isla Frez, ‘Las relaciones de dependencia en la Galicia altomedieval: el ejemplo de la *incomuniación*’, *Hispania*, 44/156 (1984), pp. 5-18; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 80-87.

⁵² J. Orlandís, “‘Traditio corporis et animae’”. Laicos y monasterios en la alta edad media española’, repr. in *idem*, *Estudios sobre instituciones monásticas medievales* (Pamplona, 1971), pp. 217-378; A. Linage Conde, ‘Los caminares de la Benedictinización’, in *RL*, ix, pp. 165-88; L.G. de Valdeavellano, ‘El “renovo”. Notas y documentos sobre los préstamos usurarios en el reino astur-leonés (siglos X-XI)’, *CHE*, 57-8 (1973), pp. 408-48; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 52-61; *eadem*, ‘When Gift is Sale: Reciprocities and Commodities in Tenth-Century Christian Iberia’, in *eadem* and P. Fouracre (eds.), *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 231-5; *eadem*, ‘Reciprocity or Guarantee? Countergift in Tenth-Century Northern Iberia’, in A. Deyrmond and M. Ryan (eds.), *Early Medieval Spain: a Symposium* (London, 2010), pp. 67-82; *eadem*, ‘Notions of Wealth in the Charters of Ninth- and Tenth-Century Christian Iberia’, in J.-P. Devroey, L. Feller, and R. Le Jan (eds.), *Les élites et la richesse au Haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 272-5.

⁵³ e.g. ACL.432, ACL.701, ACL.803.

⁵⁴ Davies, ‘Buying with Masses’, pp. 407-10.

absolution of a debt, discharge of a judicial obligation, or agreement to settle a dispute.⁵⁵ This involved transfer of property, but from the perspective of the granter the text was also proof that pending business had been concluded. At the same time, charters of donation established regulations as well, obviously in the case of a *fuero*, but much more often in the attached terms, whether transferring settlement rights by the formula *ad populandum* or jurisdictional rights over a *mandamentum* or *mandationem*; many gifts include a proviso under a phrase such as *sub ratione servata*, outlining some limits on the use of the property.⁵⁶ In both the goals achieved by resorting to documentation in these cases, charters were more than moments; they had lasting effects as the records of relationships, histories, identities, and rules.

Sales present altogether fewer varieties. The overwhelming majority, some 1190 (31%) of the total corpus of charters or 84% of the sales, are statements of transactions, to which can be added a few royal sales. Only 100 (3%) sales record circumstance or context: these are often the outcomes of judicial proceedings, the penalties formulated as sales instead of donations. There are a further 93 (2%) simple exchanges, which differ solely, in transactional terms, in the stated price being landed property rather than moveables or monetary units.⁵⁷ Sale occasionally occurs in the same charter as exchange, but it more commonly overlaps with donation; the type is filled out by a handful of royal and complex exchanges, as well as sales combined with other types of transaction.⁵⁸ The general simplicity of this characteristically lay transaction does raise the question of whether documentary practice was more complex amongst the clergy and at the upper levels of society, and we shall essay an answer at the end of this section.

⁵⁵ Davies, 'When Gift is Sale', pp. 229-30.

⁵⁶ Martínez Díez, 'Terminología', pp. 266-8; *idem*, 'Servidumbre, ingenuidad y privilegio. Notas a la condición jurídica de las personas en el reino de León: 910-1157', in *Monarquía*, i, 641-7; C.A. Martínez, 'Relaciones de propiedad y estructura económica del reino de León: los marcos de producción agraria y el trabajo campesino (850-1230)', in *RL*, vi, pp. 200-232.

⁵⁷ W. Davies, 'Sale, Price and Valuation in Galicia and Castile-León in the Tenth Century', *EME*, 11/2 (2002), pp. 149-74; *eadem*, 'Notions of Wealth', pp. 275-8; Martínez Díez, 'Terminología', pp. 235-8; *idem*, 'Instituciones', pp. 151-5; R. Fernández Espinar, 'La compraventa en el derecho medieval español', *AHDE*, 25 (1955), pp. 293-528; B. Casado Quintanilla, 'Pan, vino y documentos de compraventa en León hasta el año 1300', in *Escritos*, i, pp. 163-98.

⁵⁸ Davies, 'When Gift is Sale', pp. 223-9; *eadem*, *Acts*, pp. 135-8, 156-60.

The remaining charters are a miscellany of other transactions and statements. The most numerous are the records of dispute settlements, with 101 examples making up 3% of the total corpus. In practice it is somewhat artificial to separate these from many complex donations and sales which, in documenting payment of a judicial penalty, are effectively resolutions as well, but in the former cases the material outcome is subordinated to the narrative, while the reverse is true in the latter. There are also 59 (2%) instances of the *placitum* or written agreement, some of which were likewise produced in the course of settling disputes, evidently a densely textual process; others, however, are independent contractual arrangements, and it is interesting to note here that this sense of the term *placitum* preserves the late Roman legal definition of it, whereas in the rest of the early medieval west it came to designate a (typically judicial) assembly.⁵⁹ The eighteen surviving monastic pacts are of similar contractual force, as abbots and monks bound themselves to each other under specified conditions and obligations.⁶⁰ But an equally notable subset of ‘miscellaneous’ charters consists of 36 (1%) confirmations of prior transactions, and a further 51 (1%) royal confirmations: these are renewals of past acts and at times their records, typically by new granters and the original recipients or their successors, a strategy to safeguard the ownership of property by regular recognition of it, although some royal confirmations also involve new donations as well. Beyond these are charters in which the miscellaneous functions overlap, such as the curious *colmellum divisionis*, at once an inventory and division of property, a few mainly monastic narratives with no proprietorial content, and a handful of letters sent or received by kings.⁶¹ Less formally, there are 40 (1%) surviving inventories and *notitiae* or lists,

⁵⁹ Prieto Morera, ‘Proceso’, pp. 386-401; Martínez Díez, ‘Terminología’, pp. 250-55; *idem*, ‘Instituciones’, pp. 154-6; *cf.* Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 78-120; C. Wickham, ‘Land Disputes and their Social Framework in Lombard-Carolingian Italy, 700-900’, repr. in *idem*, *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400-1200* (London, 1994), p. 229.

⁶⁰ Martínez Díez, ‘Terminología’, pp. 269-70; R. Létinier, ‘Naturaleza jurídica y originalidad de los pactos monásticos’, in *Monacato*, pp. 49-66.

⁶¹ *e.g.* P. Henriët, ‘La lettre d’Alphonse III, *rex Hispaniae*, aux chanoines de Saint-Martin de Tours’, in S. Gouguenheim, *et al.* (eds.), *Retour aux sources. Textes, études et documents d’histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse* (Paris, 2004), pp. 155-66.

enumerating everything from cheese to charters; they provide a glimpse, past endless transfers of property, of more everyday usage of the written word and more varied uses for it.

Yet typology again presents only one side of these miscellaneous charters. While the documentation primarily deals with transfer of property, this need not mean that transfer of property was its primary concern. Confirmation is a clear case, since nothing changed hands; it served to renew the relationship between a past and present granter and recipient by way of property. Written restatement of ownership, in other words, forged new social connections or re-forged old ones, and furthermore has an element of ‘story-telling’, like charters with lengthy preambles, narrating the history of land and its owners. Accounts of settling disputes participate in the same process of creating an ‘official record’: if it were just a matter of documenting title to property, they could all simply be confirmations, donations, or sales to the victorious party, but many relate the proceedings step by step, setting out the arguments on both sides, and the stages of proof leading to resolution.⁶² Closure depended on more than a record of ownership; the means of obtaining it and the written agreement of all parties to it mattered. Monastic pacts and *placita* certainly had implications for property, but they were also contracts, the former originating, as we shall explore, in a distinctively Iberian form of monasticism, binding their signatories to sets of regulations. And not every *notitia* listed landed property, particularly the inventories; like charters making regulations, they employ the written word to manage, as much as to document. This ‘catch-all’ third type of charters replicates, despite its heterogeneity, the twofold function of the documentation, to record as well as to regulate.

Assessing the relationship between the typology of the charters and their other features can reinforce some of the conclusions suggested by consideration of their personnel. Donations

⁶² cf. R. Balzaretti, ‘Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records’, in E.M. Tyler and R. Balzaretti (eds.), *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 11-37; S. Foot, ‘Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record, or Story?’, in *ibid.*, pp. 39-65; W. Brown, ‘Charters as Weapons. On the Role Played by Early Medieval Dispute Records in the Disputes They Record’, *JMH*, 28 (2002), pp. 227-48.

and sales are both most common in the centre, less so in the west, and least in the east, in line with overall documentary breakdown by region. The outliers are the miscellaneous charters, as they are most frequent in the west and only slightly less in the centre and east, despite the great difference in total charters from each region; proportionately they are therefore overrepresented in the west, something to bear in mind. Neither donations nor sales show a marked relationship with their means of transmission, and basically parallel the percentages of each source type in the corpus; once again, however, the miscellaneous charters are different, with a particular link to cartulary copies, the form in which most of the western documentation survives. Donations are the most likely to be forged, followed at some distance by ‘other’ charters; all but two sales seem authentic. There no real reason why a false sale should not make a perfectly good title to property, but the correlation is a function of the personnel profile of each type of transaction. Donations account for the majority of royal and comital diplomas, while those in ecclesiastical charters make up a full 37% of the total corpus. Lay donations are also surprisingly well attested, at least considered as a fraction of charters involving the laity; the transaction is not exclusive to interaction with the clergy.⁶³ Sales comprise less than a third of ecclesiastical charters, whereas they constitute two-thirds of lay charters, confirming the association of the laity with this type of business. Equally clear is a connection between kings and ecclesiastics and ‘other’ charters, which comes into focus if we recall, for example, the confirmations.

Yet a surprise is in store when we consider the chronological distribution of each type of transaction. All three categories are in evidence during the Asturian kingdom, but it is in the Leonese period that we can see sharply delineated trends. Apart from an initial spike in the 910s, the proportion of ‘other’ charters in the corpus essentially hovers at or below 10%. Donations and sales, meanwhile, play out an inverse relationship, fluctuating up and down in alternation, with sales briefly becoming more common than donations in the 930s, 950s, 960s,

⁶³ Davies, *Acts*, pp. 139-43, 154-6.

and the first decade of the eleventh century. There is a macroeconomic history of transactions here, but what I would observe is that sales are only a few percentage points more frequent at the end of the period than at the start; the increase is greater for donations, at 10%, corresponding to the drop in miscellaneous charters from their initial peak.⁶⁴ Little has therefore changed in documentary typology from 911 to 1031; if lay charters are becoming more regular, the laity are also engaging in transactions, notably donation, formerly more common to others.

When operating at this level, there is the danger of being led astray by some underlying *mutation documentaire* which creates a false impression – or conceals the fact – of fundamental change.⁶⁵ I have accordingly devised a category of ‘documentary complexity’ to provide some indication of whether the formulation of the charters is changing over time. I have labelled all documents which state a transaction plainly, with no more than formulaic contextualization, as simple, and all those with conditions or justifications as complex; the miscellaneous types are the only ones to offer real ambiguity, and I freely admit an element of personal judgement, but I think the difference between a simple statement of confirmation and a complex monastic pact can and should be recognized. Overall there are 2714 (69%) simple and 1203 (31%) complex charters.⁶⁶ Proportionately complex charters are more common in the west and centre, less so in the east; they are slightly more likely than simple charters to be forged, but transmission is not apparently a major factor. Rather unexpectedly, however, transactions involving members of the clergy are more often simple, proportionately, than for other personnel types, perhaps a reflection of the routine quality of many ecclesiastical donations, while royal charters are nearly divided evenly between complex and simple, fitting their generally more elaborate format. Yet lay charters are simple and complex at approximately the overall ratio of two to one, so their documentary practice is not atypical in this regard, despite sales being predominantly simple

⁶⁴ cf. Davies, ‘Sale’, pp. 154-5.

⁶⁵ D. Barthélemy, ‘La mutation féodale a-t-elle eu lieu?’, *Annales*, 47 (1992), pp. 767-77.

⁶⁶ See figs. 20-22.

in composition. Even more remarkable is the chronological distribution: looking at the Leonese period, simple and complex charters represent almost the same fractions of the corpus in 911 as in 1031, at 60% and 40%. The incidence of simple and common charters fluctuates over time, but is not trending in any direction. The one change in the composition of the corpus of charters across the early Middle Ages is the rise in lay participation; the laity were moving into types and complexities of documentation formerly more common to kings, counts, and clergy. Now that we have isolated the phenomenon, can we answer the why of the charters?

iv. Reasons

Both historiographical models for the use of documentation, ‘top down’ (bureaucratic pressure) and ‘ground up’ (personal choice), are valid, but in different senses, and it would be mistaken to assume that they should be exclusive. Individual choice is a factor, but for the choice to be in favour of the written word, it needs to be incentivized, a reason to use writing demonstrated. While government can provide this pressure, it is only a possibility. I propose a ‘diffusion model’ of documentary practice, which means, at its most basic, exposure to charters coupled with evidence of the advantage which employing them confers. We can witness it in progress in an unusually dense set of charters from the monastery of Celanova, which made a series of 31 acquisitions in the Galician village of Rabal, some six kilometres away, between 956 and 974, followed by another fourteen transactions involving the village from 987 to 1031.⁶⁷ The earlier subset is the more interesting for its concentration: within its timespan of 18 years, a full 22 charters date to the years 961 and 962, shining a particularly bright light on the workings of a small community. Until the first of the charters, the village is unattested in the written record: charters do not seem to have been used here before 956 when the monastic

⁶⁷ CEL.116-8, CEL.125, CEL.128-41, CEL.143, CEL.145-52, CEL.162-3, CEL.173, CEL.178, CEL.201, CEL.211, CEL.227, CEL.232, CEL.234, CEL.244, CEL.262, CEL.269, CEL.329, CEL.337, CEL.339, CEL.362, CEL.376, CEL.382; M.C. Pallares Méndez, *Ilduara: una aristócrata del siglo X* (Sada, 1998), pp. 38-47.

series begins, since none has been folded into the archive of Celanova, whereas in many other cases the monastery has preserved prior documentation of property which it has come to own. At the same time, this is not a straightforward story of the advent of charters here: the evidence of the Visigothic slates and formal standardization from the earliest post-Visigothic documents indicates continuity in documentary practice even in the most remote rural areas. Instead what we can see is a place and a practice coming into contact, and this can serve as a point of entry into understanding how the use of charters diffused in early medieval Iberia.

The earlier subset of the Rabal charters depicts a community which, prior to the arrival of Celanova, was able and accustomed to guarantee title to property by means of memory, without the written word. All but three of the 31 charters record sales of land by villagers to Bishop Rosendo and the monastery, and each identifies and delimits the property concerned through one or more of three methods. The most common is to specify landmarks bordering it, such as paths or streams, hedges or fences, springs or wells, and spots with local names.⁶⁸ Complementary practices were to enumerate neighbours of the property and to list its previous owners, providing a chain of ownership.⁶⁹ Note the reliance here on the physical and the personal: in village society, features of the terrain and members of the community, both generally known, offered sufficient precision to designate property without need for recourse to writing, and prior to the arrival of Celanova, transactions doubtless worked this way. But these charters were also witnessed by members of the village, and their names and roles are important to note. Some had a stake in the transaction: they are amongst those recorded as neighbours or prior owners of the property, including descendants of prior owners.⁷⁰ The interest of all parties in securing the sanction of these figures is clear, and ensuring their recollection of the transaction mattered as well. The 45 charters from Rabal are witnessed by

⁶⁸ *e.g.* CEL.138, CEL.141, CEL.143, CEL.162

⁶⁹ CEL.117, CEL.131-7, CEL.139-40, CEL.145-51, CEL.163, CEL.178.

⁷⁰ CEL.131-5, CEL.146, CEL.173.

165 individuals (or at least 165 different names), but 18 witnesses appear in the earlier subset recurrently, four to fifteen times each.⁷¹ This is how title to property was lodged in communal memory: identified and delimited by recognizable features of the land and references to key persons past and present, it was implanted in the consciousness of certain ‘interested observers’, a crucial group of other villagers, guardians of memory or, less grandly, those who were usually present at transactions. Perhaps they included local élites or possessors of some elevated status in the village: Gundesindo and Mito Gundesindi witness fifteen and thirteen charters respectively, while Ragiane and Vimara Ragianiz witness six and four, fathers seemingly passing on the responsibility for remembering to their sons.⁷² The local *ferrario* or blacksmith witnessed one case in 961, but otherwise the standing of these figures is not stated.⁷³ The four most regular witnesses, appearing twelve to fifteen times each, bear no titles; they were simply those who remembered, without need for the written record.

The arrival of Celanova in Rabal meant change. These charters which reveal the life of the village were produced for the monastery in the course of its acquisitions, and the only scribe named in the earlier subset, Nepotianus, is also attested as a *frater* who had planted a vineyard for Celanova in Rabal.⁷⁴ He was, in other words, an agent of the monastery, transplanted into the village, where he wrote at least one of its titles to property. But Celanova also went about documenting earlier transactions in Rabal which had not been documented: in 961, the former owner of some land then being sold to the monastery by its current owner was called on to confirm the charter of sale as well, as if to create a kind of ‘retrospective charter’ of her own previous and unwritten alienation of the same property, and thereby to prevent her from ever reclaiming it by appeal to memory.⁷⁵ And indeed, as the monastery built up its holdings in the

⁷¹ See fig. 23.

⁷² cf. R. Pastor, *Resistencia y luchas campesinas en la época del crecimiento y consolidación de la formación feudal. Castilla y León, siglos X-XIII* (2nd ed., Madrid, 1990), pp. 33-7.

⁷³ CEL.136.

⁷⁴ CEL.128, CEL.141.

⁷⁵ CEL.134.

village, it began making reference to its own charters of acquisition: when Celanova exchanged certain property in Rabal in 974, it noted a pair of charters by which it had acquired that property in 956 and 961, even naming their granters.⁷⁶ But if the monastery was ‘documenting’ the village, it is not simply a case of literate clergy arriving amongst the illiterate: there were already religious institutions in Rabal, present in the charters, a monastery of San Pelayo and a church of San Mamed.⁷⁷ Mirus *presbiter* was priest of the latter, or at least owned land near it, and he made three charters of sale to Celanova: when he identifies the previous owners of one of his vineyards, he makes no mention of having acquired it with any charter.⁷⁸ These religious institutions, enmeshed in the community and its memory, did not need written title to property any more than did the other villagers; if they did make use of charters, one would expect at least some trace of them being folded into the archives of the monastery as it amassed holdings here, since this is the pattern elsewhere, but Rabal was ‘unwritten’ until this point. When Celanova arrived, it purchased by charter, not only out of its own habitual practice but doubly essential here where it lacked a base in communal memory to defend its ownership rights. Imbalance resulted: the monks had written title to their property, a lasting means of proof which was, as we shall see, superior in the event of dispute. Contact and incentive; enlightened self-interest would have counselled the inhabitants of Rabal to take up the charter.

If this model of lateral diffusion is applied to the overall outline of the documentation, the expansion of estates, surmounting the local, becomes the driver of documentary practice in early medieval Iberia.⁷⁹ Who owned these estates is less important than their habit of building them by charter; at the start of the Leonese period, we can find both ecclesiastics and aristocrats who did so, not least the founders of Celanova. The story is one of a thousand particularities,

⁷⁶ CEL.178.

⁷⁷ CEL.125, CEL.130, CEL.136, CEL.143, CEL.163.

⁷⁸ CEL.130, CEL.135, CEL.143.

⁷⁹ Martínez, ‘Relaciones’, pp. 140-49, 179-85.

countless local instances of someone acquiring written title to property, giving the neighbours reason to turn to documentation: as estates expanded and landowners moved into communities where local memory had sufficed, the balance was upset in favour of charters.⁸⁰ We saw at the outset that this society was not being introduced to the written word: this society had been used to it for centuries (forget 711). Royal bureaucracy was not motivating the documentary habit, nor was the typology or complexity of charters fundamentally changing over time. Instead the written word was coming to this society, more and more, and in particular to the laity; exposed to it, they found reason to take up the text. When we come to look at the charter in practice, we shall see it promote its own use and the use of other written authorities, by drawing on and projecting a network of texts, and consistently proving the most secure means to obtain or defend property. What matters here is that once actors had the incentive to carry out their actions in charters, everything else followed: like the ups and downs of contemporary events, the literacy of any one actor was simply a constraint, for if the written word conferred advantage, society would see to it that arrangements for access were made.

⁸⁰ *cf.* Davies, *Acts*, pp. 207-13.

CREATING

Every charter is a product of the society which it seems to describe, but not necessarily a representative one. Who wrote the charter, by what means, and in what context? How was it made known more generally? After the fundamental question of why at all, these are the basic reportorial queries which must be made before a charter – indeed anything written – can serve as evidence for the world beyond its text, and I shall attempt to answer each in turn. When we look for the agents of literacy, we confront a near invisibility of primary literacy, of firsthand or personal writing and reading, amongst the parties and witnesses to transactions; in a society of secondary literacy, of secondhand writing and reading, of using the written word by remove, the scribe becomes the central figure of our enquiries. Yet there is something of the night about scribes, a persistently elusive anonymity which belies the centrality of their role: more than humble functionaries, but how much? If we pursue for whom they wrote, we can find a network of scribes stretching from the apex of society to its base. We can follow their working methods, operating in a framework of standardized language derived from earlier charters, but also with signs of regionalism, localism, even individualism in customizing texts to moments. But there is a more complicated dynamic at work, an organic relationship between parties, scribes, and witnesses which unfolds in the preparation and placement of the charter on the parchment, its relationship in time to the transaction which it documents, and the context of its confirmation, location as well as audience. The charter is not only a record of a transaction, but a complex convergence of people and places, looking forward and backward in time, inward and outward in content, and past the text to the speech encompassing it. In finding a home for the charter in the community behind it, we find instead a whole society organized around the written word at one remove: expecting and arranging to use it, and so gathering, watching, and listening.

i. Agents

One venerable approach to medieval literacy is to evaluate the marks of confirmation at the foot of charters, and where the evidence permits this can yield worthwhile results, but in Iberia there are difficulties.¹ As a case study, I have inspected the 84 originals from Sahagún: in 59 (70%) of them, all names and crosses of granters and witnesses were written by the hand of the charter itself, that is, by the scribe. Autograph names are confined to a monastic pact from Piasca, at least questionably a reflection of wider society, and perhaps to one witness in a testament; autograph crosses seem present in a further ten (12%) of the documents, but these marks are so minimal that no palaeographic assessment can be conclusive. Direct involvement in written confirmation was evidently not the norm, and when practised took the limited form of making a cross or even dotting one prepared by the scribe.² But the interest lies in the remaining thirteen (16%) charters: here the writer of the main text shifts to a ‘signature hand’, distinct but recognizable, for the subscriptions of the participants, in one case even crudely simulating *feci* by the names of the granters.³ This suggests that, notwithstanding the rarity of firsthand validation, it remained an expectation, for which a mode of compensation had developed; the signed charter, in other words, is a veil for a more complicated reality. The rhetoric of the text distracts us from this fact: *pagina stilo signamus*, claims Osorio Díaz in his testament to Sahagún in 986, just as Alfonso V confirms, *manu mea stilo*, a sale and donation

¹ C. Mendo Carmona, ‘La suscripción altomedieval’, *Signo*, 4 (1997), pp. 207-27; Casado de Otaola, ‘Escribir y leer’, pp. 118-22; Collins, ‘Literacy’, p. 125; G. Declercq, ‘Between Legal Action and Performance: the *firmatio* of Charters in the Early Middle Ages’, in *USML*, xxii, pp. 55-73; Everett, ‘Literacy’, p. 363; C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000* (London, 1981), pp. 124-7.

² SAH.79, SAH.87; cf. SAH.33, SAH.155, SAH.165, SAH.170, SAH.250, SAH.253, SAH.257, SAH.269, SAH.281, SAH.302; I.R. Pereira, ‘Symboles graphiques dans les chartes médiévales portugaises’, in P. Rück (ed.), *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden. Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik* (Sigmaringen, 1996), pp. 491-502; R. Conde and J. Trenchs Odena, ‘Signos personales en las suscripciones altomedievales catalanas’, in *ibid.*, pp. 443-52.

³ SAH.3; cf. SAH.4-5, SAH.39, SAH.52, SAH.78, SAH.96, SAH.153-4, SAH.228, SAH.242, SAH.311, SAH.407, SAH.426.

of 1012.⁴ Charters, we read, are ratified *sigillatim* or one by one, signed *per singula capita*, and granters are introduced as those *qui subscripta vel signa facturis sum*, or *qui subter notari vel signaturi facti sumus*, priming us to accept as personal the corresponding names, crosses, or other signs which follow.⁵ Yet when we look, we find something else entirely.

Not all granters affix signs to their charters: especially when husbands and wives grant them (even kings and queens), or parents and children, at times abbots and monks as well, there are often more names than signs in the confirmation. In 950, for example, Abbaz and Iaquinti, together with their wives, made a sale to San Cipriano del Condado, but only the two men are present as subscribers, and there is just one sign for them; in 963, similarly, Columba and her six children sold land to Eslonza, but she alone is identified as subscriber, alongside four signs.⁶ The temptation here is to draw inferences about literacy: that men were more able to write than women, likewise adults than children, men and adults were primary participants in charters, women and children secondary, writing ability was uneven amongst religious.⁷ All reasonable proposals, yet the evidence is not clear. In 988, two married couples sold a pair of vineyards to Velasco and his wife Leda: not only are there four names with just three signs in the confirmation, but these have also been made by one hand, with a common crossbar. Who should we conclude is literate? The passage from sign to signatory is further complicated by cases when signs exceed signatories in number, such as the sale by Hazan and Alvalide to Abellar in 990 to which the two granters seemingly affixed three marks of confirmation.⁸ Who made the third? Without knowing, how can we deploy it as evidence? On some occasions, extra

⁴ SAH.330; OLD.90; cf. CEL.91; SLM.99.

⁵ SMA.19; ACL.628; ACA.77; SDM.3; cf. STL.24; SDM.10; SJS.37; CEL.1-2, CEL.4; PMH.118.

⁶ ACL.221; SPE.28; cf. ACL.205, ACL.226-7, ACL.235, ACL.237, ACL.284, ACL.449, ACL.460, ACL.502, ACL.526, ACL.534, ACL.537, ACL.609, ACL.612, ACL.685, ACL.760; SAH.400; OLD.20, OLD.46, OLD.77, OLD.82, OLD.117, OLD.123, OLD.135, OLD.139, OLD.165-6, OLD.169, OLD.180, OLD.182; SPE.20; COV.2-3; OUR.1.

⁷ A. García Medina, 'Signos de validación de mujeres en la Alta Edad Media', in M.V. González de la Peña (ed.), *Estudios en memoria del Profesor Dr. Carlos Sáez* (Alcalá de Henares, 2007), pp. 85-94; Riesco Terrero, 'Diplomática', pp. 445-57.

⁸ ACL.542; cf. ACL.345, ACL.519, ACL.664, ACL.678, ACL.712, ACL.739, ACL.766; COR.8; PMH.196, PMH.214, PMH.243, PMH.268.

signs may reflect the intervention of other parties: in a sale by Salvatus and Framildi in 1031, for instance, his mother Toda suddenly appears for the first time in the confirmation, but even here we have four signs for three names.⁹ On other occasions, recipients as well as granters could take part in the confirmation, but mostly an explanation proves elusive.¹⁰

The same problematic can be posed for witnesses. We read that they are *pro roborem subter adnotantium*, recorded below for confirmation, and there we find that they *sunt firmes*: at times these are autograph subscriptions, such as those of Abbot Pedro, Bishop Ovecco, and three others beneath the testament of Diego Muñoz and his wife Tegridia from 940.¹¹ Suspicion arises, however, when in a charter of 988 we see a first set of four witnesses, all with signs but written by one hand, and a second set of eight witnesses, with only two signs and written by another hand, or in a document of 951 a list of twelve subscriptions, the first four and the last eight by different hands.¹² Who signs for these witnesses? When one name stands out in script or formula of confirmation, is this a lone autograph or a discreet identifier of the scribe?¹³ Once again, comparison of names and signs should caution against reading the ability to confirm for oneself straight off the parchment. Not all witnesses affix signs to charters: in a sale to Munio Flaínez and his wife Froyleva from 961, there are no signs beside any of the eight names, and in another sale of 1023 a priest is the only witness to have left a sign, yet in a third of 949 the priest is the only witness not to do so.¹⁴ Nor is it obvious what conclusions to draw about status and the ability to write a cross: beneath a royal diploma of 912 is a quartet of unqualified names with four signs and a trio of bishops with only two signs, but can this support a counterintuitive interpretation of lay versus episcopal aptitude for personal subscription?¹⁵ Inspect the originals

⁹ ACL.895; cf. ACL.267, OLD.14; SVO.18; SMA.8; CEL.92; PMH.180.

¹⁰ e.g. ACL.168, ACL.176, ACL.185, ACL.642.

¹¹ CEL.23; SJP.35; SRE.1; cf. SVO.18.

¹² OLD.29; ACO.24.

¹³ e.g. OLD.52; SPE.22; SVO.5; STL.4; CEL.4, CEL.7; PMH.28, PMH.67.

¹⁴ OLD.12, OLD.162, OLD.8; cf. OLD.87, OLD.105, OLD.110.

¹⁵ SPE.1; cf. SPE.2.

from Eslonza: sometimes there are fewer signs than names for ecclesiastical witnesses, sometimes for lay witnesses, more often both of them.¹⁶ This pattern holds for all originals: in a donation of 1020, it is the *primiclerus*, senior amongst the clergy present, who is one of four witnesses out of sixteen listed not to make a sign; consistently, or nearly so, there are more names than signs.¹⁷ Can we say only that some could put a cross beside their name, others not?

This is bound to be true, so far as it goes, but the evidence can take us a little farther. Mascito and Odo, making a donation to Eslonza in 929, handed their charter over to witnesses invited (*rogitas*) for confirmation: what follows is four blanks, yet each one is paired with the word *confirmans* and a sign, and below is another blank beside the title *presbiter* and a sign.¹⁸ The irresistible deduction is that the scribe had been led to expect five more witnesses, one of them a priest, than materialized in the event, and had prepared the text accordingly, or else that five witnesses had departed by time the scribe produced the text, and for this reason were not listed amongst the ones who had remained. This case is not an anomaly: I have counted, in my case study of the originals from Sahagún, fifteen (18%) with empty brackets, placeholders for additional witnesses.¹⁹ By no means are all documents formatted so, but it was a normal enough phenomenon, and it may explain, for example, the two erased witnesses, with only incomplete signs, in a charter of 974, and indeed some or many of those cases where the number of signs exceeds the number of names.²⁰ When this is taken together with the infrequency of autograph names and signs, the whole subscription section of the charter becomes something other than it seems: less a set of signatures by parties and witnesses than a roll call, an attendance register, a record of who was there, kept by the scribe, even if at times made to look like firsthand work

¹⁶ e.g. SPE.5-6, SPE.8-9, SPE.11, SPE.14, SPE.21, SPE.24, SPE.26, SPE.31, SPE.33.

¹⁷ ACO.42; cf. ACL.600; SAH.250, SAH.407; ACO.1, ACO.11, ACO.32, ACO.39-40; SMV.43; COR.10, COR.19; ACM.6; VDJ.4-5; OUR.3; SJS.S3; PMH.12, PMH.16.

¹⁸ SPE.10; cf. ACL.4; CDR.5.

¹⁹ SAH.80, SAH.125, SAH.164, SAH.170, SAH.221, SAH.228, SAH.251, SAH.264, SAH.266, SAH.269-70, SAH.302 [?], SAH.316-7, SAH.426; cf. C. Sáez Sánchez, 'Crismones en la documentación particular de la catedral de León del período astur (864-910)', in Rück (ed.), pp. 439-42.

²⁰ OLD.19; cf. COV.14; SJP.55.

in order to grant it rhetorical force. Such varieties of rhetorical emphasis, indeed, may also fit the occasional hints at secondhand subscription. Abbess Momadonna, in her testament of 1006, records that she *testes ad roborandum conscripsi*, or wrote out the witnesses for confirmation, while in a charter of sale to Valpuesta from 935, the witness list is followed by the name of Abbot Severi, *in cuius manus roboraberunt* (by whose hand they confirmed), a formula applied to either granters or witnesses in documents from this archive and others especially in the east.²¹ Collective intermediacy in executing the subscriptions is implied here, distinct from when we find one party acting *a persona de*, or on behalf of, another one in carrying out the transaction itself.²² Consider that the twelve witnesses in a dispute from the late tenth century *scribserunt conditiones sacramentorum per manum saioni*, whereas the *innocens*, or neutral third party who underwent the ordeal, and two bishops subsequently affix their signs *per manus meas*.²³ What we have are differences of emphasis: hardly anyone confirmed for himself or herself, but in some cases the text makes an effort to pretend the fiction of personal confirmation.

Where the more complex relationship between the parties to a charter and its scribe can be most readily appreciated is in the use of monograms or elaborate personal *signa* instead of simple crosses or other signs in subscriptions. Like many other rulers from across the early medieval world, the Asturian and Leonese kings, from at least the earliest originals of Silo and Ordoño I onward, confirmed their own diplomas, as well as private charters, by means of intricate symbols based on the letters of their names.²⁴ Every monogram for an Alfonso or a Ramiro is formed from the same elements, and can be read to communicate dynastic continuity;

²¹ SMC.129; SMV.13; cf. SMV.14, SMV.18, SMV.32, SMV.42, SMV.48; SMC.130; SSO.6, SSO.10; SPC.173; CEL.244.

²² SLM.64; e.g. STL.32; SLM.7; CEL.138; ACM.1; PMH.263; cf. ACL.643.

²³ SLM.109.

²⁴ ACL.1-2; R. Pacheco Sampedro, 'La tradición diplomática documental a partir del análisis de los signos y símbolos religiosos', in *Iglesia*, ii, pp. 776-97; *idem*, 'Arqueología archivística y documental', in *VI Congreso*, ii, pp. 59-85; J.M. Ruiz Asencio, 'Notas sobre la escritura y monogramas regios en la documentación real astur-leonesa', in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 274-95; P. Floriano Llorente, 'Los documentos reales del período astur. Su formulario', *AM*, 1 (1972), pp. 171-4; R. Pacheco Sampedro and M.E. Sotelo Martín, 'El "signum regis" (SR) distintivo de la monarquía asturleonense desde Alfonso III hasta Alfonso VII, y el origen de la cancillería real', in *Orígenes*, ii, pp. 419-38.

except a line or two, every monogram, however, is also the work of the scribe, not its referent, a commission of the king, executed by proxy, but with reference to other written acts under his name and those of his predecessors.²⁵ The monogram can thus be read as an emblem of royal authority in general, and we encounter in the *Fuero de León* a provision that anyone who should break this *sigillum* (here a figurative sign – the seal is a high medieval development) should pay 100 *solidi* and recompense what he had stolen just as if he had broken oath with the king.²⁶ Original royal diplomas rarely survive before the later tenth century, and there is a risk of circularity in reconstructing prior practice from single-sheet and cartulary copies, since they could be projecting a later tradition back in time, but we have originals from García I, Ordoño II, Fruela II, Alfonso IV, Ramiro II, and Ordoño III with monograms, alone or in company with their queens or princes.²⁷ Thereafter we are on firmer ground: Vermudo II, Alfonso V, and Vermudo III can be documented arranging for their monograms to be affixed to diplomas which survive as originals: both their own grants and in contemporary or posterior confirmation of those made by others.²⁸ Usage of monograms in the diplomas of the Navarrese kings presents more of a problem, owing to forgeries, and not until the reign of Sancho III can it be securely attested (albeit in only a single example).²⁹

Unlike elsewhere in contemporary Europe, however, monograms were also employed at all other levels of society.³⁰ Leonese bishops, especially from the second half of the tenth century onward, had their *sigillum* affixed to charters as granters, recipients, and witnesses, as

²⁵ C. Mendo Carmona, 'Signos y autógrafos reales en la documentación de la Catedral de León: el caso de los monarcas de nombre Ordoño', in D. Chieta and L. Pinelli (eds.), *Gli autografi medievali. Problemi paleografici e filologici* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 77-101.

²⁶ ACO.41 [16].

²⁷ SPE.1-2, SPE.5; SAH.22; SPE.6, SPE.9; CDR.63; ACL.298.

²⁸ Vermudo II: ACL.530, ACL.541, ACL.548-9; OLD.30; SPO.1. Alfonso V: ACL.581, ACL.588, ACL.707-8, ACL.741, ACL.754, ACL.748, ACL.760, ACL.767, ACL.770, ACL.788, ACL.806; OLD.90, OLD.101, OLD.124; CDA.x, CDA.33. Vermudo III: ACL.708, OLD.196.

²⁹ SMA.32; cf. SJP.16.

³⁰ M.I. Ostolaza, 'La validación en los documentos del occidente hispánico (s. X-XII). Del signum crucis al signum manus', in Rück (ed.), pp. 453-62; Riesco Terrero, 'Diplomática', pp. 457-69; Ruiz Asencio, 'Escritura', pp. 296-312; C. Sáez and A. García Medina, 'Los otros signos', *CEG*, 51/117 (2004), pp. 207-18; Pacheco Sampedro, 'Arqueología', p. 59.

well as to dispute settlements in which they were involved, although much of the evidence is in cartulary copies.³¹ They furthermore acted as confirmers of charters in which they were not involved, but which concerned parties and properties in the diocese, especially religious houses in the environs of León, their monograms standing here for their regional authority.³² Evidence for this practice in the west and the east is exiguous, but so is the survival of originals, and it may be wise to reserve judgement as to the localism of the phenomenon.³³ At one step down, abbots, again mainly Leonese, had their roles in the documentation, not only as parties but also as witnesses, attested by way of monograms: Abbot Pedro records affixing, in the rhetorical rather than real sense, the *sigillum* of his monastery of San Pelayo de Cerrato to a testament of 934 on behalf of his congregation and its future ownership of the property donated, so these may have been corporate as much as personal signs.³⁴ Some priests in León similarly made use of monograms, primarily when acting as witnesses, but also on a few occasions as recipients.³⁵ Deacons likewise could have personal devices based on their names, yet one may query the representativeness of this subset of the deaconate, since they are found deploying them mainly in royal diplomas, and one, Petrus Kendulfiz, was a scribe who became bishop of Astorga.³⁶ When eleven religious made a charter of unity to an Asturian monastery in 976, three of them had monograms affixed in confirmation, and they form part of the small set of other members of the clergy, of more obscure title, who made use of their own such signs.³⁷

³¹ ACL.220; cf. ACL.521, ACL.530, ACL.539, ACL.541, ACL.548, ACL.571, ACL.574, ACL.611, ACL.623, ACL.629, ACL.658, ACL.677, ACL.707-8, ACL.736-7, ACL.741, ACL.746, ACL.803, ACL.806; SAH.402; OLD.90, OLD.124; SPE.9.

³² ACL.514, ACL.587, ACL.617, ACL.618B, ACL.627, ACL.630, ACL.635, ACL.659, ACL.700-701, ACL.703, ACL.706, ACL.710, ACL.732, ACL.748, ACL.767, ACL.788, ACL.796; OLD.2, OLD.30, OLD.101; SPE.1-3, SPE.5, SPE.10.

³³ CDA.4; cf. SJP.44 [S?].

³⁴ SID.6 [I]; cf. ACL.7, ACL.531, ACL.544, ACL.549, ACL.640, ACL.788; SAH.384; SPE.6, SPE.9; COV.2; CDA.4.

³⁵ ACL.527; OLD.186; SPE.31; cf. ACL.88, ACL.138, ACL.531, ACL.666, ACL.708, ACL.732, ACL.736, ACL.767; RCV.3; OLD.11; SPE.1-2, SPE.5-6; SMV.3.

³⁶ ACL.865; cf. ACL.442, ACL.549, ACL.736; OLD.30; SPE.1-2, SPE.6; CDA.33; Ruiz Asencio, 'Escritura', pp. 298-303.

³⁷ OLD.20; cf. ACL.439, ACL.454, ACL.489, ACL.512, ACL.531, ACL.535, ACL.582, ACL.587, ACL.857.

There are, correspondingly, more than a few cases of men and women, members as far as one can judge of the laity, using monograms. While a minority are granters or witnesses to unexceptional transactions and have no marker of status, the majority appear in royal diplomas or bear titles such as count, judge, or majordomo, indicating that these are primarily from upper strata of society.³⁸ Described in one case as the *proceres palatii* and *onestissimi laici* of Alfonso IV, they participated regularly in documentation by virtue of their proximity to the court.³⁹ Our ability to assess the geographical spread of the practice is again determined by the concentration of originals in the centre. But socially the use of the monogram was unquestionably widespread, embracing royalty, clergy, and laity. This matters because it stands for a recurrent interaction with charters: to have a monogram known to a scribe, or to arrange for one to be designed by a scribe, signals a reality, or an expectation, of repeated recourse to the documentary process, and a desire to stand out in it from the others with only crosses. The monogram is the seal of early medieval Iberia: synecdoche for that sector of society which, without necessarily being personally literate, dealt frequently with the written word.⁴⁰ The most commonly attested users of monograms, indeed, are the scribes themselves. Some of the biggest names, like Cidi and Sampiro, have left more than a dozen, and familiar faces, such as Vivi and Fulgentius, nearly as many.⁴¹ Between three and five instances survive of the monograms of another ten scribes, and 103 are uniquely documented.⁴² The monogram carried a certain 'literate status': to have

³⁸ ACL.531, ACL.694; OLD.19; cf. ACL.530, ACL.548-9, ACL.587, ACL.729, ACL.837; SAH.407; RCV.3; OLD.196; SPE.1-2, SPE.5-6, SPE.8; CEL.302; CDA.4; SMV.3; COV.7; Ruiz Asencio, 'Escritura', pp. 296-8, 310-12.

³⁹ SPE.9.

⁴⁰ cf. Riesco Terrero, 'Diplomática', pp. 417-45; L. Casado de Otaola, 'Per visibilia ad invisibilia: representaciones figurativas en documentos altomedievales como símbolos de validación y autoría', *Signo*, 4 (1997), pp. 39-56.

⁴¹ Cidi: OLD.67-71, OLD.121, OLD.125, OLD.127, OLD.140, OLD.165, OLD.172, OLD.174, OLD.194. Sampiro: ACL.541, ACL.549-50, ACL.594, ACL.669, ACL.707-9, ACL.730, ACL.748, ACL.754, ACL.767; SAH.404. Vivi: ACL.647, ACL.854, ACL.856, ACL.866-8, ACL.870, ACL.877-8. Riesco Terrero, 'Diplomática', pp. 469-93; Ruiz Asencio, 'Escritura', pp. 303-7. Fulgentius: ACL.621, ACL.661, ACL.666, ACL.700, ACL.710, ACL.731, ACL.746, ACL.804.

⁴² OLD.75-6, OLD.105, OLD.183, OLD.189, OLD.110, OLD.117-20, ACL.777, ACL.803, ACL.857, ACL.860, ACL.893, ACL.608, ACL.618, ACL.658, ACL.827; SAH.427, ACL.558, ACL.604, ACL.617, ACL.698, OLD.37, OLD.90-91, OLD.175, OLD.177, OLD.191-3, ACL.556, ACL.561-2, ACL.605, SMV.38, SMV.40, SMV.43, OLD.151, OLD.164, OLD.176.

one meant association with those who habitually engaged in written affairs. Yet like the charter itself and its apparatus of confirmation, it was in the first place the work of the scribe.

So who was the scribe? Pursuit of this figure is a frustrating business. If we start out by looking once again for cases of writing for oneself, of granters or recipients who acted as their own scribes, we encounter contradictions like we did with subscriptions. Bishop Rosendo calls his testament of 977, preserved only in a cartulary copy, an *olografum* or holograph, and as no scribe is identified in the text, it could well be; comparably, Gotina Nunniz opens her testament of 1025 to Sahagún with the words *hunc textum nostrum seriem paginali stilo contexens* (that is, composing this our series of text with the pen of the page), just as the bishop of Pamplona asserts that he *exaravi* or noted down two royal diplomas of which he was the beneficiary in 1018 and 1031.⁴³ Other cases are ambiguous: when Iohannes *confessus* confirms his testament to San Vicente de León with the words *a me exaratum* in 1028, is he referring to the charter or his own confirmation?⁴⁴ How should we read any statement of authorship if Alfonso II declares that he has *contulit conscripsit firmavit* (granted, written out, confirmed) his testament of 812 by the *stilo conscriptionis nostre* (pen of our composition), yet at the end of it Iustus is named as its scribe?⁴⁵ Some recipients, nevertheless, do seem to have written their own charters. In a sale from 984 to Vita the *Ebreo* and his wife Vita, the scribe is named as Vitas, plausibly one of the two, while a sale to Lalano *presbiter* in 1001 was *scrisit* by a certain Lalano *presbiter*, and in the Liébana we see the priest Iohannes writing up two sales to himself in 1001.⁴⁶ In view of the rarity of the name, could the Argirigo *presbiter* who wrote a charter of sale to Celanova in 954 be the same as the Argirigu who made it alongside his wife and children?⁴⁷ On occasion even actors in disputes were their scribes, such as the judge Braolio who heard a case of battery

⁴³ CEL.185; SAH.415; ACP.9, ACP.11; cf. SMV.7; SJP.8; COR.4 [I]; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'El testamento monástico de San Rosendo', *HID*, 16 (1989), pp. 55-8.

⁴⁴ ACL.847; cf. STL.57; SMA.22; SVP.1.

⁴⁵ ACO.2 [I/F?]; but cf. COR.110.

⁴⁶ ACL.495; OLD.51; STL.78, STL.80; cf. ACL.687; OLD.3, OLD.19.

⁴⁷ CEL.106.

in 991 and *scripsi* the *plazum* resolving it, although there may admittedly have been more than one Braolio about.⁴⁸ This could all be one great onomastic coincidence: two charters addressed to the notary Sampiro in 1013, however, both lack a named scribe, but are written in his characteristic Visigothic cursive hand, recognizably his own work.⁴⁹

Once in a while this kind of firsthand literacy can be glimpsed in the writing of charters, especially those of the clergy and scribes, but secondhand composition is the norm. Vexingly, as with Sampiro above, scribes do not always identify themselves by name: why does Onorio *presbiter* record himself as the writer of a charter of sale dated to 28 August 1017, and yet on 18 May 1017 leave his monogram instead?⁵⁰ The problem is not this practice itself, but the fact that we possess a minority of originals to complement it with the evidence of hands. The scribe, indeed, is named in only 1574 (40%) of the total corpus of charters.⁵¹ There is a definite regional pattern, with a much greater incidence in the centre than the west (except Portugal) or the east especially (except Arlanza). Perhaps unexpectedly, scribes are most often named in lay charters and least in ecclesiastical ones, but neither typology nor complexity makes a great difference. The rate of scribal identification rises along the diplomatic scale from authentic to false, naming a scribe seeming to be an element of forgery, and declines along the palaeographic scale from original to late summary, evidently omitted frequently in the process of transmission, but even amongst originals a scribe is recorded in just over half. Both correlations must also underlie the uneven regional distribution: the centre has the fewest forgeries and most originals.

What can be said about scribes from this register of surviving names? The use of titles in scribal formulas is regular, but far from constant, and all scribes seem to have been members of the clergy: at least, none is discernibly a member of the laity.⁵² This fits, as we shall see,

⁴⁸ OLD.31; cf. ACL.677.

⁴⁹ ACL.715, ACL.717.

⁵⁰ OLD.109-10.

⁵¹ See fig. 24.

⁵² J.A. Fernández Flórez, 'Los documentos y sus *scriptores*', in *Monarquía*, ii, pp. 115-6; Riesco Terrero, 'Diplomática', pp. 365-70; *Condes*, pp. 90-91; cf. A.M. Mundó, 'Le statut du scribe en Catalogne du IX^e

with what little we know of contexts for education in the period, but if we recall that formal schooling is far from the only means of learning to write or read, there is no reason why some of the untitled scribes could not in fact be laymen, so we should probably hold off any grand judgements. The most common titles are *presbiter* and *diaconus*, which all but a handful of (titled) scribes apply to themselves at some point; others such as *clericus*, *confessor*, *confessus*, *conversus*, *frater*, *monachus*, and *sacerdos* are less so, while *episcopus*, *abba*, and *praepositus* are very rare, tending to be used only in transactions involving other senior ecclesiastics. More functional labels – *exarator*, *notarius*, *scriba*, and *scriptor* – are employed intermittently, on their own or in substitution for or combination with religious epithets, but they are also often applied to the scribes of forgeries, such as Gomessanus, Possidonius, Umbertus, and Velasco. Rarest of all are the ‘professional’ identifiers, notably *grammaticus*, *iudex*, and *magister*, which can convey some idea of what else these shadowy figures might have done. One distinction of apparently little significance is that between notary and scribe: Fulgentius, for example, in 22 recorded instances, calls himself *notarius* only once, roughly two-thirds of the way through his ‘career’, without any obvious contextual explanation or implications for his role.⁵³

Beyond a title or two, scribes have left us precious little with which to reconstruct their identities. Scribal colophons mainly take the form of brief and impersonal prayers or requests for prayers, apart from in a charter of donation from 1022 written by Citi *presbiter*, writer of 17 other documents: a second hand added a greeting *ego Fortes ppresbiter saluto vobis domno Citi ppresbiter* and appealed *multum et per multum memento nostri*.⁵⁴ Master and student? Not

aux XI^e siècle’, in M.-C. Hubert, E. Poulle, and M.H. Smith (eds.), *Le statut du scripteur au Moyen Âge. Actes du XII^e colloque scientifique du Comité international de paléographie latine* (Paris, 2000), pp. 21-8.

⁵³ Fernández Flórez, ‘Documentos’, pp. 106-10, 118-21; Riesco Terrero, ‘Diplomática’, pp. 370-75; cf. Á. Canellas López, ‘El notariado en España hasta el siglo XIV: estado de la cuestión’, in *Notariado público y documento privado: de los orígenes al siglo XIV. Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática* (2 vols., Valencia, 1989), i, pp. 105-6; M.P. Álvarez Maurín, ‘El léxico de la escritura en la documentación medieval asturleonense hasta 1230’, in *Latín III*, ii, pp. 523-8; C. Mendo Carmona, ‘La escritura de los documentos leoneses en el signo X’, *Signo*, 8 (2001), pp. 179-210; Davies, *Acts*, p. 99; N. Everett, ‘Scribes and Charters in Lombard Italy’, *SM*, 41/1 (2000), pp. 42-55; Zimmermann, *Écrire*, i, pp. 138-74.

⁵⁴ OLD.152.

much to go on. Scribes of charters could be copyists of books, and we meet Vigila of Albelda and Florentius of Valeránica in the documentation, both creators of famous manuscripts.⁵⁵ Some of the verbs in scribal signatures accordingly draw from the vocabulary of codicology: Florentius employs the term *depinxit*, for illumination, in a donation of 937 to San Andrés de Boada, while the scribes of a series of charters from Arlanza prefer *titulavit*, for rubrication.⁵⁶ There is no obvious difference in form or presentation between these and other examples in the same collection where the scribes use *exaravit*, originally denoting writing on wax tablets.⁵⁷ Perhaps it is simply romanticizing the drudgery of drafting with the wording of artistry. Other scribes chose to emphasize different aspects of their work, and we should accept a diversity of practice. At the end of a long charter of 929 confirming the foundation of a monastery, Petrus affixed his name, *qui hoc testamentum dictando percucurri*, but who wrote and who dictated?⁵⁸ Aloytus *diaconus et notarius* stated in a donation to Celanova of 941 that he *scribens dictavi*, repeating in its founding charter of the next year that he *dictavi et scripsi*, which may mean that he ‘took dictation’, even that dictation was synonymous with writing.⁵⁹ When Bishop Ovecco of León endowed San Juan de Vega de Monasterio in 950, the abbot Gundesindus confirmed *ubi presens fui et hec series a meo proprio bene dictata per manus of Adulfus diaconus*, the scribe, so we are plausibly seeing someone knowledgeable about the transaction explaining its terms to the writer as he casts it into shape.⁶⁰ Dictation was part of the act of writing: Ledantinus

⁵⁵ J.A. Fernández Flórez, ‘Un calígrafo-miniaturista del año mil: Vigila de Albelda’, *CA*, 16 (2000), pp. 162-80; J. Williams, ‘A Contribution to the History of the Castilian Monastery of Valeránica and the Scribe Florentius’, *MM*, 11 (1970), pp. 232-5; E. García Molinos, ‘Florencio de Valeránica, calígrafo y notario del siglo X’, in *RL*, xi, pp. 259-64, 381-414; J. Pérez de Urbel, ‘El monasterio de Valeránica y su escritorio’, in *Homenaje a Don Agustín Millares Carlo* (2 vols., Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1975), ii, pp. 71-90; cf. J.A. Fernández Flórez, ‘Escribir, en León-Castilla, en la época medieval’, in *Viajes y viajeros en la España medieval. Actas del V Curso de Cultura Medieval* (Madrid, 1997), pp. 158-61.

⁵⁶ SPA.14; cf. SPA.6, SPA.8, SPA.13, SPA.23-4,

⁵⁷ SPA.5, SPA.25-6; cf. ACL.520; OLD.188; SPE.33; SMV.26; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 99-100.

⁵⁸ SPE.9.

⁵⁹ CEL.65, CEL.72; cf. Álvarez Maurín, ‘Léxico’, pp. 528-30.

⁶⁰ ACL.220; cf. CEL.198; Davies, *Acts*, p. 101.

presbiter and Sempronia *testamentum nostrum condidi scrivendum dictavi* in 951, and we find at its close the subscription of Ermegildus Menendus *presbiter qui unc scripsit*.⁶¹

Scribes underlined a variety of actions in their confirmations. Some made it clear that they were copying the text: *iterum notavit*.⁶² Others drew attention to the totality of the writing process, a *testamentum a me conscriptum*, or to the particular type of that writing, as in a notice or inventory from 924 which *notas fecit*, or even to the basic unit of that process: *hanc cartam scribi et per alfabetum divisi*.⁶³ Scribes could also variously emphasize their specific role in the transaction itself, and in a royal diploma of 955, we find Menzius *presbiter et notarius scribsit et pro testis*, a dual function as both writer and witness which another scribe in a charter of 955 expressed simply as *exscripsit et ic preses fuit*.⁶⁴ The act of witnessing might be recorded, as by Egilanem *sacerdos* who *quod vidi manu propria notuit*, or auditing, as by Simplicius *diaconus* who wrote *quod audivi et vidi*.⁶⁵ The point is that the scribe was intimately involved in what he set down: Romanus *presbiter qui interfuit*.⁶⁶ He was there, moreover, by invitation; there is something defensive about Urno *presbiter qui hanc carta rogatus non presumtus scripsit*, who wrote this charter by request, not presumption.⁶⁷ Perhaps it is a kind of scribal insurance policy to stress working by commission, just as Vermudo *scripsit per mandatum de*, or wrote at the order of, the signatories of a pact in 1009, and the granters of a donation in 850 stipulated that *rogabimus fratrem Galindonem qui pro nobis scriptor accessit*.⁶⁸ Relationship between party and scribe was thereby delineated, but at times there must also be a claiming of status. Sampiro and others intermittently identified themselves as *notarius regis*, and with an element of self-congratulation Bishop Sancho of Pamplona wrote *sub prefati regis imperio pulsus et culmine*

⁶¹ ACO.24.

⁶² CDV.2.

⁶³ SPE.1; PMH.27; SJP.13; cf. CEL.111.

⁶⁴ CEL.110; SAH.366; cf. SPA.10; CEL.3; PMH.138; Fernández Flórez, 'Documentos', pp. 121-2.

⁶⁵ CEL.304; SLM.7; cf. CEL.326.

⁶⁶ ACA.180; cf. ACA.225; SMC.170.

⁶⁷ ACH.12; cf. ACL.11; ACO.27; ACH.8.

⁶⁸ SDM.20; SJP.5.

fretus, referring to the command and support of Sancho III, while Bishop Jimeno was present on another occasion *quia ille fecit scribere istam cartam suo notario*, to direct the scribe.⁶⁹

The scribal note on a donation of 918, however, that Recemirus *presbiter* both *incoavit* and *consumavit* or started and finished the charter, is a reminder that division of scribal labour was a possibility, and we see on occasion more than one scribe credited in the text.⁷⁰ Some of these cases are the result of posterior confirmations, or of copies produced in that context or else in the compilation of cartularies.⁷¹ But what about when we encounter *fratri Munnio iudex et notuit* followed by the name and monogram of Sampiro in a charter not written in his hand, or Ascarius *presbiter notuit in Pravia* before Sampiro *quasi presbiter et notarium regis*, or a pair of names both *qui et notuit*, or indeed Fulientius *notuit* alone on an original definitely not his work?⁷² There is a discreet message here about the practical relationships existing amongst scribes, about the arrangements made by them, in this case in the royal context, since all these examples are diplomas: one hypothesis could be a senior supervisory scribe, such as Sampiro, and a junior apprentice who did the work, such as the unnamed writer of the final example, or who was on site like Ascarius or discharging some additional function like Munnio the judge. Other cases in which one scribe *exaravit* and another *scripsit* or *notuit* could connote something else, that the former produced a rough draft and the latter the final version, especially so in the case of charters with a pronounced element of visual presentation.⁷³ This is even more probable when the verbs describe contrasting functions, such as *titulavit* and *scripsit*, *pinxit* and *scripsit*, or *pernotavit* and *exaravit*, which align neatly with finalizing versus drafting; in an interpolated testament to Antealtares of 932, there are even three scribes, who *scripsi*, *notuit*, and *exasserit*, evoking a particularly involved production.⁷⁴ Direct collaboration, however, is a rarer bird, and

⁶⁹ ACP.11; SJP.34; *cf.* SMA.29, SMA.32; SJP.41; ACH.7; ACP.4.

⁷⁰ CEL.13.

⁷¹ OLD.196; SAH.308, SAH.328; COR.110; COR.132; *cf.* COR.77 [I], COR.127 [I].

⁷² ACL.541; SPO.1; ACL.530, ACL.788; *cf.* ACL.45.

⁷³ ACL.754; CEL.242; PMH.254.

⁷⁴ ACL.712; SID.7; SAH.426; COR.33 [I].

attested only a handful of times. In a donation by Audisenda to San Salvador de Matallana in 989, there is a clear change of hands just shy of halfway through the text, but only *fratre* Bellite is identified as scribe at the end, whereas in another testament from 1006 two lines toward the middle are the work of a second hand.⁷⁵ The remaining examples are confined to changes of hand amidst lists of subscriptions and the addition by second hands of subsequent stages of the transaction; otherwise, scribes worked alone, at least in the last phase of composition.⁷⁶

The most important question to answer in assessing the identity of scribes, however, is who employed them. If we return to our list of 1574 scribal names, some 567 (36%) turn out to be unique, encountered just the once, curtailing what can be said about their bearers. Since each of the names on the remaining 1007 charters appears more than once, these can in contrast be grouped together to form scribal ‘profiles’. Yet grouping is fraught with difficulties: multiple scribes may be disguised behind identical names, or one concealed by variant spellings of the same name; given the minority of originals in the corpus, palaeography will never resolve all the uncertainties. Any application of controls, moreover, risks predetermining the results with our own preconceptions, and this is where ‘the history of the strangely named’ is instructive. If we were tempted, for instance, to set a period of thirty years, a generation, as a working limit for a scribal career, to bracket off similar names into groups, Sampiro would caution against it, for he first appears writing a royal diploma in 977, and last making a donation in 1042, but is this typical, unusual, or unique?⁷⁷ If we were to set a fairly local sphere of operations for each scribe in order to distinguish between similar names in different collections, where would that leave another figure of unusual name, Arias *presbiter et confeso exarator filius Telloni*, who wrote charters in Oviedo and Sahagún, or Petrus Kendulfiz *diaconus*, who wrote diplomas in

⁷⁵ ACL.531, ACL.664; J.M. Ruiz Asencio, ‘Notas sobre el trabajo de los notarios leoneses en los siglos X-XII’, in *Orígenes*, i, pp. 115-8.

⁷⁶ ACO.24-5; OLD.29, OLD.137, OLD.162.

⁷⁷ DRA, pp. 661-6.

both Lugo and Otero de las Dueñas?⁷⁸ Where the documents were originally written is of course another matter from where they are now, but often we cannot know since the text gives no location, and to assume regionalism in scribal practice is to impose it on the evidence. Sampiro also cautions against using recurrence of similar parties or types of parties from one transaction to another as a discriminator of scribal identities: archetype of the royal notary he may be, yet one-quarter of his charters from before 1031 involve non-royal actors.⁷⁹ If we presume rigid categories of scribal employment in our approach, that is only what we shall discover.

Yet there is little alternative but to try to categorize on such bases. I have grouped all scribal names appearing more than once by attending to ranges of dates and sites which seem reasonable and making reference to the persons and institutions acting as parties and witnesses to the transactions, while keeping in mind the caveats above and seeking to be flexible. The result is a tolerable degree of security – nothing more. This is not even to mention the fact that, since a scribe may identify himself in one charter but not the next, the corpus of documentation which we assign to any given scribe likely underrepresents his total output. But it is a place to start. Scribes may be divided into five basic categories by the identities of their employers, and these fully span the strata of society. At the top, there are royal scribes: the best known by far is Sampiro, notary, chronicler, and finally bishop of Astorga, who wrote seventeen charters in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, mostly for Vermudo II and his immediate successors, but not exclusively so.⁸⁰ Sampiro was evidently senior amongst the scribes who wrote for the king, since we find him identified as the scribe of two versions of the same diploma of 991, yet these are clearly written by two different persons, the more functional precept in a business hand, the more formal privilege by the man himself.⁸¹ He also participated in some of these transactions, acting as the *saio* in a dispute held before Alfonso V in 1008 and recording the

⁷⁸ SVO.16; SAH.268; CDA.33; OLD.196; Ruiz Asencio, 'Escritura', pp. 298-303.

⁷⁹ ACL.669, ACL.709, ACL.715, ACL.717.

⁸⁰ *Sampiro*, pp. 11-125.

⁸¹ ACL.549-50.

settlement.⁸² He moved, moreover, in the royal entourage, and we find him in the company of the same king on visits to Sahagún in 1012 and 1018, again the writer of the diplomas which resulted; his earliest surviving charter, indeed, is for the same monastery, perhaps hinting at his background.⁸³ Sampiro made a tidy profit from his career, and Vermudo II and Alfonso V bestowed rewards of land on *sacerdoti et famulanti nostro* and *fidelem et notarius meus* in 998 and 1023.⁸⁴ Harder to categorize is Fulgentius *presbiter*, who wrote 22 charters between 995 and 1030, but only three of them royal diplomas, the majority for ecclesiastics.⁸⁵ Yet we find him accompanying Alfonso V to Congosto to record an *agnitio vel placito* in 1017, and Sobrado two weeks later to confirm a charter of 966.⁸⁶ If royal scribes did not serve kings exclusively, it is inaccurate to speak institutionally of a ‘royal chancellery’; there were simply scribes who wrote royal diplomas from time to time, some (but not all) more often than not.⁸⁷

At one level down, there are episcopal scribes, poorly attested. Florentius *presbiter*, who wrote four charters for the see of Mondoñedo from 911 to 922 is the sole clear case, but two of them seem, on closer inspection, to be (well-informed) forgeries.⁸⁸ Another candidate is Ababdella *presbiter*, who wrote up a sale at a church of San Martín in 943 and is identified in another charter as the *cellarario* of Bishop Ovecco of León.⁸⁹ As a rule, however, when we look at the bishops of León, they employed the same scribes as Leonese monasteries, and the monastic scribe is in fact the most commonly attested type in the corpus, even if this may be an artefact of the majority of monastic archives in its composition. We can reconstruct some scriptoria in detail: there are 33 charters dating to between 980 and 1030 from Santillana del Mar in Cantabria, for instance, and 26 of them bear names of four different scribes (Cissilani,

⁸² ACL.669.

⁸³ ACL.707; SAH.404; cf. SAH.287.

⁸⁴ ACL.581, ACL.802.

⁸⁵ ACL.737, ACL.788, ACL.871.

⁸⁶ CDA.vii; SLM.98.

⁸⁷ Ruiz Asencio, ‘Escritura’, pp. 268-71; Collins, ‘Literacy’, pp. 124-5; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 93-5; cf. Rodríguez Fernández, *Ramiro II*, pp. 524-9; *DRA*, pp. 217-33.

⁸⁸ PMH.17; VD.J.3; ACM.3 [F], ACM.5 [F].

⁸⁹ ACL.162, ACL.167; cf. ACA.192.

Ermegildo, Iohannes, Petrus) who, so far as we can see, wrote solely for that institution. In less isolated circumstances, however, the norm was for monastic scribes to write periodically for other parties as well, after a model recognizable from the Carolingian world of monks supplying the skills of writing to wider society beyond the walls of the monastery.⁹⁰ Ordonius *presbiter*, for example, wrote not only for Santiago de León in the early eleventh century, but also for Abellar, San Miguel de León, and a brother and sister making a sale to a priest in 1019, while Ferro *presbiter* drafted a lay transaction in 955 before writing on behalf of Sahagún and Santiago de Cellariolo until 967.⁹¹ Adulfus *diaconus Gendoni* seems to have been a Leonese ‘scribe-at-large’, responsible during the 920s for diplomas to Abellar, Sahagún, Valdevimbre, even Compostela, and, if it is the same figure (these are mainly cartulary copies and he seldom uses his patronymic), charters to monasteries and the see from 943.⁹²

How did a monastery come to employ a particular scribe? Adulfus appears to have had a kind of joint property ownership with Abellar as of 929, which could relate to him working for that monastery, but he had also purchased land around the city of León by 939, so simple proximity could equally be the explanation.⁹³ Albine *presbiter* wrote up two testaments to San Salvador de Matallana at the monastery itself in 1026, just as Ansedeus *presbiter*, who recorded a gift to San Martín de Turieno in 963, is named in the address amongst its brothers, so some monastic scribes may have been in house.⁹⁴ Egila and Orbanus, indeed, pop up as witnesses to, or even granters of, charters to Sahagún, as well as acting as its scribes, while Veremudus, who recorded a sale to the same in 949, operated as its purchasing agent on three other occasions in that year.⁹⁵ Barocellus *presbiter*, in contrast, wrote primarily for Santos Justo y Pastor during

⁹⁰ McKitterick, *Carolingians*, pp. 77-134; cf. *Condes*, pp. 91-4.

⁹¹ ACL.764; SAH.366; but cf. ACL.125.

⁹² Fernández Flórez, ‘Documentos’, pp. 110-15, 116-8, 135.

⁹³ ACL.84, ACL.134.

⁹⁴ ACL.832-3; STL.67; cf. ACL.600; SAH.310.

⁹⁵ Egila: SAH.17, SAH.15. Orbanus: SAH.42, SAH.48, SAH.53. Veremudus: SAH.117; cf. SAH.115-6, SAH.118.

the 950s, yet in a sale to his monastery in 952 he appears as a witness from Santa Marina, while confirming a sale to Valdevimbre a few months before and possibly acting as scribe for Abellar in 954, so we need to allow for a fairly wide range of experience; not all monastic scribes had a monastic base, any more than they were all monks.⁹⁶ In some cases, however, we can see a monastic career play out: Citaius *presbiter* writes for Abellar in 952, accepts its *patrocinium* in 955, witnesses a testament to Abellar the same year, acts on its behalf in a sale of 968, and by 972 has become abbot, while Vivi *presbiter* seems to have ended up as abbot of Valdevimbre in the early eleventh century; similarly, Aloytus *diaconus*, in the course of writing charters for Celanova over more than two decades, rises to become its *praepositus* by 954.⁹⁷ The monastery, like the king, could employ whoever was to hand to write its charters.

The aristocratic or household scribe comes into view only in those rare instances when a lay archive survives in quantity, as at Otero de las Dueñas. In the early eleventh century, for example, Cidi *presbiter* and Citi *presbiter*, near homonyms but separate scribes, wrote at least seventeen and eighteen charters respectively, all but two and five for Count Pedro Flaínez (the latter scribe even acting as his judicial agent on at least two occasions); almost every one is preserved in the original, so one can build palaeographic, diplomatic, and linguistic profiles for both figures.⁹⁸ The other great archival aristocrat, Count Fruela Muñoz, can likewise be traced employing Christoforus, Eterus, Onorio, and Sescuto, to write his charters, albeit less regularly, on five, five, six, and seven occasions.⁹⁹ The ecclesiastical vocation of these scribes is another testament to clerical provision of literate services to wider society, and the consistency with

⁹⁶ ACL.254, ACL.247, ACL.265.

⁹⁷ Citaius: ACL.256, ACL.288, ACL.293, ACL.408, ACL.417; cf. ACL.210, ACL.219. Aloytus: CEL.104. cf. SLM.106; PMH.154; Fernández Flórez, 'Documentos', pp. 132-3; C. Álvarez Álvarez, 'El monasterio de Valdevimbre (siglos IX-XII)', in *Escritos*, i, p. 52.

⁹⁸ OLD.73, OLD.149; cf. OLD.174; M. Herrero de la Fuente and J.A. Fernández Flórez, 'Cidi, "scriptor" de documentos altomedievales del fondo monástico de Otero de las Dueñas', in *Escritos*, i, pp. 651-88; *idem*, 'Documentos', pp. 124-6; J.A. Puentes Romay, 'Un notario leonés del siglo XI', in *Homenaje*, pp. 519-36; *idem*, 'Notarios leoneses altomedievales y fórmulas documentales', *Euphrosyne*, 33 (2005), pp. 235-46; cf. *idem*, 'Caracterización de los rasgos lingüísticos de un notario altomedieval. Problemas y un ejemplo', in *Latín III*, ii, pp. 679-86; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 95-6.

⁹⁹ cf. J.A. Puentes Romay, 'Documentos y notarios leoneses del ámbito de Viñayo', in *Latín IV*, pp. 769-80.

which they serve single employers, not absolute but greater than for monastic scribes, fits a model of such scribes living primarily in the aristocratic household, or at the least forming a functional component of the aristocratic retinue. By way of control, in the roughly seventy charters in this archive which do not correspond to either count or his family, only Sescuto appears with any regularity (twice).¹⁰⁰ How this employment worked out in practice could be complicated, so we find Addaulfus *presbiter* writing a pair of charters for the Galician aristocrats Hermegildo and Paterna in 943 and 945 before spending the next thirty years of his career acting as scribe for their own foundation of Sobrado, while Ansedeus *presbiter*, whom we have met in the service of San Martín de Turieno, also wrote for Savarico and his wife Vistrilli, direct relations of Abbot Opila.¹⁰¹ Scribal categories should not be seen as discrete, but simply as denoting the balance of their service; whom one knew and how counted for more.

The most elusive scribes are those of the village or locality, visible in the documentation only when it is particularly dense.¹⁰² In 926 and 928, for instance, the Leonese scribe Stephanus *presbiter* wrote two charters of exchange between members of the laity concerning property in Marialba, where he himself is recorded acquiring property by exchange in 926 and 943.¹⁰³ He also acted as scribe for a series of transactions involving land in or around Marialba and the monastery of Abellar between 942 and 954, including an exchange by Furtunio and his wife Speciosa in 950 and a sale by their sons Felix and Fruela four years later, but as his property indicates, he was not a monastic agent passing through the area: he wrote one donation of 951 *in conventu Sancte Marie Albe*, in the local parish church.¹⁰⁴ Village scribes were probably the most common type of scribe, in fact, underlying the many names attested uniquely, and hints

¹⁰⁰ OLD.156, OLD.159.

¹⁰¹ Addaulfus: SLM.60, SLM.62; *cf.* SLM.73, SLM.100, SLM.104. Ansedeus: STL.64; *cf.* STL.60, STL.63, STL.67.

¹⁰² W. Davies, 'Local Priests and the Writing of Charters in Northern Iberia in the Tenth Century', in Escalona and Sirantoine (eds.), pp. 29-44; *eadem*, *Acts*, pp. 96-8.

¹⁰³ ACL.69, ACL.78, ACL.70, ACL.161.

¹⁰⁴ ACL.209, ACL.282, ACL.236; *cf.* ACL.150, ACL.178, ACL.319.

of their existence appear everywhere, if only hints: Migael *presbiter*, who *in conventum eglesie Sancti Adriani* wrote up a sale of land in Vega de San Adrián in 1000, or Servandus *presbiter*, neighbour of Salamona, who twice acted as her scribe in 1005, one of a number of examples of local scribes observable in León, Sahagún, Otero, and Celanova.¹⁰⁵ We may also hazard that, when a witness to one transaction reappears writing another with similar parties, we are also in the presence of a local scribe, such as Ermoigius in the documents of Argemundo and his wife Recoire in 857 and 861, or when a judge like Braolio *presbiter* of Valdoré writes up sales in the area as well as dispute settlements.¹⁰⁶ Gundemarius *notarius*, therefore, who *scripsi in villa Peraria* a donation of property there in 916, was doubtless a village scribe, and the same applies to Aloytus *diaconus de Mendunito* in 936; the Nepotianus who had planted a *vinea* in Rabal by 960 similarly wrote a sale there in 961, while an aside, *ubi ego modo Fredenando abitavi*, in a charter of 1001 makes most sense if the witness Fredenando was also its scribe.¹⁰⁷

Literacy was always in reach.¹⁰⁸ Royal, episcopal, monastic, and aristocratic scribes, all carved out mobile careers, writing for a variety of actors with a variety of territorial interests, against a background of village scribes called on as and when local business required it. If the careers of local scribes were characterized by a greater variety of actors and a lesser variety of territorial interests, we should nevertheless not imagine each one in possession of a regional monopoly. Parties could employ scribes consistently, but also on an *ad hoc* basis: Menicio and his wife Avola, who made six purchases of land in Villa de Monna from 894 to 914, engaged Fruela *presbiter* and Zezus *presbiter* once each and Severus *presbiter* twice, the remaining two cases lacking scribal names.¹⁰⁹ Nuno Sarrazinez and his wife Gudigeva, in contrast, used the

¹⁰⁵ Migael: ACL.593. Servandus: ACL.645-6; *cf.* ACL.644, ACL.647. ACL.673, ACL.757; SAH.47, SAH.54, SAH.92, SAH.399, SAH.416 [?]; OLD.158; CEL.286.

¹⁰⁶ Ermoigius: SAH.1-3. Braolio: OLD.19, OLD.26, OLD.31, OLD.34, OLD.43; *cf.* OLD.13-6, OLD.33.

¹⁰⁷ CEL.12, CEL.52, CEL.128, CEL.141, CEL.249.

¹⁰⁸ *cf.* N. Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, 2001), p. 240.

¹⁰⁹ ACL.9, ACL.14, ACL.25-6, ACL.32-3; *cf.* ACL.13.

scribe Maternus three times between 960 and 972, yet opted for Petrus in a donation of 962.¹¹⁰ Personal relationships again mattered: husbands and wives shared scribes, like Munio Flaínez and Froileova, as did families like that of Bishop Rosendo.¹¹¹ But competition amongst scribes is a potential inherent in the density of their availability, and indeed its single most important implication, for the coexistence of *ad hoc* and consistent scribal service can point us toward a fundamental development of the tenth century and early eleventh.¹¹² From 911 to 1031, the rate at which the name of a scribe is recorded in a charter increases from just over 30% to just under 60%, as if witnessing a consolidation in the scribal profession.¹¹³ This does not merely reflect a greater survival of originals over time, because there is a corollary trend to support it. If we divide scribal names into three broad categories of regularity, authors of one, two to four, and five or more surviving charters, all subject to the same broad margins of error applying to all questions of scribal identity, there is a clear change beginning around 970 or 980: it becomes steadily more common for the writer of a document to have written other surviving documents, such that by 1031 some 30% of the charters are the work of scribes with five or more to their name.¹¹⁴ Beneath this society of secondhand interaction with documentation, via a network of scribes spanning from king to peasant, there is a slowly shifting foundation. We can perceive a transition over time, even as the number of charters preserved increases, from the occasional to the career scribe as the norm, and we shall see that this brought with it revolutionary changes in how the employers of these scribes employed the written word in turn.

¹¹⁰ ACL.353; cf. ACL.331, ACL.335, ACL.420.

¹¹¹ OLD.6; SAH.107-8, SAH.124, SAH.189, SAH.205; e.g. CEL.28, CEL.64.

¹¹² cf. Canellas López, 'Notariado', pp. 105-6.

¹¹³ See figs. 25-6.

¹¹⁴ See figs. 27-9.

ii. Processes

The primary agents of text were the scribes, but by what processes did they set about producing charters? The hiatus of barely a generation between the Arab conquest of Iberia and the first surviving documents from the Christian kingdoms is a reminder that we are not dealing with a new written culture but its continuance, and so too is the persistence of the language of the Visigothic formulary, thought to be a compilation of the early seventh century and referring back to late Roman models.¹¹⁵ The connection between the formulary and the charters has long been recognized, and there is no need to belabour the point.¹¹⁶ The consequent linguistic time warp leaps off the parchment: citation of the *Lex Aquilia*, granting validity to all documents, in a charter from Valpuesta of 894, or manumission from servitude to ‘Roman citizenship’ by the words *licentiam tribuo civium Romanorum consequi privilegium*, in Galician documents; even to term the wife *dulcissime* in a *dotis titulum*, and to give her *pueros* and *puellas* in sets of ten, directly reflects a Visigothic model.¹¹⁷ Some editors have proposed restoring ‘corrupt’ charters with reference to the appropriate formula, and one can see the argument.¹¹⁸ Certain documents seem to emerge verbatim from the formulary, especially the *condiciones sacramentorum* of disputes.¹¹⁹ In many cases, however, the resonance is limited, such as to the formula for dating by regnal year, which we find fully, *anno feliciter glorie regni nostri*, in a diploma of Alfonso III from 905, but also limited to *feliciter*, standard across the early medieval west.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ E. Córcoles Olaitz, ‘About the Origin of the *Formulae Wisigothicae*’, *AFDUC*, 12 (2008), pp. 199-221.

¹¹⁶ *FV*, pp. 71-112; Fernández Flórez, *Elaboración*, pp. 68-78; *idem*, ‘La génesis documental: desde las pizarras visigodas y la Lex Romana Wisigothorum al siglo X’, in N. Ávila Seoane, M.J. Salamanca López, and L. Zozaya Montes (eds.), *VIII Jornadas Científicas sobre Documentación de la Hispania altomedieval (siglos VI-X)* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 89-117; A. García-Gallo, ‘Los documentos y los formularios jurídicos en España hasta el siglo XII’, *AAMN*, 22/1 (1980), pp. 113-78; C. Codoñer, ‘Léxico de las fórmulas de donación en documentos del siglo X’, *Emerita*, 40 (1972), pp. 141-9.

¹¹⁷ e.g. *SMV.7* (*FV* 1, 6-7, 20); *SJS.25*, *SJS.37*, *CEL.76* (*FV* 2-6); *SLM.17*, *CEL.24* (*FV* 20, 23); Martínez Díez, ‘Instituciones’, pp. 104-7; Collins, ‘Literacy’, p. 117.

¹¹⁸ *ACL.5*; *SPM.7-13*; *FV* 8.

¹¹⁹ *FV* 39; Fernández Flórez, *Elaboración*, pp. 108-15; *idem*, ‘Documentos’, pp. 136-7.

¹²⁰ *ACL.18*; *FV* 1, 7, 20, 25, 39; cf. *ACL.753*; *SAH.9*; *SPE.5*; *SID.1*, *SID.7*; *SMA.3*; *SDC.11*, *SDC.26*; *CEL.9*, *CEL.72*; *VEG.1*. *SAH.68*; cf. *SAH.87*; *STL.13*; *SPC.14*; *SJS.10*; *CEL.95*.

The charters therefore speak the language of the Visigothic formulary, but the problem with hypothesizing that scribes used it to write them is the almost total absence of evidence for the circulation of any such book of models. In contrast to the number and variety of formularies extant from the Carolingian world, just this one has been preserved in Iberia, aside from a few fragments in marginalia and a unique example from tenth-century Catalonia.¹²¹ And while the language of the formulary is certainly of Visigothic vintage, since it can be readily paralleled in slate charters from the period, it survives only in an early modern copy of a lost manuscript compiled by noted forger Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, conceivably in furtherance of his schemes; indeed, the *anno feliciter* dating formula is also frequently found in falsifications.¹²² Absent a trace of other contemporary formularies, it is safer to presume that old charters normally served as models for new ones, and to consider scribal practice in this light.¹²³ Such is consistent with royal dating formulas taken as a whole, rather than just the Visigothic subset: some 1322 (34%) of the charters are dated by reign, at a rate which fluctuates between 20% and 40% but broadly holds.¹²⁴ From the numbers, it is apparent that the practice was profoundly regionalized, which fits scribes doing as their predecessors had done; it is almost nonexistent in the west, while much more common in Cantabria and surprisingly in the east, where we typically assume the Navarrese kings to have been weaker. Around León, more than anywhere else, scribes followed a pattern of dating by regnal year with consistency but in a wide variety of forms.¹²⁵

¹²¹ R.P. Robinson, *Manuscripts 27 (S. 29) and 107 (S.129) of the Municipal Library of Autun. A Study of Spanish Half-Uncial and Early Visigothic Minuscule and Cursive Scripts* (New York, 1939), pp. 71-3; M. Zimmermann, 'Un formulaire du X^e siècle conservé à Ripoll: édition critique', *Faventia*, 4/2 (1982), pp. 25-86; *idem*, 'L'acte privé en Catalogne aux IX^e et X^e siècles: portée sociale, contraintes formelles et liberté d'écriture', in P. Erhart, K. Heidecker, and B. Zeller (eds.), *Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit* (Zürich, 2009), pp. 203-6; *idem*, *Écrire*, i, pp. 246-84; A. Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae, c. 500-1000* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 9-40; *eadem*, 'Charters, Law Codes and Formulae: the Franks between Theory and Practice', in P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: the Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 8-20; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 100-101.

¹²² e.g. ACO.15-6 [F]; ACL.20 [F].

¹²³ Fernández Flórez, *Elaboración*, pp. 78-81; cf. Everett, 'Scribes', pp. 63-73.

¹²⁴ See figs. 30-32.

¹²⁵ e.g. ACL.38, ACL.247, ACL.482; ACA.8; cf. ACL.41-3, ACL.73, ACL.75-6, ACL.93, ACL.256, ACL.401, ACL.865; SAH.101, SAH.245, SAH.250; ACA.71; SPE.1-2, SPE.9; STL.22; SMV.3; SDC.17; SJS.23; SLM.95, SLM.106; CEL.91; SER.1.

Finer distinctions of practice begin to emerge if we look at charters dated by reign only, rather than regnal year. Leonese scribes alone situated the king in the *civis vel sedis* of León in the late tenth century and early eleventh, while others like Mirele *presbiter*, ranging farther afield, put him *in sede patris sui* or variants.¹²⁶ Charters from Sahagún are unique in registering the years since the return of Sancho I from al-Andalus in 960, while documents from Cantabria, by the scribe Ermoigius especially, have the king *sedente in Asturias* in the ninth century, and are alone in locating him here in the tenth, as well as acknowledging the ‘reign’ of Alfonso Fróilaz, hardly recognized outside Galicia.¹²⁷ But an example from Cardaña offers the clearest sign that this regionalism is related at least partly to modelling new charters on old ones: the earliest documents from the reign of Alfonso III situate his reign in Oviedo, but the scribes of the monastery failed to take notice of the move of the capital to León after his death in 910 and went on dating by the king in Oviedo until at least 976.¹²⁸ The simplest explanation is that the scribes were working from an ‘Asturian model’: either literally or in the sense that each copied the work of his predecessor, perpetuating the practice of the Asturian period. Sporadic cases of ‘Oviedo anachronism’ at Arlanza, San Millán, Valpuesta, and Celanova, where Ramiro II is located *in sedem regum Ovethao*, respond to chance use of such ‘Asturian models’.¹²⁹

Another case of regional practice and prior charters as models comes in dating clauses which mention the episcopate alongside the reign. In 915, the scribe Velasconi *presbiter* dated a sale not only to the reign of Ordoño II in León but also to *ipsum episcopum Cixilianus in sedis Sancte Marie Virginis*.¹³⁰ For several decades this remained an outlier, until being picked up as a model in 952 and definitively from 964, coming to be a nearly ubiquitous feature of Leonese

¹²⁶ *Civis vel sedis*: ACL.543; cf. ACL.551, ACL.622, ACL.628, ACL.640, ACL.645-6, ACL.714, ACL.723. *In sede patris sui*: ACL.652, ACL.657; cf. ACL.478, ACL.653, ACL.675, ACL.687, ACL.729, ACL.755, ACL.828B, ACL.885; SAH.267, SAH.270; OLD.170

¹²⁷ SAH.164, SAH.175-6, SAH.1-4; STL.20, STL.24, STL.32; SMP.2-3.

¹²⁸ SPC.1, SPC.3-4; cf. e.g. SPC.11, SPC.169; cf. G. Martínez Díez, *El Condado de Castilla (711-1038). La Historia frente a la leyenda* (2 vols., Valladolid, 2005), i, pp. 225-62.

¹²⁹ SPA.14-5, SPA.17; SMC.79; SMV.31; CEL.72.

¹³⁰ ACL.37.

dating clauses thereafter; it can be seen at Sahagún from 945/6 and Otero from 949, becoming fashionable at both in the early eleventh century.¹³¹ This is not simply an index of the strength of the episcopacy of León: the isolated use of the formula in two charters from the Liébana in 962 suggests that scribes periodically found new models in old charters.¹³² The bishop is cited alone, or with phrases like *civis vel sedis*, playing with royal language.¹³³ The same process is to be seen in Astorga: a charter of 936 is dated by the reign of Ramiro II in León and *Gennadius Dei gratia Asturicensis episcopus*, taken up into regular use from the late tenth century.¹³⁴

Yet scribal practice is more than simply a matter of regionalism and linear development. The only way to account for the complexities of commonalities across the documentation is to make allowance for a greater degree of interregional circulation of charters, and thereby models for other charters, but also more scope for the role of scribal choice, the vagaries of personal fashion, in selecting from amongst the available options to create new charters. Regionalism and localism as features of the charters cannot simply be ‘politically’ mapped: they reflect and result from a general mobility of written material and a substantial autonomy of scribal activity, balanced by the tendency of scribes to do as both their predecessors and their neighbours had done. When we try to identify regional phrases in the documentation, we tend to find that they are not exclusive to an area, merely more common in it. The inclusion of *petras mobiles vel immobiles* in appurtenance clauses, for example, is *de rigeur* in Galicia and Portugal, where the scribe Sandinus *presbiter* particularly favoured it.¹³⁵ Yet it is also found twice in León and twice in Astorga: once in a donation by Sampiro, who could have encountered the formula in

¹³¹ ACL.247, ACL.372, ACL.374, ACL.376; of ACL.407-895, this formula is present in 157 charters; SAH.100; OLD.7-8.

¹³² STL.64-65; cf. W. Davies, ‘Where are the Parishes? Where are the Minsters? The Organization of the Spanish Church in the Tenth Century’, in D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (eds.), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century. Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 385-6.

¹³³ ACL.202, ACL.554, ACL.592; SAH.30; cf. ACA.254, ACA.259.

¹³⁴ ACA.135.

¹³⁵ PMH.194, PMH.203-4, PMH.215, PMH.246; cf. e.g. SLM.10; CEL.37; COR.50; SVP.1; PMH.6; J. Varela Sieiro, ‘*Petras y petras mobiles et immobiles*: constituyentes de enumeraciones formularias en la documentación altomedieval de Galicia’, *BDC*, 58 (2000), pp. 211-8.

the course of his travels as royal scribe.¹³⁶ Similarly dispersed is the use of the phrase *karrale qui discurrit ubique* (by the road to everywhere) in boundary clauses, attested occasionally in León and Otero in the early eleventh century, including from the pen of Sampiro, but also at Cardeña from the middle of the tenth.¹³⁷ Clearly writers and writing were circulating more than fits a model of a localized world, and creatively so: a Leonese appurtenance clause of 959 ended with *usque minima petra* to express the totality of the testamentary transfer, and this formulation was later taken up at Astorga, but another Leonese scribe writing in 961 preferred *usque ad modica gallina*, and his was the model followed at points north and east.¹³⁸

Attending to even more peculiar phrases, individual preference and the happenstance of models available to hand seem to underlie the configuration of language from one document to another.¹³⁹ In 950 and 951, the scribe Iohannes *presbiter* developed a fondness for recording the *ora* of the day in charters of sale; in the late tenth century and the early eleventh, the *ira regis* is invoked in sanction clauses at three different Leonese religious communities.¹⁴⁰ Scribes had their own habits: Iulianus *presbiter* called Alfonso V the *parvulus* or infant in León, then Galicia too, in dating clauses of testaments to Santos Justo y Pastor, while Gudesteus *presbiter* identified Bishop Servando as *cathedra continens* of the see of Santa María in those transactions which he wrote for Cidí Domínguez in 1031.¹⁴¹ One pair of testaments to Santos Justo y Pastor are so similar in preamble, Scriptural allusion, and sanction that they must share a single scribe, despite Ennego *presbiter* being named only in the first; the same can be said of another pair to Santiago de León.¹⁴² Turns of phrase flit in and out of fashion: when Sampiro wrote his very first charter in 977, describing how the devil had made Rapinatus and his wife Celedonia *ebriati*

¹³⁶ ACL.779; cf. ACL.779; ACA.20, ACA.17.

¹³⁷ ACL.687; cf. ACL.709; OLD.129, OLD.139; SPC.72, SPC.169.

¹³⁸ ACL.313; cf. ACA.145, ACA.202, ACA.207, ACA.264. ACL.346; cf. SAH.266, SAH.275; STL.76; SMV.43.

¹³⁹ cf. Davies, *Acts*, pp. 101-2.

¹⁴⁰ ACL.226, ACL.237; ACL.574, ACL.696, ACL.703.

¹⁴¹ ACL.615, ACL.619, ACL.648; ACL.882, ACL.884; cf. ACL.132, ACL.135; ACL.172-4; PMH.14, PMH.16.

¹⁴² ACL.490, ACL.493; cf. ACL.413, ACL.425.

a vino, was this his own original choice of words, or was he working within a Sahagún house style, since two priests, *sine ebrietas vino*, had made a testament to it in 959?¹⁴³

House styles, like regional phrases, are a matter not of exclusivity but of frequency, of drawing more often on an ultimately common pool of charter models.¹⁴⁴ The formula *et dicunt homnis populi fiat fiat*, for example, encountered in a donation to San Salvador de Matallana from 997, is characteristic of the documentation of that monastery from the late tenth century to the early eleventh, but far from confined to it.¹⁴⁵ The alchemy which transformed formulaic and idiosyncratic phrases into original charters can be seen if we have sufficient density. At San Martín de Turieno, self-donations from 946 to 950 address future holders of the *paginola* in the confirmation, raise the spectre of the tribunal of the Lord in the sanction, term themselves a *roboratio* in the dating clause, and cite the reign of Ramiro in León, amongst other features.¹⁴⁶ In 951, however, the scribe Teodarius *presbiter* devised his own formula, professing inability by the granter to raise up his or her eyes to Mount Olympus, and introduced it into the existing model for self-donations.¹⁴⁷ His revised charter model superseded its predecessor, and can be tracked in use, by him and his colleagues in the scriptorium, for more than a decade.¹⁴⁸ Another model, meanwhile, was employed for testaments, which often involved self-donation too: in 946, one Catila Thodarius, perhaps the selfsame scribe, wrote up a charter invoking fear of the Day of Judgement in the preamble, the prospect of *temporale iudicia* in the form of the king, bishop, or count in the sanction, and the reigning king, usually in León, in the date, all features found in testaments written by a variety of scribes here into the eleventh century.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ SAH.287; cf. SAH.170.

¹⁴⁴ Davies, *Acts*, pp. 91-3.

¹⁴⁵ ACL.575; cf. ACL.582, ACL.631, ACL.656, ACL.765, ACL.794-5, ACL.812, ACL.832, ACL.836, ACL.837, ACL.1982bis.

¹⁴⁶ STL.51-3.

¹⁴⁷ STL.54.

¹⁴⁸ STL.55, STL.58, STL.70, STL.71.

¹⁴⁹ STL.50; cf. STL.56, STL.60, STL.67, STL.77.

There were always models to hand, and typically more than one which served; scribes had just to choose, or else to innovate. Circumstances could of course compel change: consider the scribe or scribes of two charters of sale to Lorrão from 1016/7 who, confronting the recent reincorporation of the region into al-Andalus, modified the dating clause of a standard model to read Hijra 407 and *mense ragab*, in deference to a new reality.¹⁵⁰ Could the two seemingly Muslim granters (to a Christian monastery) have given instructions? But that prior charters, rather than a formulary, provided the models should be clear from two final cases. In the first, a charter of sale presents an anomaly: it is dated to the reign of Ramiro III in León, who died in 985, but also to the year 987; an original, there is no reason to suspect corruption, so the editor has plausibly suggested that the scribe had a charter of a couple years earlier before him as a model, and copied in the anachronistic name just as the scribes of Cardeña did with the king in Oviedo.¹⁵¹ In the second, Abbess Felicia Monoia made a donation to Santiago de León in 970, mostly of property which she had received by donation in 917, and the charters of the two transactions are nearly identical in formulation: the scribe of the one must have had the other in front of him in order to get the details right, and decided to employ it as the basis for the text despite the separation of years.¹⁵² We need to allow for the *ad hoc* and the varied, for a world not of books of models but of selecting from amongst the available and relevant.

If scribes produced charters from earlier examples, how and when did they do so? The writing process itself, the joining of content to form, has left little trace.¹⁵³ According to a note at the end of the testament of Bishop Diego of Oviedo from 967, the text was written *in die prevegilio* and confirmed *in die Pasca Domini*, which affirms what the presence of more than one scribe in a text implies: multiple stages of composition, preparation and finalization.¹⁵⁴ On

¹⁵⁰ PMH.229-30; cf. PMH.240; C. Aillet, 'Entre Chrétiens et Musulmans: le monastère de Lorrão et les marges du Mondego (878-1064)', *RM*, 15/76 (2004), pp. 44-7.

¹⁵¹ ACL.519.

¹⁵² ACL.412; cf. ACL.42.

¹⁵³ cf. *Condes*, pp. 86-90.

¹⁵⁴ ACO.26.

the dorso of a testament to Eslonza from 954 is an all but unique set of notes by the scribe, recording the names of the granter and the eight witnesses.¹⁵⁵ Could this provide insight into the preparatory stage of writing? We could imagine the scribe taking notes on the essentials of the transaction – its parties, properties, and witnesses – before fitting these into a charter based in turn on an earlier one, and lastly registering which of the witnesses were present still for its confirmation. In the archive of Sahagún are four documents, three to the monastery and one to Iscam and his wife Filauria, which contain not single transactions set out with the usual clauses and formulas, but bare minutes of a series of them: the granter, recipient, property, price if appropriate, and date – little more.¹⁵⁶ The timespan of the transactions in a given document can range over anywhere from one year to nine, and the document addressed to the lay couple even has a collective confirmation at the end, putatively signed by all granters and witnesses, to make it look like a regular charter. One plausible interpretation of these documents is as notes of transactions for charters never written up as such, and later compiled into series.

Minutes may in fact be less rare than they seem. An unusual unformatted text survives from Sahagún which describes a body of water, a channel from it, and a mountain, all to belong to the monastery; the same properties reappear donated in a diploma of Ordoño III from 951, so the former could be a set of notes on boundary details for use in redacting the latter.¹⁵⁷ One has to wonder whether the many transactions recorded in summary form in the San Millán collection could be similar such minutes, of granter, recipient, property, price, and date (not always even that), rather than inventories confected in the creation of the cartulary.¹⁵⁸ In some of the entries, however, there are elements of charters, a stray confirmation or a sanction clause, which read more simply as documentary extracts; they parallel examples from Celanova and

¹⁵⁵ SPE.26; *cf.* ACL.772; Ruiz Asencio, 'Trabajo', pp. 94-100.

¹⁵⁶ SAH.94; Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 279-80; *cf.* SAH.34, SAH.36, SAH.297.

¹⁵⁷ SAH.1170; *cf.* SAH.132.

¹⁵⁸ *e.g.* SMC.19, SMC.21, SMC.25, SMC.28, SMC.31-4, SMC.47-8, SMC.51, SMC.53-6, SMC.58-60, SMC.71; *cf.* J. Escalona, 'Antes de los cartularios', pp. 141-9.

Lorvão where both the inventory and some of the charters extracted or cited in it survive, or the entries call themselves charters, but this need not apply universally.¹⁵⁹ These aggregate proto-charters are scattered across archives as diverse as Coruña and Valpuesta, just as there are irregularly drafted texts unsuceptible to normal diplomatic classification which bear labels such as *noticia* or *notum*; summary outlines of transactions, or even circumstantial narratives, they could also be working notes by scribes for use in preparing legal records.¹⁶⁰

Once some minutes had been taken, the next step was to draft the charter, but what did this involve? The mechanics of writing are one concern: the model text must at times have been rendered from memory, to judge by some highly imperfect renderings of standard clauses and phrases which yet retain elements of the constituent vocabulary, at other times copied from an exemplar, since errors typical of transcription can be seen, such as duplicating or skipping lines of text.¹⁶¹ More interesting is how this writing process related to the minutes themselves, and one option is that the scribe inserted the particularities into a template prepared by either of the above methods, which finds some support in the documentation. Looking through the Sahagún charters once again, I find only three fairly certain instances of ‘template writing’: one of the granter written in after the balance of the text, another the price, and a third at least one witness; otherwise, allowing for the original imperfection of the parchment surface, and that it has since suffered fading, staining, and folding, what impresses is the prevalence of ‘continuous writing’, charters written from start to finish integrally.¹⁶² Occasionally the text belies this: in two cases from 986 and 987, the same scribe left a blank for the king in the dating clause but never filled it in; later another scribe wrote Vermudo II into the second charter, but the first retains its empty space.¹⁶³ Comparably, there are cases from León and Otero in which subscriptions of granters,

¹⁵⁹ e.g. SMC.137; cf. SMC.174; CEL.285, CEL.309, CEL.315, CEL.328, CEL.338; PMH.116.

¹⁶⁰ COR.55; SMV.46; ACH.4, ACH.8; cf. ACL.668; ACA.133, ACA.260; STL.72-4; FLO.157; SSL.8; SJP.45.

¹⁶¹ Ruiz Asencio, ‘Trabajo’, pp. 90-100;

¹⁶² SAH.241, SAH.135, SAH.134; cf. SAH.251, SAH.268, SAH.275.

¹⁶³ SAH.334-5; cf. SME.1.

witnesses, and even scribes are written in a recognizably different tint of ink or even hand from the charter itself, and in one the date too is distinct from the body, suggesting another variety of preparing the text partially in advance.¹⁶⁴ Creation of a charter could be divorced from its content, yet the regularity of ‘continuous writing’ counters that this was the exception.

Conceiving of a charter as written either before or after the transaction, however, and drawing inferences from this about its relevance to that transaction, is to simplify and distort a more organic relationship. Supplements to the text reveal that the transaction was often ongoing at the time when the charter was being written. In 874, for example, the unnamed scribe of a donation by Bishop Fronimio to the see of León added ten cows to the property enumerated, but separately from the rest and out of their proper place, after the sanction and dating clauses, while in another Leonese charter of 942, the scribe Freda inserted the price received by the last of the four granters on the lower left of the parchment, after he had written his own name.¹⁶⁵ Supplements to the property or price, even bestowal of counter gifts, out of their structural place in a charter are in fact fairly frequent in the centre and west.¹⁶⁶ Other recurrent additions include placing conditions, as in the *ratione servata* or proviso to a donation of 983 that the wife of the donor has two months after his death to hand over the property donated, and the specification of details, as in spelling out per party and down to the hour the turns in a mill sold in 970; both additions appear amidst the subscriptions, and one can imagine them still under negotiation as the scribes were at work.¹⁶⁷ This is no mere scribal forgetfulness or incompetence, nor indeed the vagaries of later copyists: observe that Sampiro, hardly lacking in experience, when writing

¹⁶⁴ ACL.107; cf. ACL.10, ACL.25, ACL.35, ACL.65, ACL.73, ACL.416; OLD.118; Ruiz Asencio, ‘Trabajo’, pp. 90-93.

¹⁶⁵ ACL.6, ACL.158; cf. OLD.53, OLD.82, OLD.106.

¹⁶⁶ ACL.224, ACL.288, ACL.296-7, ACL.483; SAH.75, SAH.78, SAH.92; SJS.48, SJS.S1; CEL.65, CEL.141, CEL.178, CEL.228, CEL.381; PMH.1, PMH.92, PMH.267; cf. SAH.253, SAH.370.

¹⁶⁷ PMH.138; cf. SAH.352; SJP.35, SJP.44; ACH.9; CEL.104; PMH.99, PMH.164, PMH.213. BUR.1; cf. SDM.14; SLM.4, SLM.107; CEL.222, CEL.351, CEL.363; ACM.6.

up a sale for himself in 1013, added another five *solidi* to the price, after the sanction, dating, and confirmation clauses; transaction and documentation proceeded in tandem.¹⁶⁸

The writing process could be lengthy. In three cases from Otero, other hands intervened subsequent to the writing of the main text: to add more property, to specify it more precisely, or to substitute the price actually paid for that anticipated in the body.¹⁶⁹ In 961, indeed, after failure to discharge a debt, an *offertionem* was tacked on *deorsum* to a *cartam que sursum resonat de donatione* of Sobrado, serving as a reminder that transactions could play out over days, writing alongside them.¹⁷⁰ Or spill over into new ones: when Bishop Rosendo and family made a *collmellum divisionis* of their property in 934, they consented, after confirmation and dating, to an exchange between two of them, Adosinda and Ermesinda, before subscribing the charter.¹⁷¹ One combination sale and donation to Viliulfu and his wife Ezilu in 968 seems to have been transformed over the course of its transcription, as price was not even mentioned until after the subscriptions, when a new scribe began a formula for one, but then left it blank and recorded instead a series of additions *per ista karta* to the donation, finally dating it again and listing more witnesses.¹⁷² An evolving relationship between charter and transaction is what counter gifts made in confirmation of the document itself must signify: the two oxen worth 30 silver *solidi* and a *lenzo* or linen cloth of 50 cubits which Pelayo Vermúdez received from his wife Godina *ad confirmanda cartula* in 1011, or the vineyard and moveables which Xemena received *ad investimentum carta* from Beira *presbiter* in 1005.¹⁷³ On occasion even configured as the price of a sale completing its written record, these documentary counter gifts seem to say that the transaction confirmed the charter just as the charter confirmed the transaction.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ ACL.717.

¹⁶⁹ OLD.162, OLD.152, OLD.137.

¹⁷⁰ SLM.90; *cf.* SLM.91; SID.15, SID.16 [S].

¹⁷¹ CEL.40; *cf.* SAH.400; SSL.22; SLM.73, SLM.122, SLM.122bis; CEL.43, CEL.322; SCR.1.

¹⁷² PMH.98.

¹⁷³ SAH.397; ACL.654; *cf. e.g.* ACL.707; SAH.19; OLD.55; SVO.29; SMB.1; ACP.4; CDV.3; SDC.65; SJS.51; CEL.291; PMH.14; Martínez Díez, 'Terminología', pp. 238-40.

¹⁷⁴ *e.g.* SAH.412; ACA.254.

Another approach to this relationship is by way of how scribes made use of parchment when writing charters. I have revisited the 84 originals from Sahagún repeatedly in an attempt to divide them into ‘charters for showing’, betraying an effort at layout for visual consumption, and ‘charters for reading’, consisting only of running text, but I have found it impossible to do so systematically. Layout had some significance: the scribes of 59 (70%) of the originals have all taken pains, however minimal, to render the main text and the subscriptions distinguishable, distributing names into columns, altering script size or line spacing, or making use of one or more signs which arrest the attention. No viewer of these charters could fail to notice at once that they have been confirmed, so they are all ‘charters for showing’, but any further distinction amongst them would involve applying aesthetic criteria bound to be inconsistent. The other 25 (30%) of the originals feature a less apparent, albeit not always absent, differentiation of body from confirmation: continuous text and minimal alteration of layout or use of signs.¹⁷⁵ Most of these are simple sales; beyond that little relates them, and only nine are lay transactions.¹⁷⁶ The norm must have been for charters to have a visual element, to be suitable for showing as well as for reading. Parchment selection proceeded with this in mind: by choosing a piece of roughly appropriate dimensions, or by cutting the end product down to size, but even Fulgentius nods, and he seems once to have snipped off the name of a witness inadvertently when trimming a charter.¹⁷⁷ Judgement aside, availability of parchment must also have been a constraint, and so it is normal enough to encounter opisthographs, or charters written on both sides, in which the text from the witnesses, the granters, or even the dating clause onward runs onto the dorso.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ SAH.1-5, SAH.134-6, SAH.148, SAH.160, SAH.180, SAH.200, SAH.204-5, SAH.207, SAH.211, SAH.258, SAH.285, SAH.288, SAH.306, SAH.310, SAH.353, SAH.397, SAH.400, SAH.427.

¹⁷⁶ SAH.1-5, SAH.205, SAH.207, SAH.211, SAH.397.

¹⁷⁷ ACL.711; Ruiz Asencio, ‘Trabajo’, pp. 104-5.

¹⁷⁸ e.g. ACL.53, ACL.468, ACL.742; OLD.25, OLD.34, OLD.45, OLD.86, OLD.90, OLD.159; SVO.30; cf. Herrero de la Fuente and Fernández Flórez, ‘Cidi’, pp. 685-7; *idem*, ‘Escribir’, pp. 153-7; Ruiz Asencio, ‘Trabajo’, pp. 101-2, 105-6.

Which parchment specifically was used by the scribe is a more interesting question than how, for it turns out in many cases to have involved prior coordination with the parties. In 979, for example, Revel paid off a judicial debt by selling a vineyard to the bishop of León, and the scribe Gamar *presbiter* used the dorso of the same parchment for the *placitum firmitatis* agreed on the same day to guarantee the sale.¹⁷⁹ In 1030, similarly, Vermudo III gave property to Munio in reward for his service, and Fulgentius took advantage of the dorso to set down the charter by which Munio promptly divided that property amongst his wife and children after his death; the list on the reverse side of a parchment datable to 1031 even corresponds to the *familia* given to Antealtares on the recto.¹⁸⁰ At least some of the many illegible fragments of further documents on originals must follow this pattern: there is an effort by the scribe to keep related but distinct texts together in one place.¹⁸¹ But such ‘parchment organization’ involved the recipient of the charter too, for in 939, some three months after a sale of land in Villobera to Abellar, the scribe Durabilis *presbiter* wrote a second sale of land there to the monastery alongside the first (in a different hand), just as Vistremiro, party to a charter of exchange in 909, had a sale in which he was purchaser recorded on its dorso four years later.¹⁸² The recto could often served this purpose: two sales to Leda, for instance, are on the same side of a parchment, in opposing directions (other examples make use of dividing lines); these two are a year and a half apart in date and, although by the same hand, are in distinct tints of ink, from different times of writing.¹⁸³

What this coordination demonstrates is one aspect of the formation of archives, for the lay as well as ecclesiastical recipients of the charters. In certain cases, moreover, we can also

¹⁷⁹ ACL.463-4; cf. ACL.476-7, ACL.739; OLD.38-9; OLD.125; OLD.150-51; OLD.188-9; PMH.6-7, PMH.167.

¹⁸⁰ ACL.871; COR.135-6; cf. SSO.3-4; SLM.122, SLM.122bis.

¹⁸¹ e.g. ACL.156, ACL.227, ACL.262, ACL.345, ACL.576; SAH.330; OLD.75, OLD.102; Ruiz Asencio, ‘Trabajo’, pp. 105-10.

¹⁸² ACL.132, ACL.135; ACL.23, ACL.31; cf. e.g. ACL.316, ACL.323; SAH.203-4; OLD.106-7; COR.51-2; PMH.180-81.

¹⁸³ ACL.519, ACL.523; cf. e.g. SAH.153-4; SAH.226-7; OLD.40-41, OLD.64-5; OLD.79-80; OLD.138-9.

see individual parchments becoming archives, where three or more transactions with the same recipient have been set down in one place: not only transactions on the same day, as might be expected, but also distanced in time. Over a week in 943, for example, the scribe Fredenandus wrote up a trio of sales to Vincimalo *presbiter* on the dorso of the same parchment, while from October 978 to October 979, seven sales of property to Munnio *presbiter* in or around Villa de Montane were recorded on a single parchment in contemporary scripts; the scribe Vivi *presbiter* did likewise on behalf of Cidi Domínguez and his wife Oria for a *plazo* and four sales between 24 April and 8 May 1030.¹⁸⁴ Instant archives – whether or not all these charters are strictly originals is beside the point. One parchment from the cathedral archive of Lugo contains a late eleventh-century imitative copy of a pair of *placita* to Bishop Gladila and a confession to his benefit, spanning 15 May to 5 June 861; the latter may have been written first, the former two copied into the blank space underneath afterwards, an archive in miniature created.¹⁸⁵

Could the business of placement be the work of the scribe, doubling as communal archivist? The reuse of parchment for related but temporally more remote charters cautions against it. Seovanus *presbiter* gave his property to San Martín de Noanca in 895, and on the lower left recto of the same parchment, running onto the dorso, is a *placitum* from 960 guaranteeing the transfer of San Martín to a monastery of Santa María.¹⁸⁶ So when it came time to write up this latter charter, the church must have dug the original parchment from 65 years before out of its archive and handed it over to the scribe to record the new transaction. This can be seen quite often, and indicates that parties and scribes coordinated in advance the most useful site for the documentation. When the recipient is an ecclesiastical institution, the continuity is obvious, but when a member of the laity, it can be harder to determine the connection: another

¹⁸⁴ ACL.172-4; ACL.457-9, ACL.465, ACL.467, ACL.471-2; ACL.864, ACL.866-8, ACL.870; cf. ACL.637, ACL.656, ACL.668; SAH.134-6; SAH.233-6; OLD.94-6; COR.78-80; Ruiz Asencio, 'Trabajo', pp. 102-4, 110-15.

¹⁸⁵ FLO.73-5; cf. J. Escalona, 'Antes de los cartularios', pp. 135-41.

¹⁸⁶ ACL.10, ACL.330.

parchment from Otero bears a dispute of 946 and a sale of 1022 which could be related through the family of Count Pedro Flaínez, recipient of the latter, if the Flacino in the former is indeed a relation.¹⁸⁷ In Portugal, similarly, Fruela and his wife Eleuva, who seem to have had a sale of 883 recopied in the course of recording two more in 933 and 952 on the same parchment, could be the unnamed heirs of Kartemiro, mentioned as its recipient.¹⁸⁸ Perhaps the continuity was just the property itself, changing hands along with proof of its prior ownership; in any case, it betrays an awareness of, and a concern for, the written history of land and its owners, even as we find, in 981, one Florentina returning to the parchment of a dispute settled in 953, to confirm it on behalf of Cogina, a party to the original text.¹⁸⁹ Reuse could be for seemingly unrelated purposes, most notably the *nodicia de kesos* or list of cheeses paid out, written around 980 on the dorso of a testament to Santos Justo y Pastor dating back to 959, but there may be linkages of property or lineages of parties even here, concealed by the passage of time, which those who knew sought to solidify by giving the scribe one particular parchment to use.¹⁹⁰

Writing the charter, however, was not necessarily the end of the writing process, since some exist in multiple originals. The anomalous palaeographic category of the ‘contemporary copy’ disguises the fact that complementary versions of a charter were routinely made.¹⁹¹ The cartulary of Sahagún, for instance, contains an exchange made by Alfonso III with Sarrazino, Falconi, and Dulquito in 909, but also the same in reverse, formulated only slightly differently, perhaps attributable to the copyist if not the scribe; in the cartulary of León, similarly, are two copies of an exchange between a group of six laymen and Bishop Cixila of Abellar, cast as a pair of reciprocal donations.¹⁹² The cartulary of San Millán, meanwhile, has a number of sales

¹⁸⁷ OLD.4, OLD.155.

¹⁸⁸ PMH.10, PMH.38, PMH.64; *cf.* SAH.242, SAH.304-5; OLD.21, OLD.26, OLD.43; PMH.30, PMH.43, PMH.48.

¹⁸⁹ ACO.25; Collins, ‘Law and Charters’, pp. 500-501; *cf.* STL.24; SLM.101.

¹⁹⁰ ACL.313, ACL.480; *cf. e.g.* ACL.593, ACL.597; ACL.643, ACL.750; SAH.261; OLD.53-4; COR.112, COR.120.

¹⁹¹ *e.g.* ACL.58, ACL.316, ACL.323; SME.1; SSO.8, SSO.17; *cf.* J.A. Fernández Flórez, ‘El fondo documental del monasterio de Sahagún y sus scriptores (siglos IX-X)’, in *Monacato*, pp. 130-32; Davies, *Acts*, p. 98.

¹⁹² SAH.9-10; ACL.66-7; *cf.* ACL.244-5; SMC.124-5; SSO.10, SSO.11 [F] [?].

written up as purchases, which could be one side of a twofold documentation, while the copy of the testament of Gundulfus in the cartulary of Celanova is confirmed by only Abbot Rosendo amongst its many recipients, conceivably indicating that the original was his personal copy.¹⁹³ Multiple copies for multiple parties: the language of exchange, perhaps owing to its very nature, particularly expects this. In 961, for example, Abbess María and two religious *facimus kartulas comutationis*, made charters – not a charter – of exchange, with Abellar, indeed *sicut mos esse solet* according to a Portuguese charter of 959, while three religious from a Galician monastery of San Vicente made *scripturas contramutationis unus ad alios*, one to the others, with Bishop Sisnando, his father Hermegildo, and Sobrado in 964.¹⁹⁴ The same applies to sales, such as one made *carta ad cartam* in the Liébana in 915, or another *per scriptis firmitatis* in León in 1030, and perhaps to donations, judging from one by three religious to San Salvador de Matallana in 989 which also survives granted by just one of them, in another personal copy.¹⁹⁵

Multiple versions could take different forms for different audiences. In a confirmation charter of 999 for Assur Sarraciniz and his wife Gilvira, the king, Vermudo II, *ipsa scriptura nobis confirmabit*, but then *alia nobis manu propria roborabit*.¹⁹⁶ What this signifies may be the same as with a donation made by the same king to Bishop Savarigo of León in 991: two originals survive of it, one a spare precept conveying ownership of two *villas* and jurisdiction over their inhabitants, the other a more rhetorically expansive donation in remedy of the royal *anima*; while both are signed by Sampiro *presbiter* as scribe, moreover, the first is written not by him but in a rapid Visigothic cursive, a ‘business hand’, and the second in the characteristic fine script of Sampiro himself, a reminder of the complexity of scribal operations.¹⁹⁷ We need to imagine distinct contexts calling for distinct versions, practical enforcement of ownership,

¹⁹³ SMC.116, SMC.136, SMC.159, SMC.161, SMC.185; CEL.23.

¹⁹⁴ ACL.340; PMH.77; SLM.94; *cf.* ACL.386; SDC.66; SLM.103, SLM.121; CEL.84, CEL.315.

¹⁹⁵ STL.20; ACL.869; ACL.529, ACL.531; *cf.* ACL.539, ACL.545; ACL.725-7; SAH.29-30, SAH.32; SPC.89; PMH.167, PMH.195, PMH.271.

¹⁹⁶ ACL.587.

¹⁹⁷ ACL.549-50; *cf.* ACL.588-9.

say, versus liturgical celebration or historical commemoration of generosity (like a gift receipt versus a birthday card), to appreciate how writing charters had multiple functions.

In some cases we could be looking at a draft and a good copy, like the two foundation charters of Covarrubias written by the same scribe in 978, differing only in brevity.¹⁹⁸ In others, however, we indisputably have proper redactions, such as the testaments of Iulianus *presbiter* from 954, one tersely donating all his property to Santos Justo y Pastor, the other narrating his trials and tribulations in quest of a suitable beneficiary.¹⁹⁹ The bishop of Astorga seems to have returned in 1021 to elaborate his donation of a year before to the monastery of San Dictino.²⁰⁰ And indeed, revisiting offered an opportunity to revise: in 990, the sisters of San Lorenzo made an *unatem* or joint donation to San Salvador de Matallana of half their property in Alija de la Ribera, then seem to have changed their minds to make another, the same day, of all their property; the first charter was later overwritten, but both survive.²⁰¹ Cases where the second charter offers a larger gift, describes it in greater detail, or even characterizes the parties more precisely, suggest regular return to the charter, recurrent reconsideration of its formulation.²⁰² Yet when we are at the mercy of cartularies or later copyists, it is a challenge to know how much stock to place in multiple versions with trivial differences. Sales by Iuzef and his wife Iusta in 1021 and 1026 have each been preserved in two copies: in the second of both, he is identified as an *Ebreo*, the property is located with greater precision, and the price is revised downward by half a *solidus*, to name the most prominent alterations.²⁰³ But does this represent the vagaries of transcription, or does it stand for a highly plastic transactional and documentary process, recurring on itself in the light of negotiation, in search of specificity, in the interest of

¹⁹⁸ COV.7-8.

¹⁹⁹ ACL.278-9.

²⁰⁰ ACA.230.

²⁰¹ ACL.534-5, ACL.575.

²⁰² e.g. ACL.437; ACL.479; ACL.618; ACL.818, ACL.826; ACL.832-3; SPC.184; SMC.86; SMC.143; SMC.189.

²⁰³ ACL.774, ACL.828.

finer phraseology, in need of more impressive witnesses, or by some other elusive motivation? In view of the evidence, we should be wary of simply ascribing any multiplicity to error, and ground ourselves in a flexible process. As the scribe pivoted constantly between his model and the moment, he situated and customized composition to the needs and advantage of the parties, resulting in a background to each charter as flexible and variable as the transaction itself.

iii. Contexts

So can we put together our scribes, parties, and witnesses, at the same time and in the same place, and demonstrate that transaction and documentation were an integral (if complex and recursive) process? In theory, this scarcely needs proving: phrases such as *ordinamus vobis eam possidere per hanc cartulam testationis nostre* or indeed *quod supra scriptum est sic vobis ad integro firmamus possidere perpetualiter* identify the transfer of property as the charter.²⁰⁴ Far from retrospection on business conducted orally, if anything the document anticipated and set it in motion: just as the scribe was hard at work while the terms were still under negotiation, a significant number of charters reflect incomplete transactions which they framed and thereby helped to conclude. The sale by Godiosa and her son Seniore to Goinu sometime between 960 and 973 is one of many where, coming to the price, all we read is *accepi de precio que michi bene conplacuit*.²⁰⁵ This charter is in every other respect final – confirmed, witnessed, signed by the scribe – so in its near completion it defines the scope of the remaining negotiation (or compels a whole new process), forming an organic part of the transaction. Put traditionally, the charter is dispositive, rather than evidentiary; it engenders, not just records, the act.

Incompleteness occurs in both originals and cartulary copies, so that faulty transcription cannot be the sole explanation; in a sale to Sampiro in 1013 which the scribe wrote for himself,

²⁰⁴ ACL.548, ACL.619.

²⁰⁵ ACL.421; *cf.* ACL.573, ACL.768; SAH.94; ACA.62; COR.62; SLM.16, SLM.77, SLM.99; CEL.19, CEL.122, CEL.237, CEL.293; PMH.38, PMH.41, PMH.72, PMH.78, PMH.80, PMH.90, PMH.93, PMH.98, PMH.105.

moreover, he defined the currency of the price as *solidos* but left the amount a blank space.²⁰⁶ One way to see this is as setting a parameter, here the unit (not the number) of the price, which constrains the outstanding negotiation of the transaction, channelling it in a certain direction. We can find comparable cases: a sale in 936 for a *vacca colore ruvea et alio pretio que mici bene conplacuit*, the price half decided, half undecided, a sale in 1009 for *alia terra quantum a nobis bene conplacuit*, restricting the category of price to land, or a sale in 929 for a *saia* or tunic and *alio pretio sub uno modios VII quod sus pretius dedit*, stating the total value of the price but determining its components only in part.²⁰⁷ The unrealized price could also take the form of a general undertaking to hand over acceptable compensation to appropriate parties, but something of how this worked out is conveyed in a sale by Agildo and Gualamiru to Cresconius from 1007: both vendors have already subscribed the charter, but Agildo, who is to receive four *modios* in price, *abeo heu adhuc proinde ipsam kartam ad roborare*, has yet to confirm it in some form, perhaps suggesting that the specifics of the price were still up in the air, and that the charter operated to frame, or even apply pressure to, its final negotiation.²⁰⁸ How long this intermediate stage could last is underlined by an exchange (formulated as a sale) between Count Pedro Flaínez and Fruela Sendínez made on 15 February 1029, bearing on the same parchment a *placitum* dated to 8 December of that year in which the *fidesiunsores* of the count undertake to hand over his land should he default.²⁰⁹ In a second *placitum* confirmed that day, on another parchment, a second set of *fidesiunsores* for Fruela Sendínez and his family vow to give their land to the count on his return to Valdoré: almost ten months after the original document set it in motion, the transaction was still being worked out through further texts.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ ACL.715; cf. SLM.5.

²⁰⁷ ACL.111; cf. ACL.156; SAH.53, SAH.56; COR.45; SLM.19, SLM.34-5, SLM.62; CEL.22, CEL.145; PMH.102, PMH.235. ACL.684; cf. OLD.69, OLD.72. SVO.6; cf. SLM.27; FLO.163.

²⁰⁸ CEL.306; cf. CEL.307; ACL.167, ACL.182; STL.47.

²⁰⁹ OLD.188-9.

²¹⁰ OLD.190.

The charter not only documented the transaction, therefore, but engendered and framed it as well. And yet this means that the written record as we have it represents only a part (even if more than one stage) of a complex process. So how should we relate what is recorded in the charter to the recording of the charter itself? Some texts purport to transcribe direct speech, in theory putting the scribe on the spot taking notes, but caution is needed. In 990, for example, Pelagius Zuleiman *frater* asked permission of Queen Tarasia, his *domina*, to make a testament of his property, and the queen supposedly said, *placuit mihi ut testare facias illum tu Zuleiman frater omnia quod mihi petisti*, a formal affirmation.²¹¹ There are many cases of utterances in the first person in testamentary acts and disputes: requests, arguments, pleas, agreements.²¹² But in 1012, when Alfonso V was petitioned by Bishop Nuño of León to confirm a certain *kastellum* or *kastrum* and replied, *faciam quod postulatis mici*, he echoed himself two months later when, petitioned again by Teodemirus *frater* of Santiago de León for the return of a villa, he responded, *ego faciam et adimpleam at domum Sancti Iacobi quod mihi postulatis*, his earlier words here framing a specific reference to the beneficiary.²¹³ The scribe of both diplomas was Sampiro: we are reading ‘scribal speech’, a rhetorical strategy of the text to authenticate itself by seeming verbatim at moments when personal approval was important. This is not to deny any connection between real and written words: *condiciones sacramentorum* were standardized in content, arising from the Visigothic formulary, but the stereotyped words were combined with particularities of the dispute and sworn aloud, or so we are told, in a more complex interplay between language as spoken and written.²¹⁴ What it does compromise is our ability to use direct speech in charters to prove that they were transcribed *viva voce*.

At first sight it can also seem that live recording by the scribe was a feature of dispute settlements. Some cases are written up as a series of documents, each confirmed like a discrete

²¹¹ ACL.543; cf. ACL.560.

²¹² e.g. ACL.754, ACL.856; SAH.340, SAH.386, SAH.404; SMB.1; SJP.32; SLM.112; CEL.88, CEL.236.

²¹³ ACL.707-8.

²¹⁴ e.g. SLM.109.

text, corresponding to stages of the process.²¹⁵ A dispute from 915, for instance, consists of an undertaking by Velasco, arguing on behalf of Valdevimbre, to present supporting witnesses for their version of the ownership history of a stretch of the River Bernesga, set out like an opening argument: in the following ‘sub-charter’, the witnesses testify to this effect, rehearsing the story in full, and then, in the next one, swear an oath over the same testimony, recapitulating it, before their adversary Munnio finally capitulates in the settlement proper.²¹⁶ The repetition hints at the originally discrete composition of these texts, and the examples are sufficiently varied for us to accept that this is not just a fiction of judicial documentation.²¹⁷ In 1022, a case of *raptio* or abduction played out over four ‘sub-charters’ on one parchment: a *manifesto* or statement of confession to the accusation made by Eneco, then a *placitum* to consult Visigothic law, followed by the relevant law in full, and lastly a *placitum* in which Fruela Muñoz offered him a contract of service by way of settlement; the first three and the fourth are signed by the scribe and dated to 21 and 23 June, looking like a judicial procedure unfolding.²¹⁸

But not all disputes fit this structure, such as one from Celanova held in 987, in which the first section of the charter recounts the whole settlement process from start to finish, while the four subsequent texts read like the procedural documentation generated in its course. These include a formal confession, a *placitum* to consult the law, an undertaking to present witnesses, and a final *placitum* to hand over the property, so that what we have is a kind of synthesis with attached supporting materials.²¹⁹ When in 1008 the bishop of Astorga and Munio Fernández locked horns before Alfonso V, the *saio* was our man Sampiro *presbiter*, and he too wrote up the proceedings in not ‘procedural’ but ‘synthetic’ style: the text contains much direct speech, yet it works through the documentary stages without a break, naming some of them along the

²¹⁵ cf. Collins, ‘Law and Charters’, pp. 498-506; *idem*, ‘Visigothic Law’, pp. 87-90, 94-5.

²¹⁶ ACL.34.

²¹⁷ e.g. OLD.116, OLD.125; STL.66; RCV.3.

²¹⁸ OLD.150-51.

²¹⁹ CEL.200.

way, the *series condiciones* sworn by Munio and two others and the final *definitionem et cartam securitatem*.²²⁰ Highly variable in format, the ‘end product’ charter is the more common, and it implies a kind of rationalization after the fact of whatever form in which the dispute had been recorded while in progress.²²¹ Settlements which are introduced with the words *notum facimus concilio*, or as a *seriem brevem*, may be acknowledging this summary quality.²²²

If we return to the charters written in ‘procedural’ style with this in mind, we can see a more subtle situation than is at first apparent. The great (in length) dispute from 953 over the monastery of Gordón in the Asturias seems to consist of seven separate documents: the opening statement of arguments ending in a *placitum* to produce witnesses, the rehearsal of the witness testimony, the *conditiones sacramentorum* sworn by these witnesses leading to the settlement, and three *placita*, to present the witnesses, accept the settlement, and hand over the property; a confirmation of 981 is appended.²²³ Yet a cursory glance at the parchment belies this: the first six documents have clearly all been written at the same time by a single hand, the first three *en bloc*, the second three in a column on the lower right, below the names of the witnesses to the ordeal, as if these procedural *placita* are similarly supporting testimony. The charter remains an original nonetheless, as is apparent from the subscriptions, some of which are autographs or at least written by more than one hand: this ‘end product’ of the settlement, therefore, is the charter which the witnesses ultimately confirmed, and continued to accrue additions.

There are no surprises here: disputes written up both procedurally and synthetically attest internally to taking place over days, months, even years, so some reckoning of paperwork would have been in order after all that time, to produce a usable account for confirmation at

²²⁰ ACL.669.

²²¹ e.g. ACL.191; SAH.406; CAS.1; SVO.29; STL.62; SMC.23; SJP.13; CEL.260; CDA.vii; SLM.57; SJS.26; PMH.193.

²²² CEL.223; SLM.109; cf. CAS.3; SDM.31; SJS.20; SDC.60.

²²³ ACO.25; Collins, ‘Law and Charters’, pp. 498-501; J. Rodríguez Fernández, *Ordoño III* (León, 1982), pp. 171-8.

the end.²²⁴ The constituents of each settlement, however, are not mere rhetorical exercises in authenticating the text, for examples of stray procedural documentation survive without an end product: *manifesta* with an attached *placitum* or sale, *condiciones sacramentorum*, an isolated settlement, a list of property at issue *per furtum*.²²⁵ We should think again of different functions and audiences, according to which the scribe customized presentation; in some cases it clearly mattered that the intricacies of the competing claims be set down stage by stage, in others the resultant transaction seems to have been more important, hence those charters – recurrent in Celanova, Otero, and Sobrado and hard to classify – which take the form of a brief judicial background followed by the payment of an agreed penalty or fee.²²⁶ Certain editors, confronted by parties or witnesses to documents who cannot be made to fit with their dates, have proposed ‘charters after the fact’, retrospectively documenting earlier transactions.²²⁷ And indeed, in the executions of testaments or the ‘property history’ narratives behind all manner of transactions, we catch sight of multiple prior stages not all of which were written down at the time.²²⁸ Occasionally this even seems to have been done at the last minute in a flurry of texts to go along with the new transaction.²²⁹ In 1027, a *kartula perfiliacionis vel vendicionis* was explicit: the *villa* in question had already been purchased during the lifetime of Amunna, the wife of Fruela Muñoz, but *non ubiarunt de illa carta facere*, they had not made a charter of it then, so they made up for it here, after her death, and she is present spectrally as purchaser beside her husband.²³⁰ Some documentation was not precisely contemporaneous with the transaction which it records, but such charters do not have to be seen as anachronistic, in light of the multiple versions that were written of donations, sales, and disputes.

²²⁴ e.g. ACL.128, ACL.192; SLM.119; PMH.183; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 194-210.

²²⁵ e.g. OLD.38-9, OLD.147-8; SMV.8; SMP.2; SMP.1; OLD.114.

²²⁶ e.g. CEL.126, CEL.160, CEL.195, CEL.311, CEL.332; OLD.31, OLD.109, OLD.168; SLM.9, SLM.37, SLM.43-4, SLM.67, SLM.69, SLM.72.

²²⁷ e.g. ACL.863; SJS.38, SJS.87.

²²⁸ e.g. ACL.28, ACL.118; SAH.337; CEL.219; PMH.74, PMH.168, PMH.240.

²²⁹ e.g. SAH.145-7, SAH.272-3.

²³⁰ OLD.179.

The charter is therefore a moment (or moments) in a transaction, but when we consider it in the context of the witnessing process, a general contemporaneity between its content and its composition comes to the fore as the norm. Confirmation involved not only granters (and at times recipients), but also witnesses, of course, and their presence is another expectation of the text. There were those *qui preses fuerunt* in 926, and the *testibus qui ibidem presens fuerunt et roboraverunt* in 945.²³¹ More emphatically, there were those *qui pres ic fuerum* in 997, or *qui ibi fuerunt preses* in 1020.²³² Formulas can accompany names of individual witnesses, such as one *ubi preses fuit* in 951, or three *ic preses fui* in 957; there is Arias Muniz, comprehensively, *que presens fuit vidit et conf* in 988.²³³ Why they were present is made quite clear by those *qui presentes fuerunt in istam roborationis cartam* in 984, and it happened to many a charter that *testibus qui ibidem presens fuerunt tradimus ad roborandum* as in 899, or to the *testibus a me rogatis* as in 942.²³⁴ They saw (exactly what is unspecified): those *quos viderunt* in 961, or *qui presentes fuerunt et viderunt* in 1016; even the ones *qui preses fuerunt et ista kartula roborare viderunt* in 1010.²³⁵ And they heard: those who *et audierunt et viderunt* in 1025.²³⁶

Witnesses were potentially present to witness every stage of the transaction. When on her deathbed Mater declared her last will, which in 937 was set down in writing and executed, she did so before seven people named in the testament.²³⁷ The expression of will is the earliest stage in the transaction, really a preface to it, at which we find witnesses, but it is not the last.²³⁸ For a sale in 930, ten witnesses met at a church of San Lorenzo, *ad terra consinanda et terminos postos*, and reference to delimitation and assignment before witnesses is a very common feature of boundary clauses; in 952, the process even involved establishing *karacteres fitos* or fixed

²³¹ ACL.71; SPC.49.

²³² OLD.43, OLD.129.

²³³ ACL.240; SPE.27; COR.102.

²³⁴ SLM.106; SPC.1, SPC.39.

²³⁵ CEL.144; SLM.121; OLD.83.

²³⁶ PMH.258.

²³⁷ ACL.118.

²³⁸ e.g. SVO.18; SMC.129; SJP.41; SJS.38.

marks, while in 816 the witness Quinderedus *presbiter* made particular mention of the limits as set out in the text in his formula of subscription.²³⁹ Boundaries could be contentious, and there are multiple disputes which featured *previsores* being dispatched to *previderent* them: in records of such *previsiones*, they tend to subscribe with the formula *quod previdi*.²⁴⁰ The twenty witnesses present when the four defeated parties to a dispute *adsignarunt* the *serna* or sowing land at issue in 946 may have observed the same process, since *adsignabimus* appears in a boundary clause of 1024, but they may instead have seen the formal handover of the property, judging by the meaning of *signavimus* in a confirmation clause of 944, and the fact that a witness to an exchange confirmed *pro quod dare vidi villam* in 948.²⁴¹ Certainly witnesses could be present to certify, or even to set, the price: five silver *solidi* were *in pondere pesatos coram multitudine* in 1010, while fourteen people *ipsa villa apreciaverunt*, perhaps priced it, and affirmed the gift of it in 999.²⁴² There was hardly a purpose to swearing an oath unless *iuravimus coram testibus* as in 954, nor to taking the ordeal, hence listing both those *qui preses fuerunt ad iuramentum* and those *qui preses fuerunt quando innocens ingressus est ad pena kaldaria* in 953.²⁴³

Since witnesses were present over the course of the transaction, it stands to reason that they should also have attended its confirmation. When Iulianus *presbiter* made his testament to Santos Justo y Pastor in 954, he confirmed it at home *in conspectu de fratre meos suprimos et consanguineos seu et extraneos qui veniebant me visitandum*, while Garvissus, in the course of a dispute in 958, came to Sahagún with *frater* Vistremiro and, *in presentia* of the abbot and *praepositus*, confirmed *placita* to appear in León before the bishop in judgement.²⁴⁴ Formulas

²³⁹ ACL.88; CEL.96; FLO.25 [I]; cf. e.g. ACL.91; SAH.264; OLD.83; SPE.19; SPC.20; SJS.44; SLM.27; CEL.16; PMH.24.

²⁴⁰ e.g. COR.65; COR.107; CEL.86; SLM.87; LTL.30; PMH.17.

²⁴¹ ACL.191, ACL.810, ACL.188; CEL.83; cf. e.g. ACL.519; SJS.87; CEL.5.

²⁴² ACL.688; CEL.238; cf. CEL.265; Davies, 'Sale', pp. 165-70.

²⁴³ SID.10; ACO.25; cf. ACL.697; COR.95.

²⁴⁴ ACL.278; SAH.159; cf. e.g. ACL.293; SAH.283.

of confirmation across the entirety of the documentation insist upon the presence of witnesses: *et coram testibus tradita et roborata* in 979, or those *qui presentes fuerunt quando ipsa cartula roboravit isti sunt* in 943; indeed, when granters *manus proprie sygnum inpressimus*, typically it is *coram testes ad roborandum* as in 947, *coram multitudine* as in 984, or *cunctis videntibus* as in 993, although in practice this meant, more often than not, watching the scribe affix such signs on their behalf.²⁴⁵ The scribes of Otero favoured a formula, *qui preses fuererunt et ista karta roborare viderunt*, lacking concrete agency for the confirmation, perhaps by design.²⁴⁶ Other cases emphasize the writing of the charter: *facta hac scriptura a nobis et roborata simul cum tistibus* in 922, before the prince, bishops, and orthodox men in 902, or that *cartam istam coram idoneis testibus Smaelitis ut tunc mos erat et scribere iussit* around 1018, even a diploma which Ambrosio *presbitero et notarius* drafted *in casa dominica in Lionia ante nostro domno simul cum illo comite*.²⁴⁷ The witnesses *qui presentes fuimus quando isto mercato factum fuit* in 1005 and the granter who *conparavi illum montem coram testibus* in 971 both recognize that the whole transaction, with its parties, witnesses, and scribe, is a collective context represented by the charter.²⁴⁸ The transaction was also a matter of stages: not every witness was present for every one – not even the last and most important of writing up, to judge from the blank spaces left for those who failed to appear – but all stages of the transaction were witnessed.

The public quality of the business recorded by each charter raises a further question of context: where did the transactional and documentary process take place? The answer, in fact, is surprisingly diverse, and points us toward the conclusion that physical location as such is not what really mattered. At the top, in the hall of the mountain king, it is strikingly difficult to see

²⁴⁵ ACL.470; SLM.60; SPC.58; ACL.498; SDC.57; *cf. e.g.* ACL.37; SAH.4; OLD.1; SPE.14; ACA.77; SID.9; CAS.7; SVO.17; SPO.1; SDM.3; STL.4; SMP.5; RCV.3; SMV.9; SMC.86; COV.11; SPC.10; SPA.2; SSO.16; BUR.1; ADC.2; SJP.49; ACP.4; CEL.25; COR.61; SJS.9; PMH.23; ARO.1.

²⁴⁶ OLD.24; *cf. e.g.* OLD.27, OLD.42, OLD.48-9, OLD.51, OLD.53-6, OLD.58, OLD.66-71, OLD.73.

²⁴⁷ SAH.29; SJS.10; PMH.240; ACL.295; *cf.* ACL.824; COV.15; SJP.13; SLM.71; PMH.167.

²⁴⁸ ACL.649; SAH.264; *cf. e.g.* ACL.513; SAH.33; ACA.10; STL.45; SMC.67; SMV.27; SPC.151; SMA.5; SSL.3; ACP.11; COR.21; SJS.35; CEL.326.

Oviedo as a setting for the conduct of written affairs.²⁴⁹ Authentic diplomas located in the royal capital are confined to a grant by Ordoño I *ad populando* in 854, the donation of Abellar to its monks by Alfonso III in 905, and a dispute between the bishops of Coimbra and Iria heard first at Oviedo and then at Santiago *ad Archis* in 906, albeit not explicitly before the king.²⁵⁰ In the Leonese period, a dispute took place in the *aulam regiam* of Oviedo before Ramiro II in 942, and Alfonso V confirmed confiscated property to Munio Muñoz in 1012, the diploma *exarata* in the *sedis Ovetao*, but apart from another case involving San Vicente de Oviedo, heard there by judges of the king in 1028, there is little evidence in the charters of the former royal seat as an important site for new writing.²⁵¹ León, in contrast, is well attested: Alfonso III, for example, made an exchange in 909 while *commorantes in civitate Legionensi* (although *residentes troni solium in sede Oveto*, or occupying the seat of the throne in Oviedo), while the bishop of Lugo sought out Ramiro II at León in the mid-tenth century to take the monastery of Carboeiro under his protection.²⁵² Ramiro III, with his aunt and *nutrice* Elvira and his mother Tarasia, made a donation to Sobrado in 968, written precisely *in civitate Legionense in recluso Sancti Iohannis iuxta Portam Comitum et monasterium puellarum*.²⁵³ And many of the later Leonese kings can be located in the new capital by inference: Alfonso V granting a charter to Pedro, son of Munio Fernández, in 1002, with seven *monacorum palatii* amongst the witnesses, or Vermudo III in 1030 along with *omnem togam palatii*, just as Ordoño II confirmed the testament of Iulianus archipresbiter back in 912 with *cunctis senioribus et magnatis palacia* present.²⁵⁴

This implicit contextualization may be a signal that León became more established as a setting for written transactions over the course of the tenth century.²⁵⁵ Local business was of

²⁴⁹ cf. J.M. Lacarra, 'Panorama de la historia urbana en la Península Ibérica desde el siglo V al X', *Settimane VI*, p. 353.

²⁵⁰ OLD.1; ACL.18; PMH.13.

²⁵¹ ACO.23; OLD.90; SVO.29; cf. SJS.20; COR.113 [I?].

²⁵² SAH.9; COR.114; cf. SID.1; SPE.5; Lacarra, 'Panorama', pp. 353-4.

²⁵³ SLM.101.

²⁵⁴ ACL.623, ACL.871; ACA.10; cf. SJS.S2, SJS.24, SJS.29; SAH.328; OLD.30; ACA.171.

²⁵⁵ Estepa Díez, *Estructura*, pp. 113-24; A. Represa, 'Evolución urbana de León en los siglos XI-XIII', in *LH*, i, pp. 244-55.

course recorded there, like the testament of Bishop Cixila to Abellar, granted at León in 927, as were the affairs of those seemingly based, or at least present, in it, like the donation by Jimena to Sobrado in 984, written up *hec in sede Legionensi*.²⁵⁶ But the principal function of the capital was as a source of justice. Some disputes simply record being heard in León: one involving Valdevimbre *in presencia iudicum magnatorumque Legionensium* in 941, another to be held there after Ramiro II had returned from Galicia in 946.²⁵⁷ From the late tenth century, the royal palace emerges as a venue for the settlement of disputes, especially where the stakes were high. In 998, for instance, Vermudo II made an example of the captured rebel Gonzalo Vermúdez before *omnes magnati adque fideles palatii nostri*, and gave his property to Sampiro; indeed, Alfonso V confirmed the donation in the same context in 1020.²⁵⁸ Appeals of all kinds reached the king here: Sahagún vindicating a *villa* from a vexatious litigant in 1013, a curious case of family property alienated into Jewish ownership in 1015, a homicide prosecuted by law in 1020, or the court and *magnatorum palatii regis* evicting Osorio Gutiérrez from a monastery back in 952 and giving it to the see of Astorga.²⁵⁹ The other key urban centre was the cathedral church, and so, in 915, a dispute pitting Valdevimbre against Monio and his brothers, arranged by *placitum* to be heard before unspecified judges in León, was settled by an oath taken on the altar of Santa María.²⁶⁰ There were cases both major and minor: the hapless Iulianus *presbiter* appealed to the bishop at a *portico* by the cathedral in 954, asking him to void his testament to a nunnery which allegedly proved to be a brothel, while two Leonese monasteries vied before the king in 1021 over the site where one was founded, confirming the settlement with the bishop

²⁵⁶ ACL.75; SLM.106; *cf.* ACL.849, ACL.895; SAH.284.

²⁵⁷ ACL.144, ACL.192; *cf.* ACL.187, ACL.243; ACO.7.

²⁵⁸ ACL.581; *cf.* ACL.741, ACL.748; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Estampas de la vida en León durante el siglo X* (5th ed., Madrid, 1966), esp. 'La Corte en León'.

²⁵⁹ SAH.401; ACL.737, ACL.772; ACA.71; *cf.* ACL.508, ACL.708; SJS.61, SJS.S9; CEL.263; PMH.25.

²⁶⁰ ACL.34; P. Linehan, 'León, ciudad regia, y sus obispos en los siglos X-XIII', in *RL*, vi, pp. 411-33; Estepa Díez, *Estructura*, pp. 199-202.

in his church in 1029.²⁶¹ When Alfonso V promulgated the *Fuero de León* in 1017, he did so in the company of his bishops, abbots, and *optimates* in the see of Santa María.²⁶²

Yet capitals hardly loom large in the documentation. The others – Pamplona, Nájera, and Viguera in Navarra, Burgos in Castilla – are scarcely in evidence as centres, discounting forged charters.²⁶³ Partly this simply reflects itinerancy: a dispute in 952 saw the parties sign a *placitum* before Ordoño III at Simancas to appear before the king on his return to León, but, if he should be late, to present themselves before the bishop instead, neatly illustrating the twin axes of power in the city; in the event, he was late, and the bishop himself was *sedente* with his clergy at San Feliz de Torío, so the case was heard there.²⁶⁴ As in the late Roman world, rulers issued diplomas from all over the place, while obtaining justice must have involved a great deal of hot pursuit; this yields us the data to reconstruct some of the complexities of royal itineraries and to identify secondary centres such as Zamora, yet it is also complicated by falsification.²⁶⁵ The whereabouts of the Navarrese kings and Castilian counts are more desultorily documented, at least authentically, but they too were itinerant; a charter to Albelda from 950 was confirmed at Arrezo on the Ebro amidst a celebration of the *anniversario* of Sancho Garcés II.²⁶⁶ Given this reality, the documentation supports a decentralization of sites for royal writing.

When we turn to private charters, the picture is even more disparate. Bald indicators of location have a random character: a sale amongst Leonese laymen in 967 was recorded *in illa scola*, seemingly a school, by Migahel *presbiter*, while two donations to Sahagún were written at *Castro de Nunii* and Saelices de Mayorga respectively.²⁶⁷ In Portugal, one sale from 994 was set down, charmingly, *in mazinata sub illa nocaria*, in the orchard under the walnut tree, others

²⁶¹ ACL.278, ACL.777; cf. ACL.707, ACL.779; SAH.159; OLD.153.

²⁶² ACO.41; cf. CEL.302.

²⁶³ SMC.110-11, SMC.196; SMA.29; SPC.151; SJP.49.

²⁶⁴ ACL.256.

²⁶⁵ See fig. 33.

²⁶⁶ SMA.19; cf. SMA.15-6, SMA.20, SMA.28; SMC.98; SJP.14, SJP.56; SMC.144.

²⁶⁷ ACL.404; SAH.132; cf. SMB.1.

in villa Abozamates or *in villa Ferrarios*.²⁶⁸ Disputes were held at similarly diverse sites: García Gómez and one Zahbascorta ven Abolhauz sat in judgement at *Villa Alpando* in 998 to hear a dispute involving Sahagún, while a *placitum* promised compensation to Count Pedro Flaínez at his *mandacione* of Lorma in 1014, and parties out west appeared before lay and ecclesiastical judges at Pezobre and Gondemar.²⁶⁹ But most locations for written transactions fall into one of four categories: at a church, at the property involved, with the granter, or with the recipient. In 930, for example, the witnesses of a sale to Felis *presbiter* and his wife and children, those who had assembled *ad terra consinanda et terminos postos*, did so *ante eglesia Sancti Laurenti*.²⁷⁰ Sales in 940 and 943, to Mavia Indura *presbiter* and Flazino and his wife Eogenia, took place similarly *coram testes in conventum ecclesie Sancta Cecilia* and *in conventum eglessie Sancti Martine*, just as Alfonso V had presided over the restoration of San Esteban de Ribas de Sil at the monastery of Celanova in 1007; these are only three of many instances, especially prevalent around León.²⁷¹ The church was clearly a gathering place to write charters, and we can see at times that it was the local church: when Leocadia gave property in Marialba to Abellar in 951, the village scribe Stephanus *presbiter* wrote it *in conventu Sancte Marie Albe*.²⁷²

Churches recur as venues for dispute settlements. Many stops on royal itineraries were at the church, and so Vermudo II, restored from Galicia after a revolt by his nobles, adjudicated a case in 993 *in covento eglesie Sancto Salvatoris* in León.²⁷³ Hearings occurred at *Villazahid in aula Sancti Martini* in 1013, and at San Martín de Turieno in 962, amongst other locations in the centre, while in the west, we see parties meeting judges at San Cristóbal *ad Malage* in 987, first at the *villa* of Guilhabreu, the property at issue, then at Santa Maria de *Villa Mediana*

²⁶⁸ PMH.172, PMH.34, PMH.175.

²⁶⁹ SAH.356; OLD.99; SLM.119; PMH.258; *cf.* ACL.452; SAH.417; PMH.209.

²⁷⁰ ACL.88.

²⁷¹ ACL.137, ACL.162; SPR.1; *cf. e.g.* ACL.253, ACL.262, ACL.342, ACL.398, ACL.460, ACL.536; SAH.174, SAH.275, SAH.334, SAH.341, SAH.353, SAH.407; ACA.61; CAS.9; SVO.11; SJP.34, SJP.48; COR.94; SJS.34; PMH.87.

²⁷² ACL.236; *cf.* ACL.513, ACL.593, ACL.686; SAH.428; OLD.88-9

²⁷³ ACL.559.

in 1011, and elsewhere.²⁷⁴ In these obscure churches, we must glimpse sites of local authority, but the choice was also functional: not only was the scribe typically a cleric, but the oath was also sworn on an altar, the *condiciones sacramentorum* held over the the Gospels and relics of the saints.²⁷⁵ In 972, before Count García Fernández at Burgos, two parties *iuravimus cum sacramento in ecclesia Sancta Lucia in vanitate*, apparently failing the test, while two disputes preserved at San Millán were settled by oaths in Santa María de Sietefenestras in 936 and 940, and a case involving the bishoprics of Lugo and Iria in the late tenth century by the *conditiones* sworn on the *sacrosanto altario* of San Julián.²⁷⁶ Intimidation should not be underestimated. When Bishop Rosendo and Bishop Sisnando faced off in 961, the disputants agreed to take the *sacramentum* at the tomb of Santiago, but there the partisans of Rosendo withdrew, refusing to swear lest they speak falsehood, and those of Sisnando did so instead: many disputes end just at this stage, a sign of the supernatural authority of the church as a place.²⁷⁷

The other venues for written transactions are altogether more pragmatic. When Ordoño III granted the *villa dicta Lionia* to San Martín de Fonte de Febro in 956, the scribe located the donation on site at the property concerned, just as Alfonso IV, in 931, was at Villafría when he confirmed it to Cardeña.²⁷⁸ The same happens in private charters: Iuliano and Ilduara made a testament to Sahagún, *hic in Melgare*, of property there in 978, while the pact of the *sorores* of Villagonzalo Pedernales was drawn up in 947 at the eponymous *villa vocitata de Gundissalbo Telliz*, and Blasco Garciez sold a house in Salinas to Albelda, *tota villa testificante*, in 947, here the *villa* both a place and a body of witnesses present.²⁷⁹ Some disputes were heard on site as well, such as that between Munio Gutiérrez and Christoforus *presbiter* in 992 over a church of Santa María in *villa Bonimenti et Colina*, where parties and judges *coniuncti sunt in ipsa casa*,

²⁷⁴ SAH.400; STL.66; CEL.200; PHM.216; *cf.* SAH.424; OLD.4; SLM.127; PMH.193.

²⁷⁵ *e.g.* ACL.34, ACL.192; CAS.1; ACO.25; SMP.2; SMV.8, SMV.10.

²⁷⁶ SPC.151; SMC.23, SMC.27; SLM.109; *cf.* SMC.98, SMC.144; COR.95; CEL.362.

²⁷⁷ SDC.51; *cf.* CEL.260, CEL.292; PMH.183, PMH.225.

²⁷⁸ ACL.295; SPC.20.

²⁷⁹ SAH.294; SPC.95; SMA.14; *cf.* ACP.2; CEL.12; PMH.99, PMH.194.

or a sale by Balteiru of property *in teritorium Alahobeines*, made in consequence of a dispute held before judges there in 1030.²⁸⁰ Perhaps in these cases the boundaries were in contention, since records of the delimitation of contested property were made on site, at least partly. The *previsores* set out from where the dispute had been joined and, like the *homines bonos qui solent antiquum conprovere* at Dumio in 911, went *ad locum* to do so, meeting at the *arcas* or stones marking the limits, as at Alcainça and Vila Cova in 936, and following them, on horse or on foot; *in ipso loco*, the scribe *scribere studuimus* the boundaries.²⁸¹ Any type of division could prompt this, whether of the inhabitants of Abeancos and Cornado, as in 1007, for which an abbot took oath at Pezobre, in Abeancos, or of family property, as in 950, when Mumadona and her children made a *culmellus divisionis* in Guimarães, future site of her monastery.²⁸²

The writing process could also take place at the location of the granter, but this is rare and limited to ecclesiastics. In 1006, for instance, Totadomna and Auria, inmates of San Miguel Arcángel de León, made *apices testamenti*, the letters of a testament, to Abellar, which Gomez *presbiter* wrote *subtus aula sancti gloriosissimi Micaheli archangeli*, while three religious of a monastery of San Vicente in Bisauquos exchanged land with Sobrado in 964, the *congregatio* confirming.²⁸³ The charter was far more commonly written at the site of its recipient: although Iulianus *presbiter* visited two monasteries in his quest to make a testament, it was in his own *kasam* where he sent for the witnesses of his last wishes in 954.²⁸⁴ When Severus and his wife Recesinda granted a *scriptura profiliationis ac donationis* to Gundefredo in 905, one witness signed *dum essere pausati in domo istius Gundefredi*, a houseguest drafted into service, while Sampiro records in 1018 putting his donation to Santiago de León onto *sacro sancto altario*

²⁸⁰ SLM.111; PMH.268; cf. OLD.31, OLD.43; ACP.10; COR.59; PMH.228.

²⁸¹ PMH.17, PMH.42; CEL.86; cf. SJP.7, SJP.12, SJP.14, SJP.18; SJS.17; CEL.62, CEL.94; PMH.237; ARO.2; J.R. Morala Rodríguez, 'Léxico de la vida cotidiana. El trabajo en el campo', in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 412-7; Pastor, *Resistencias*, pp. 78-80; Collins, 'Visigothic Law', pp. 101-3; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 200-201.

²⁸² SDC.60; PMH.61; cf. SDC.22 [S?].

²⁸³ ACL.660; SLM.94; cf. SAH.78; ACA.48; SDM.41; CEL.44; PMH.157.

²⁸⁴ ACL.278.

after confirming it *coram multitudine fidei ecclesiae*.²⁸⁵ If the charter typically went along with the property to the recipient, conducting the transaction at the destination of both seems logical, and we can see charters to all the great Leonese monasteries being drawn up in them: *in quorum Sancti Salvatoris* at Matallana, *in quorum collegium sancti Cipriani episcopi* at Valdesaz, and so forth, including the king, in the background to a dispute of 1025, mandating that a charter of testament for San Vicente de León be prepared in the monastery itself.²⁸⁶

The texts addressed to Sahagún and composed *in aula sanctorum Facundi et Primitibi* at the monastery are just as numerous, featuring the visit by Alfonso V himself (with Sampiro) in 1018.²⁸⁷ This includes such subsidiary houses as San Andres in *Villa Motarrafi*, where a sale was recorded in 979, and the atypical visit by the brothers of Eslonza to Oveccus ibem Telliz in 988, seeking funds for reconstruction after *Sarrazeni* had razed it.²⁸⁸ Transactions at the sites of their beneficiaries recur across the collections: *in loco sacrosancto altario vestro* or *ad locum vestrum* to found, consecrate, endow, or confirm a religious institution, to sign a monastic pact or enter a monastery, or to make or affirm a donation or testament, even a sale by Argerigo and Adosinda to Evenando *presbiter* with *nos totos tres in tua casa*.²⁸⁹ Writing before the recipient was especially common in Galicia. Santiago was of course a frequent stop for kings and their agents, as well as host to a confirmatory council presided over by the future Alfonso III in 862 and the vast *exquisitio* held before Alfonso V in 1019.²⁹⁰ Many charters to Samos were made in its *congregatio*, and this holds for Sobrado, which witnessed Alfonso V confirm two of its charters on 18 April 1017 in the *cimiterio* itself; its patrons Hermegildo and Paterna were also the beneficiaries of disputes held there in 951 and 952, hardly qualifying as a fair hearing on

²⁸⁵ SVO.3; ACL.756; cf. ACL.803.

²⁸⁶ ACL.529, ACL.761, ACL.822; cf. e.g. ACL.490, ACL.509, ACL.547, ACL.566, ACL.590, ACL.648.

²⁸⁷ SAH.164, SAH.404; cf. SAH.175-6, SAH.190, SAH.258, SAH.285, SAH.289, SAH.303, SAH.317, SAH.429.

²⁸⁸ SAH.301, SAH.340; cf. SAH.314; A. Isla, 'Warfare and Other Plagues in the Iberian Peninsula Around the Year 1000', in P. Urbańczyk (ed.), *Europe Around the Year 1000* (Warsaw, 2001), p. 241.

²⁸⁹ SPE.1-2, SPE.9; PMH.202; cf. e.g. SID.7; SVO.18; STL.24; SDM.9-10; SPC.14, SMA.15-6; SPA.9; SMV.35; SMC.118; SJP.14; COR.63; ACM.6; PMH.2.

²⁹⁰ SDC.3; SDC.64 [I]; cf. SDC.1-2 [I], SDC.17, SDC.35, SDC.38, SDC.41.

neutral ground.²⁹¹ Many a text was likewise written up on the *pallam altaris* of Celanova, notably the testament of Rosendo in 977, and it hosted the congregations of two other houses for a charter of 993.²⁹² Between 1007 and 1012, a series of judicial proceedings ruling in its favour were similarly held at Celanova, revealing to us churches as not only centres for writing, but also, with this, prime defenders and advancers of their own interests.²⁹³

When the various locations of transaction and documentation are taken together, they yield an image of parties, witnesses, and scribes constantly on the move, from site to site and church to church, granters to recipients and vice versa, on their way to and from doing business and recording it. Yet more often noted than location is the fact of a collective context for the transaction.²⁹⁴ Witnessing is part of this, but there were also more specific labels given to the assemblies from which charters emerged, namely the council and the gathering. The *concilium* seems to be descended from the Visigothic *conventus publicus vicinorum* and is the progenitor in some form of the medieval Iberian *concejo*.²⁹⁵ This is the formative period for it: one of the earliest references comes in a grant of water for irrigation made by Bishop Cixila on behalf of Abellar, *coram concilio et plures testibus*, in 925, and seven years later, when he made another charter concerning water usage, again it was *coram concilio et plures testibus*.²⁹⁶ So what was it? Some kind of witnessing body, judging by its context amidst witnesses; it appears without

²⁹¹ SJS.35, SJS.37, SJS.50, SJS.52, SJS.58, SJS.62, SJS.69, SJS.73, SJS.75, SJS.80. SLM.98, SLM.101, SLM.69, SLM.72; cf. SLM.82, SLM.88, SLM.93, SLM.95, SLM.107, SLM.126.

²⁹² CEL.242, CEL.185, CEL.219; cf. CEL.9, CEL.95, CEL.192, CEL.215, CEL.231, CEL.261, CEL.265, CEL.298, CEL.319, CEL.322, CEL.332, CEL.371.

²⁹³ CEL.308, CEL.312, CEL.315, CEL.331.

²⁹⁴ B. Zeller, 'Writing Charters as a Public Activity: the Example of the Carolingian Charters of St Gall', in *USML*, xxii, pp. 27-37.

²⁹⁵ *Léxico*, s.v. 'concejo'; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 201-7; Estepa Díez, *Estructura*, pp. 197-9; J. Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal, 'El derecho especial de los fueros del reino de León (1017-1229)', in *RL*, ii, pp. 295-306; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, *El regimen de la tierra en el reino asturleonés hace mil años* (Buenos Aires, 1978), pp. 161-97; L.G. de Valdeavellano, *Curso de Historia de las Instituciones españolas. De los orígenes al final de la Edad Media* (7th ed., Madrid, 1984), pp. 533-54; P. Martínez Sopena, *La Tierra de Campos occidental. Poblamiento, poder y comunidad del siglo X al XII* (Valladolid, 1985), pp. 505-8; cf. Davies, 'Early Middle Ages', pp. 82-3; *eadem*, 'Lordship and Community: Northern Spain on the Eve of the Year 1000', in C. Dyer, P.R. Coss, and C. Wickham (eds.), *Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages: an Exploration of Historical Themes* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 31-2; M.C. Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés* (Buenos Aires, 1968).

²⁹⁶ ACL.67, ACL.94; cf. ACL.66;

qualification or localization, *ceteri concilius* and similar usages, in witness lists across the documentation, especially from León.²⁹⁷ Most basically it was a group of people. But the council could have a physical location: when Domnatia sold part of her vineyard in Valdesogo to her son Halile *presbiter* in 966, the eight witnesses were joined by *alios pluris concilio de sancte Eufemie*, and a sale of property on the Cea was written up *in concilio de Palaciolo et concilio de Ceia* in 1003, perhaps overlapping jurisdictions.²⁹⁸ The council was a local body: it might itself own property adjacent to that at issue, and Riquilo granted a testament to Abellar in 955 which included a *regum qui discurrit ad ortos et linares de Sancta Maria Alba concilio*, or encompass the area, such as when Riquilu gave his *benefactorem* Havive Alvinizi houses in the *mercato* of León, a transaction carried out *in coro concilio de Lione* in 1029.²⁹⁹ At times, however, it was just a church, if one acting as a local assembly: in 983, the *collegio* of Albelda was party to a pact witnessed by *omne concilium cenobitarum fratrum Albaidensium*.³⁰⁰

The function of the council was approbatory. The price paid to Sesgundia in 1016, *que nobis et vobis et omni concilio bene complacuit*, is a phrase much favoured at Celanova.³⁰¹ We find the *concilio sancte Eolalie* full of *multorum bonorum hominum* in 983, the *concilio sancti Salvatoris* in 1024 staffed by *filios bonorum*, in both cases the key community players familiar from charters across the early medieval world, especially here.³⁰² The council contributed to the decisions which underlie the documentation. When Vita Riquilo was on her deathbed in 1030, she summoned the abbot, clergy, and her *gens*, ordering *in concilio* a text of her *rem* to be written, just as Gisvado and his wife Leoviva founded San Adrián de Caldas in 929 by the sanction of the *sanctissimum concilium* assembled there, appointing an abbot drawn from that

²⁹⁷ ACL.145; cf. e.g. ACL.416; SAH.40; OLD.1; ACA.254; STL.71; SMA.16; SJS.S2; CEL.242; SDC.20; COR.96; PMH.253.

²⁹⁸ ACL.396; SAH.382; cf. e.g. ACL.515; SAH.268; ACA.103; SMC.141; SMA.8; SJP.49; SLM.106; CEL.188.

²⁹⁹ ACL.293, ACL.849; cf. ACL.586, ACL.607, ACL.643, ACL.807; SAH.399-400.

³⁰⁰ SMA.28; cf. ACL.482; SAH.428; SLM.86; SJS.52; CEL.371.

³⁰¹ CEL.342; cf. e.g. CEL.338-9, CEL.341.

³⁰² ACL.492, ACL.812; cf. ACL.634, ACL.654, ACL.691, ACL.769, ACL.771, ACL.832-3, ACL.836-7.

body; Jimeno and Adosinda outlined to Ordoño III *et omni concilio* the conditions of their donation to Bishop Rosendo and Celanova in 951, asking for oversight of it.³⁰³ The council is the communal context of transaction, the decisions which *facimus cum omni concilio*, but also, like the council owning property at Marialba in 955, a legal entity: it acted as a party in a grant of water usage by San Martín to the *concilio de Villa Vascones* in 956, and a *fuero* confirmed by Fernán González to the council of Barrio the year before.³⁰⁴ In the tenth century, we can see the development of councils across Iberia. At Guimarães in 986, for example, *alii multorum filii benenatorum qui erant in concilio de Vimaranes* make their first appearance, but the circumstances for each are obscure.³⁰⁵ This one appears three decades after the monastery, and witnesses monastic affairs and those of others, so one should not tie its creation to purely ecclesiastical factors.³⁰⁶ The proliferation of councils, as communal bodies for the process of writing, parallels the rise of documentation and consolidation of the scribal profession.

The greatest need for consent came in the settlement of disputes, where we see councils acting most prominently.³⁰⁷ In 941, for instance, Nemoirellus *presbiter* and Valdevimbre were at odds over certain mills, so they argued the case before the judges and magnates of León: *omni concilio iudicum discernentes iusticia*, the *auctores* nominated by Nemoirellus prevailed, and a prior settlement made *in conspectu concilii* of Ordoño II, his bishops, and his judges was confirmed, resulting in Valdevimbre abandoning its claim in writing before the council.³⁰⁸ Mention of a council often flags royal justice, whether the *fidei concilio regni nostri* of *omnes magnati adque fideles palatii nostri* assisting Vermudo II to humble a rebel in 998, or an *intencio* of Rodrigo Romaniz and Jimena Jiménez *in concilio* before Queen Elvira *et suos*

³⁰³ ACL.873; SPE.9; CEL.91; *cf. e.g.* ACA.65; SPE.24; CAS.2; SMB.1; SPC.70; SDC.3-4; SJS.72; COR.132; CEL.174.

³⁰⁴ CEL.353; SPC.89; SMC.67; *cf.* SMN.4.

³⁰⁵ PHM.152.

³⁰⁶ *e.g.* PMH.221, PMH.247, PMH.251.

³⁰⁷ Estepa Díez, *Estructura*, pp. 455-9.

³⁰⁸ ACL.144; *cf.* ACL.34.

iudices in 1001; a *collecto concilio* of the kingdom even raised Alfonso V to the throne in 999.³⁰⁹ Councils were party and witness to all aspects of judgement: authorizing seizure of property, appointing judges, hearing claims, evaluating evidence and law, receiving oaths, making or confirming decisions, negotiating settlements, and overseeing implementation.³¹⁰ There were also corresponding councils of bishops, abbots, monks, priests, deacons, magnates, counts, *maiorini*, *iudices*, *boni homines*, even the *omni concilio de Vurgientium civitate* with *multorum bonorum ominum a minimo usque ad maximo*, performing the same functions; at Otero especially, they also arranged the move from formal judgement *ad atiba*, negotiation of a compromise, and at various times they scheduled court dates, imprisoned offenders, valued damages, selected witnesses, mandated oaths, oversaw ordeals, or heard confessions.³¹¹

References to the council, especially the royal council, strikingly seldom locate it. The point was evidently less to situate the settlement spatially than contextually: the equivalent of saying, ‘in court’, flagging the presence of a procedural collectivity, with or without identifying it any further. The charter emerged from the council and its future lay in the council: a standard feature of the sanction clause is an undertaking by the granter to *vindicare*, *auctorigare*, *sanare*, or *firmare* the property or its charter *in concilio* on behalf of the recipient, *prout decet*, a threat of ‘see you in court’ to potential violators; the document was to remain in force *in omni concilio et in omni tempore* or, if not, the penalty paid *in quacumque iudicio et fideli concilio*.³¹² As in the *Fuero de León* of 1017, if anyone should disturb what had been granted to the Church by testament, that testament should be brought to the council for investigation.³¹³ This communal focus is even more pronounced in the principal synonym for council in the documentation: the

³⁰⁹ ACL.581; SJS.S10; CEL.302.

³¹⁰ e.g. ACL.508; SAH.284; OLD.90; ACA.5; ACO.7; SMC.98; ACP.10; SDC.48; SJS.26; SLM.118; COR.59; CEL.223; CDA.6; PMH.25.

³¹¹ SPC.151; OLD.4, OLD.43, OLD.149; cf. e.g. ACL.184; SAH.101; OLD.38; ACO.25; SDM.31; SPA.18; SMA.27; COR.50; SJS.67; SLM.109; CEL.52; PMH.200.

³¹² ACL.29, ACL.499, ACL.613; CEL.371; PMH.236; ACL.647; CEL.224; ACL.581; cf. e.g. ACL.52; SAH.120; OLD.37; ACO.31; SVO.30; SDM.25; SSO.4; SDC.4; SJS.S10; CEL.109; PMH.53.

³¹³ ACO.41 [2]; cf. ACO.41 [48].

collatio or the ‘gathering’.³¹⁴ Aveiza and his wife Egelo made a *kartula perfiliationis* to Nuño Sarraquiniz and his wife Gudigeva in 960, and its witness list ends *et aliorum de collacione*, in a recurrent formulation.³¹⁵ Again this is partly a place, to judge by a sale in 965 of property in *conlationis villa Abcalbelle*, overlapping with the council, since the transaction was written up *in concilio sancti Stefani*; another sale was made at the *collatione sancti Iohanni* in 972.³¹⁶ Like the council, it could also stand for a church, such as the donation to Valdevimbre in 1022, recorded there *in collatione sancte Marie*, or else its congregation, as in the case of a sale to Santos Justo y Pastor in 981 at the *collacionem de sancto Iusto qui presentes fuerunt*.³¹⁷

The Roman *conlatio* encompassed all forms of bringing together, including of property for redistribution, and in Iberia it was foremost a collectivity. Consider a sale of a vineyard *in collationem sancti Ioanis apostoli et evansceliste* in 979: its boundaries were delimited *in facie de omnis de collatione sancti Ioannis et sancti Pelagi de Capezutos*.³¹⁸ When the gathering acts as a party its twofold signification is apparent, as with *omni collacio de Melgare* who took part in a donation of 932, or the gift made by Tellu *presbiter* in 952 to Valpuesta, its bishop-abbot, *et tota collatione qui ibi sunt in ipsa regula*.³¹⁹ But the term could also take in the sense of the decisions reached collectively on which charters are predicated: Alfonso III issued a precept to Bishop Sisnando of Iria in 880, *secundum quod in concilio per collationem fuit deliberatum*, whence the testament made, *deliberata collatione et prefinito consilio*, by the abbesses Aeylo and Goysenda in 993.³²⁰ From here it is a small step to go to a dispute settlement with the words *pervenimus inde ad collationem* before *omni concilio* in 959, held *in colacione iudicum* as in 946, or negotiated *per colacione de omnes bonos ad atiba* as in 1019.³²¹ If there is a distinction

³¹⁴ *Léxico*, s.v. ‘collacione’; *Niermeyer*, s.v. ‘collatio’; *Blaise*, s.v. ‘collatio’; *Glossarium*, ‘collatio’; cf. Davies, *Acts*, pp. 203, 206; Martínez Sopena, *Tierra*, pp. 512-3.

³¹⁵ ACL.331; cf. ACL.420, ACL.742, ACL.791; SPC.37.

³¹⁶ ACL.391, ACL.418; cf. e.g. ACL.485; ACA.121; OLD.106-7; SPC.229.

³¹⁷ ACL.796, ACL.484; cf. ACL.253, ACL.491, ACL.493; COR.10; SMV.43.

³¹⁸ ACL.468; cf. e.g. ACL.402; SAH.335; ACA.35; OLD.83.

³¹⁹ SAH.44; SMV.31; cf. ACL.128; SMV.44; SDM.1, SDM.10; PMH.138.

³²⁰ SDC.8; CEL.219.

³²¹ ACL.312; OLD.4, OLD.116; cf. ACL.577, ACL.597; SPC.55.

between the two synonymous terms, it is that the council is predominantly a usage of the west and the centre, while the gathering appears mainly in the centre and the east.

Assembly for written transaction, however termed, was sufficiently regular that it was not always registered. Some documents are records of ‘business fairs’ more than discrete transactions, like the original from 1005 which contains three sales by four couples to Maurele Velasquiziz and his wife Godina, or ten self-donations to Piasca on one day in 957, further instant archives; and some of the inventories from Celanova and San Millán could be comparable.³²² We also catch sight of assembly when multiple charters bear the same date. On 20 February 950, for example, a husband and wife and a woman with five children made separate sales to Iulianus *presbiter*, recorded in successive documents witnessed by two groups of people, whereas on 26 February 1026, two different scribes, Ermegildo and Iohannes, were present to write up donations to Santillana del Mar first by Citi Petriz, then by three daughters of Romano and Argylo; shared witnesses are more common, and the scribe Ranulfus *presbiter* stuck around to observe the other transaction written by Etylmirus *presbiter* for San Pedro de Montes on 1 July 930.³²³ As these charters share recipients, some are on the same parchment, again creating an archive, once with a joint dorsal note, and some involve adjacent properties, such as when Baldemiru and Placidia made sales to Valdevimbre on 29 February 952, each of them identifying the land in question as neighbouring that bought by the monastery from the other.³²⁴ The scribe could be ‘hired for the day’: Iulianus *confessor* wrote up two donations by Ramiro III to Sahagún on 11 May 971, while Florentius *scriba depinxit* both the restoration of San Andrés de Boada and the confirmation of Santa María de Cárdaba to Arlanza by Fernán González on 1 March 937.³²⁵ Yet even when these transactions took place at the same site, the

³²² ACL.657; SAH.153; CEL.338; SMC.137; *cf. e.g.* ACL.689; SAH.299; ACA.260; SDM.3; SMV.48; SMC.25; SPC.113B-C; COR.93; CEL.310.

³²³ ACL.211-2; SDM.37-8; SPM.11-2; *cf. e.g.* ACL.254-5; SAH.40-41; OLD.156-7; ACA.90-91; SPE.1-2; CAS.3-4; STL.50-51; SPC.51-2; SMC.186-7; SDC.48-9; SLM.42-3; CEL.114-5; PMH.130/132.

³²⁴ ACL.563-4; *cf.* SAH.226-7. ACL.246-7; *cf.* SAH.272-3; CEL.148-9, CEL.205-6.

³²⁵ SAH.261-2; SPA.14-5; *cf.* ACL.708-9; OLD.160-61; ACA.225-6; SDM.26-7, SDM.35-6; SPA.23-4.

witnesses are not always the same, such as two testaments granted *in quorum concilio sancti Salvatoris* to San Salvador de Matallana on 9 December 1022 and witnessed by two wholly different groups, although some overlap is normal.³²⁶ On 27 April 1030, indeed, Vivi *presbiter* wrote a sale by Vermudo and his wife Donna Nova to Cidi Domínguez and his wife Oria before six witnesses, then another by Zidi Pelagiz and his wife Tarasia to the same on that parchment, the only new witness Vermudo himself.³²⁷ There are also numerous cases of ‘charter days’ like market days: three, four, or even more transactions recorded on a single day, all to the same recipients, but only some with the same witnesses or written by the same scribe.³²⁸

Clearly the writing process involved much planning ahead, picking days in the calendar to gather parties, witnesses, and scribes, but we have to imagine a surplus of each for each text, a larger of pool of parties, witnesses, and scribes milling about, waiting their turn. This act, of bringing people together, is possibly what underlies the formation of councils and gatherings as legal entities and actors: done often enough, people were no longer being brought together, but meeting at pre-existing assemblies. The writing for which they were meeting was foremost a community affair, and that communal quality is the essence of witnessing. Witnesses, indeed, are ubiquitous: they are absent from only four original royal diplomas and fifty private charters, or 54 (1%) of the total corpus of documentation. The royal cases are all precepts, the ‘business end’ of the diploma, while thirteen of the fifty others are lists, hardly calling for witnessing, or contracts of some sort where mutuality renders witnesses superfluous, leaving 37 unwitnessed charters; some of these are incomplete, others share witnesses with subsequent documents on the same parchment.³²⁹ The point here is the constancy of witnessing, and its collective nature

³²⁶ ACL.794-5; cf. SAH.175-6; OLD.106-7; SDM.9-10; SMA.15-6.

³²⁷ ACL.866-7; cf. ACL.800-801; SAH.16/361, SAH.29-30, SAH.234-5; OLD.64-5, OLD.111-2, OLD.118-9, OLD.131-2, OLD.189-90, OLD.191-2.

³²⁸ e.g. ACL.371-4 [?], ACL.457-9, ACL.874-7, ACL.891-3 [?]; SAH.145-7 [?], SAH.229-32 [?], SAH.324-6; OLD.59-61, OLD.67-9 [?], OLD.94-7, OLD.137-9, OLD.172-4; ACA.14-6; SLM.47-9; CEL.130-33, CEL.135-7, CEL.253-9 [?], CEL.305-7; PMH.13.

³²⁹ Precepts: ACL.18, ACL.149, ACL.300, ACL.500. Lists: ACL.480, ACL.668; OLD.22; COR.136; PMH.237. Contracts: ACL.477, ACL.677; OLD.38-9, OLD.150; COR.9; FLO.73, FLO.75. e.g. SAH.306; OLD.40-41; ACL.364-6.

is emphasized by the fact that 389 (10%) of the charters refer to ‘many others’ in addition to the witnesses: *alius plures qui ic non sunt* in 940, and *aliorum multorum que non sunt scripti* of 1013.³³⁰ Those who assembled for writing exceeded those whose names were recorded.

We return to witnesses: who are they? The difference from granters is not always clear. Rebelle signs but his wife Maosavara confirms in 965, just as Ordoño III signs whereas Urraca confirms in 954; the bishop of Segovia signs while his eight *consanguineis* witness in 960, just as Valencia signs while eight of her nine children witness in 950, and Dompater simply appears in the witness list in 961.³³¹ Nor indeed is the difference between *confirmans* and *testis* obvious, since for every case where it signals some status distinction, another gives this the lie.³³² When witnesses are studied, it tends to be that subsection bearing titles – royal, comital, ecclesiastical, aristocratic – and from the perspective of prosopography, whether or not this is made explicit: as evidence for the composition of the royal court, the movements of its members, relationships amongst aristocrats, or the identities of local élites. That upper echelons of society feature in witness lists should occasion little surprise; witness lists are regularly, although not uniformly, organized by status, but that society was stratified scarcely merits stopping the presses.³³³ The question to ask is what sort of person, more broadly, makes a witness? Put another way, what fraction of society took part in charters as witnesses? Such general descriptors of witnesses as we possess are limited: *homines bonos*, *fili bonorum hominum*, or *viros veridicos*, the *idoneis testibus*, even the *idoneis testibus Smaelitis*; the *laycos*, indeed *clericis et laicis*, or the suspect *barones* and *infanconibus*.³³⁴ Were only the better sort meant to witness? If we try to categorize witnesses more imaginatively than simply by status, there quickly emerges a picture of widespread, diverse, and often unexpected social participation in witnessing charters.

³³⁰ ACL.139; SAH.400.

³³¹ ACL.388, ACL.280, ACL.333, ACL.216, ACL.337.

³³² e.g. ACL.432, ACL.68.

³³³ e.g. Rodríguez Fernández, *Ramiro II*, pp. 513-24.

³³⁴ ACL.634; PMH.74; SPC.57; PMH.130, PMH.240; cf. ACO.41 [2], [20]; COR.58; SMN.4; ACH.5; SDM.8.

Some witnesses are identified by geographical origin, coming from both near and afar. In one exchange involving land in Marialba from 965, the witness Corasce is called *de Sancta Maria Alva*, while a sale of property beneath the city wall of León in 974 features a witness *de Porta de Episcopo*, one of its neighbourhoods.³³⁵ They could come from a religious institution party to the transaction, such as the *soror de casa* in a testament to Santiago de León of 1028, or the *frater de Domnos Sanctos* in another sale to Sahagún from 997, just as in the donation of San Miguel de Támara in 968 the monastery brought the *testimonias*.³³⁶ But other witnesses originate from places not directly involved, like the exchange of vineyards on *Monte Aurio* in 942 with one witness from Cea or the donation of another vineyard in Marialba with one from *Monasteriolo*.³³⁷ They could even come from a distance: one from Burgos who attended a sale to Piasca in 959, or two from Pamplona at a donation to Sahagún in 962; what should we make of an *episcopus de Grecia* sitting in on a testament to San Salvador de Oviedo in 1012?³³⁸ The mobile are typically religious, moving in a radius of their base, like the priest of Sahagún witnessing a donation to Santos Justo y Pastor in 980, or the abbot of Sahagún at Cea in 1026 for a restoration of property to Santa María de León; the bishop of Orense attended a testament to Celanova in 962, stating that the monastery was in his diocese.³³⁹ We regularly see groups of bishops from sees hither and yon at royal transactions and others of high status.³⁴⁰

Yet members of the laity changed places too: the testament of Iulianus *presbiter* in 954 was confirmed in sight of *fratre meos suprimos et consanguineos seu et extraneos qui veniebant*

³³⁵ ACL.386; SAH.278; cf. e.g. ACL.148; SAH.160; STL.28; SPC.16; SMA.21; SMC.102; CEL.302.

³³⁶ ACL.848; SAH.354; SPC.134; cf. SAH.340, SAH.359; SMC.184; SMN.4; ACM.6.

³³⁷ ACL.153, ACL.264; cf. e.g. ACL.243; SAH.91; ACA.28; SPE.17; SVO.16; SPC.104; COV.6; SMV.32; SMC.79; SMI.3; ACP.9; ACH.8; SLM.4; CEL.59; PMH.161.

³³⁸ STL.57; SAH.196; ACO.40; cf. SJS.S5.

³³⁹ ACL.479, ACL.829; CEL.154; cf. e.g. ACL.167; SAH.68; ACA.49; CAS.11; FLO.12; ACO.32; STL.39; SSO.2; SMV.31; SMI.1; SJS.26-7; SLM.71; CEL.100; ACM.7; PMH.67; J.A. García de Cortázar, 'Reyes y abades en el reino de León (años 910 a 1157)', in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 201-63.

³⁴⁰ e.g. SAH.93; VEG.1; SPE.1-2; ACO.2 [I/F?]; COR.96; SDC.13; SJS.16; SLM.57; CEL.47; LTL.3; PMH.100; M. Recuero Astray, 'Relaciones entre la monarquía y la iglesia de León durante la Alta Edad Media', in *RL*, vii, pp. 77-84.

me visitandum.³⁴¹ The most remarkable charters list witnesses from multiple locations, such as an exchange of land in Valdemorilla and Matella in 952 before not only a group hailing from Matella itself, but also a person from Villaseca, or a donation of property in Rioseco to Abellar in 943, witnessed by a party of six from Villobera and one each from Covellas and Villacete; the documentation of Sahagún has a line in enumerating witnesses by *villa* of origin, as many as seven different ones on two occasions, while one donation to Eslonza in 946 lists witnesses from nine different sites.³⁴² Normally these are relatively local sites, but witnesses could also have travelled some way, like the two from Guimarães and León at a testament to Celanova in 1000, and indeed the three from León, Simancas, and Córdoba respectively at another donation to Abellar in the mid-tenth century.³⁴³ Collectively they are a further sign of how every process of producing documentation represents a meeting point or confluence of diverse actors.

If a transaction must have entailed preparation, inviting not only parties and scribes, but also witnesses both nearby and remote, it was firstly a local event with local implications, and we see the neighbours of the property witnessing as well. There are general statements, such as *ipsos vicinos qui sunt presens* at a sale to Buezo de Bureba in 950.³⁴⁴ And persons and places cited in boundary clauses reappear in witness lists: Baltario and Ferrocinti, witnesses to a sale in 939, are neighbours of the land sold in Valdesogo, as is Vigila *presbiter de Revendeca* in 966, while the witness Arias Dagaredi could correspond to the *villa Dagaredi* where the *salinas* for sale in 929 are found; a certain Aiub makes a sudden appearance confirming alongside the granters of a charter in 947, perhaps explicable because they are selling property *iusta kastro de Abaiub*.³⁴⁵ Amongst the witnesses with provenances in a sale of land in *villa Aspera* from

³⁴¹ ACL.278; cf. SAH.302; SVO.3.

³⁴² ACL.244, ACL.175; SAH.87, SAH.364; SPE.21; cf. e.g. ACL.118; SAH.18; SPE.23-4; OLD.9; SVO.3, SVO.19; STL.31; SMC.93; ACP.2; SJP.35; COV.15; CEL.238; PMH.118.

³⁴³ CEL.242; ACL.276; cf. e.g. ACL.147; SAH.310; ACA.8; SPM.11; SPE.18; SMP.2; SMV.42; SPC.224; SMC.108; SJP.18; SSL.9; CEL.142; SPR.1; PMH.76.

³⁴⁴ SMV.27; cf. SMA.14; SSL.8.

³⁴⁵ ACL.133; SMV.38; PMH.35; ACL.197; cf. e.g. ACL.214; SAH.81; OLD.3; SPE.14; SPC.17; SMV.41; SMC.189B; SDC.46; SLM.117; CEL.92; PMH.57.

978 is Valeyrus *qui ibidem abitabit*, and such immediate neighbours must be more common than the infrequent boundary clauses reveal, given the potential for dispute.³⁴⁶ Former owners are the other constituency whose recognition mattered, and they appear as witnesses too, such that a sale of lands previously belonging to Petro and Arias in 909 was witnessed by none other than Petro and Arias, just as another of a vineyard *quem nos abemus de patre nostro Baldreo* in 1024 featured Baldreo himself amongst the witnesses; a sale of property which the mother of the granters obtained by a charter from Anagildo even took place before Anagildo in 1012.³⁴⁷ The purpose here was to get all those with any claim to the property on board with its changing of hands, and by doing so to produce a written history of it for use in the event of dispute.

Perhaps the most obvious category of witness is the relative, and they are easy to find. The testament of Mumadona in 959 comes to mind, with all six of her children confirming, and much of their property was being endowed to Guimarães.³⁴⁸ While relationships are sometimes made explicit, as with Mihael *presbiter iermano Fructuoso* and Laurenze *iermanus Fructuoso*, who witnessed a sale by Fructuoso *presbiter* in 1028, more often than not they are implicit in a patronymic: the granter Vigila Verobiz has as confirmer Sendino Verobiz in 974, the granter Pedro Flaínez has as witnesses Munio and Fernando Flaínez in 1002, and Ioacino (alongside his wife and children) Gaudinas iben Ioacino in 998; in a case from 976, granter and recipient have relatives present.³⁴⁹ But parties were not alone in ‘bringing the family’, for witnesses did as well: a father and son are amongst the witnesses in 930, and three married couples, one with a sister, in 937, while in 959 we have a husband and wife with their three children, and in 945 four individuals sharing the patronymic *Ruderici*.³⁵⁰ Granters involved their families to ensure

³⁴⁶ SVO.19.

³⁴⁷ SPC.3; OLD.164; PMH.219; *cf. e.g.* ACL.340; SAH.279; SPE.21; SPC.59; SLM.92; CEL.53; PMH.156.

³⁴⁸ PMH.76.

³⁴⁹ OLD.186; SAH.277; OLD.62; PMH.179; SAH.283; *cf. e.g.* ACL.322; SAH.196; ACA.103; SPE.9; STL.21; SDM.15; SMA.14; SMV.27; SMC.146; SJP.40; SSL.14; COR.50; CEL.22, CEL.188; SJS.82; SLM.122-3; ACM.7; PMH.12.

³⁵⁰ ACL.85, ACL.118, ACL.313; SPC.50; *cf. e.g.* ACL.322; SAH.46; OLD.26; SPE.15; STL.11; SMP.2; SPA.16-7; SPC.39; SMA.8; SMC.70; SJP.18; SLM.4; OUR.3; CEL.38; PMH.84.

that they signed off on a transaction with implications for them, but when witnesses did so, it had the effect of perpetuating memory of the act into the next generation.

One final question which we should ask of the witness list is whether its composition exceeds those whom we might expect. The scribe is present and accounted for: in the sole item of personal data which we have on one, Felix Cromaziz *et notarius* witnesses a testament of 976 to San Salvador de Oviedo, the son, judging by his patronymic, of Cromacius Melliniz, granter of an earlier charter, an aristocratic notary.³⁵¹ Sampiro regularly appears as witness in royal and other socially elevated documents, especially if written by his seeming protégé Petrus; the same is true of Fulgentius, who even witnessed a donation by Sampiro in 1018, but caution is needed, since in at least one case of 1013, he is called witness but the charter is written in his distinctive hand.³⁵² The testament of Sarracino Ariani, carried out before Alfonso V in 1018, is a special case: witnessed by Sampiro as well as Fulgentius, and written by Petrus and another illegible scribe, it gives an impression of a scribal ‘old boys’ network’, acting as witnesses for each other.³⁵³ Outside these household names, notaries are common as witnesses all across Iberia, logical choices to involve in written affairs, albeit *notarius* may also be a proper name.³⁵⁴ Presumably it was for his literate expertise that Bishop Indisclus hired Argimirus *notarius* as his *assertor* in a dispute of 878.³⁵⁵

In this connexion, the *magistri* or ‘masters’ form a second set of presumptively literate witnesses. Amongst the *monacos qui sunt in palatio regis* who in 1000 witnessed a precept of Alfonso V and Elvira is a *magister* Ascarius *presbiter*, while the testament executed on behalf of Bishop Sisnando in 983 was witnessed by Fruela Hamitiz *magister regis*; others may be

³⁵¹ ACO.29; *cf.* ACO.28; OLD.30.

³⁵² Sampiro: ACL.565, ACL.594, ACL.749, ACL.763, ACL.777, ACL.855, ACL.862, ACL.865, ACL.880; SLM.109; COR.95; SJS.S1 [?]. Fulgentius: ACL.756, ACL.711; *cf.* ACL.733, ACL.752, ACL.776, ACL.803, ACL.815-6; SLM.99, SLM.104 [?], COR.110, SLM.122, SLM.125, SLM.128.

³⁵³ ACL.754.

³⁵⁴ *e.g.* ACL.7; SAH.22; OLD.113; ACO.7; STL.38; SPA.20; SMV.16; COR.72; SDC.13-4; SLM.67; CEL.64; LTL.3; PMH.44. Notarius: ACL.408; CEL.2, CEL.34, CEL.115; PMH.89, PMH.102, PMH.149.

³⁵⁵ ACA.5.

found above all in the charters of Celanova and Portugal.³⁵⁶ They act as granters and recipients of transactions, but also appear in the background, like *magister* Ascarigus (perhaps the above) from whom Sampiro had received a *villa* by charter, or *magister* Recemundo, neighbour of a property of Vacariça.³⁵⁷ Although the term can embrace artisans, these *magistri* were active in administration, to judge by the wine which monks of Santa Cruz had to render to Celanova *per manum de magister Busiano et Lalli*.³⁵⁸ And their activity in disputes is telling, such as *magister* Santius *confessus et iudex de monasterio Moixolos*, confirming a settlement in 1025; *magister* Evenando, *qui illam terram mandabat* in Portugal, is well attested in the early eleventh century, as judge and confirmer of a dispute in 1004, witnessing a donation by Unisco and her son Oseredo in 1021, and defending Cresconius *per ingenium* as *assertor* in a dispute of 1025, each time with other *magistri*.³⁵⁹ Evidently they had careers in public written affairs, and are best compared to the *iudices* or judges (also *maiorini*) who, in addition to presiding at disputes involving written evidence and written law, crop up often as witnesses, especially in León.³⁶⁰ The title of *iudex* is paired periodically with an office such as abbot, priest, or *frater*, so judges could be ecclesiastics.³⁶¹ But they could also hold secular titles like Count Suarius in 992 or Iustu *iudice rex* in 1029; some must have had regional bases, like Iustus *iudice Legionum* of 1011 (perhaps the same) or the *iudex* of Término in 1012, while Eyto Furtuniz *qui iudigabit et omnia per verifice ordine exaravit* acted as scribe alongside Martinus Vermudiz *presbiter* in 1025.³⁶² The *saio* or court procedural and enforcement officer similarly, although more rarely, witnessed charters, such as Gonzalvo Beilaz, the *saio* of Salinas, in a donation of 988.³⁶³

³⁵⁶ ACL.599; SJS.49; *cf. e.g.* ACL.700; SJP.41; CEL.154; ACM.6; PMH.117.

³⁵⁷ ACL.756; PMH.237; *cf.* SMC.184; CEL.160, CEL.290, CEL.325, CEL.372, CEL.382; PMH.25, PMH.179, PMH.222. Granters: ACA.77; SLM.182; CEL.352. Recipients: SMI.2; ACP.9, ACP.11.

³⁵⁸ CEL.272; *cf.* FLO.43.

³⁵⁹ CEL.362; PMH.193, PMH.248, PMH.258; *cf.* ACL.559; SJP.14; CEL.261; PMH.200.

³⁶⁰ *e.g.* ACL.34; SAH.33; OLD.21; SPM.5; SPE.9; SMV.5; SMA.12; SMI.2; COR.95; CEL.51; SLM.119; CDA.4; PMH.222. Maiorinus: ACL.689; SPC.110; PMH.63, PMH.222; SJS.S1, SJS.S9.

³⁶¹ Abbot: SMA.29; SMC.108, SMC.110; SLM.57. Priest: ACL.478-9; SLM.4. Frater: SJS.S1.

³⁶² SLM.111; ACL.849; ACL.700; SMC.144; CDA.x.

³⁶³ SMC.100; *cf.* SAH.162, SAH.164; SVO.29; STL.66; SMV.32; SMC.144; SPA.17; SPC.90; SLM.57, SLM.119; CEL.261.

Some *magistri* may be teachers.³⁶⁴ Bishop Salomon, in a testament of 937, calls Bishop Genadio his *magister*, noting that Bishop Fortis was a *discipulum* of the saint, which suggests some form of ecclesiastical education.³⁶⁵ They could certainly be literate in the primary sense: a sale to Unisco and her son Oseredo in 1018 is witnessed by two *magistri*, Cidi and Sandinus, and written by *magister* Sendinus, seemingly the same as the witness.³⁶⁶ What little we know of education in early medieval Iberia has an ecclesiastical context.³⁶⁷ Cresconius *confessus*, the roving *praepositus* of Celanova, records in a testament of 1010 raising *proles* of his *germanos*, how he *emerit litteris in scola* by finding meritorious *magistros* for them; in his own testament of 976, similarly, the *majordomo* Ansur describes placing both of his sons in the hands of the abbot of Sahagún so that *vere confessorum literas docuisent*, while Genitrigus in 947 enjoined his *gente*, if they were to retain a stake in his foundation of Salvador de Flavelo, to *litteras didicerit*.³⁶⁸ Accordingly we encounter Sampiro in a witness list identified as *scola regis* in 1012, and at Celanova in 1002 the abbot, all the brothers, priests, *laicos*, and a *turba puerorum degentibus in scola et in capitulo*; in 1007, a fire at San Pedro de Rocas, caused by negligence of boys in school learning their letters, burnt the *firmitates et scripturas* of the monastery.³⁶⁹ Perhaps the Petrus *gramaticus* who witnessed a donation of 928 worked in one.³⁷⁰

Expecting literacy, however, is to approach witnesses the wrong way around. What was to be gained by rounding up four *homines de tributa in ipsa villa* and eight *fugitivos* in 1002, much less Menendo *latron* in 1011?³⁷¹ Why bother to have a *servuo* witness a testament in 984

³⁶⁴ Collins, 'Literacy', pp. 131-2; A. Petrucci, 'Literacy and Graphic Culture of Early Medieval Scribes', repr. in *idem, Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, transl. C.M. Radding (New Haven, 1995), pp. 96-8; cf. S. Guijarro, 'Masters and Schools in the Castilian Cathedrals during the Spanish Middle Ages, 1000-1300', *MH*, 4 (1994), pp. 220-29; Everett, 'Scribes', pp. 63-4.

³⁶⁵ ACA.48; cf. PMH.55.

³⁶⁶ PMH.246; cf. CEL.375, CEL.381.

³⁶⁷ Sánchez Prieto, 'Dónde aprender', pp. 3-34; cf. Alturo Perucho, 'Sistema educativo', pp. 42-5.

³⁶⁸ CEL.318; SAH.284; SJS.21; cf. CEL.326; COR.113 [I?]; Carzolio de Rossi, 'Cresconio', pp. 277-9; Davies, *Acts*, p. 49.

³⁶⁹ ACL.709; CEL.261; SPR.1; cf. SJP.12, SJP.56 [F?].

³⁷⁰ ACL.76.

³⁷¹ CEL.264, CEL.324.

when it transferred him with the *villa* where he lived, or the *strator* in a royal diploma of 875?³⁷² What about recruiting the apparent failure Diego, *qui vult esse episcopus et non est*, as witness to the restoration diploma of San Vincenzo de Pombeiro?³⁷³ Witnesses include so many whom we might not expect to be literate that we should reverse our approach and not expect witnesses to be literate. Consider the *aurifice*, *ferrario*, and *cisor* – goldsmith, blacksmith, and stonecutter or woodcutter – whose trades we encounter on five, seven, and four occasions respectively.³⁷⁴ So too humbler occupations: the *molinaro* or miller whose trade appears six times in León, and variously the *verducario*, *sartor*, *pellicularius*, *tinturario*, *sellero*, *techarius*, *carpentario*, *karrario*, and *ballestario*.³⁷⁵ Beyond them, those working in the field: the *oveliarius*, *telario*, *ortolano*, *harrarius*, *stabularius*, *iugarii* and *vigarii* and a *peguriarius*; even in the kitchen, the *coquinarius* and others *de quoquina*, all the way down to the *pescador*.³⁷⁶ We must refine our understanding of witnessing: the audience of the charter extended past the important and predictable to society at large; the point was as much that anyone could and should witness as that it had to be anyone in particular who did so. The phenomenon of ‘paid witnesses’ is the proof of this, such as when Albaro *frater* sold a vineyard to Munnio Asurizi in 966, and the scribe Didaco Munniozi made note of the *arenzata* of wine *que veberont ipsas testes*, the wine which the witnesses drank, a record not transcribed by later cartulary copyists.³⁷⁷ Witnessing a charter was a communal occasion; the broader the social representation, the better.

By what means, finally, did these witnesses, broadly representative but not necessarily literate, engage with the text? The bases of confirmation were two oral processes: the oath and

³⁷² PMH.139; ACL.7.

³⁷³ SVP.3.

³⁷⁴ Goldsmith: ACL.241; *cf.* OLD.108; CEL.28, CEL.63-4. Blacksmith: ACL.148; *cf.* ACL.496, ACL.664; SVO.22; STL.69; CEL.136, CEL.232. Cutter: STL.39; *cf.* ACL.223; SVO.12; STL.41.

³⁷⁵ Miller: ACL.243; *cf.* ACL.254, ACL.267, ACL.272, ACL.350, ACL.645. SVO.15, SVO.22; ACL.230, ACL.405, ACL.533; STL.18, ACL.157, ACL.293; SMA.7; COV.12 [?].

³⁷⁶ ACL.267, ACL.272, ACL.156, ACL.288; SAH.410; ACL.183, ACL.322, ACL.289, ACL.314, ACL.327, ACL.404; SMA.10.

³⁷⁷ SMV.38; *cf.* SMV.37.

reading aloud.³⁷⁸ The confirmatory oath comes immediately before the sanction clause in the charter. Some 211 (5%) of the documents specify that it has been taken, a rate hovering around this figure throughout the period.³⁷⁹ The oath can take the form of a simple statement: *quod et iurationem confirmo* as in 918, or *coniuratione vero confirmo ego Veila presbitero* as in 1030; transactions occur *super iuramentum*, and *iuramento per scripto et per cruce fecimus*, uttering the oath *cum omni voce nostra*.³⁸⁰ More often, however, its content is outlined. The oath could straightforwardly invoke God or the holy sacraments.³⁸¹ But the *adiuratione* could also be *per Deum et divina omnia que sunt sancta*, echoing the Visigothic formulary.³⁸² One could take the *coniurationem* on *Deum celi et thronum glorie eius*, or his kingdom instead of his throne.³⁸³ Another type of *eiuratione* is based on the Trinity: called on without further description, or as the divine *nomen* (or *numen*), or joined to the *regnum Catholicorum*; by quirk of transcription, *Trinitatem* is occasionally replaced by a similar word, such as *aeternitatem*, *maiestatem*, or *serenitatem*.³⁸⁴ And there was scope for scribal ingenuity in more bespoke oaths.³⁸⁵

But for the witnesses, listening to the granters swear in confirmation of the transaction was the prelude to hearing the transaction itself. Some 522 (13%) of the charters mention being read as part of the process of subscription, fluctuating at a rate between 5% and 25% across the period, and this clearly means read aloud.³⁸⁶ When Donnadeo confirmed his sale in 894, first he *relegendo audivi*, just as Abbot Indulfus *coram legenter audivi* his testament in 980, and a

³⁷⁸ cf. P.J. Geary, 'Land, Language and Memory in Europe, 700-1100', *TRHS*, 9 (1999), pp. 169-84; A.J. Kosto, 'Reasons for Assembly in Catalonia and Aragón, 900-1200', in P.S. Barnwell and M. Mostert (eds.), *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003), 143-6.

³⁷⁹ See figs. 34-5.

³⁸⁰ ACL.47, ACL.860; SAH.266; OLD.188; SJS.77; cf. e.g. ACL.270; SAH.56; OLD.26; ACA.143; SID.10; SPE.8; ACO.24; STL.5; SMV.3; SMC.50; SJP.14; COR.21; CEL.159; PMH.3.

³⁸¹ God: ACL.756; SPA.21; ACH.3; CEL.1; SDC.54. Sacraments: ACL.333.

³⁸² ACL.66; cf. e.g. ACL.147; SAH.212; SMB.1; STL.14; SJS.25; CEL.90.

³⁸³ ACL.567; cf. e.g. ACL.594; SPA.11; SMV.20; SDC.30; SJS.15; COR.19; SLM.4; CEL.50; PMH.82.

³⁸⁴ Trinity: e.g. ACL.296; SAH.145-7; ACA.145; ARO.1; PMH.146. Name: e.g. ACL.520; SAH.284; SJS.23; CEL.18; SVP.2; PMH.68. Kingdom: e.g. ACA.11; SPM.2; COV.1; PMH.138. Ramiro I: SJS.3, SJS.5. Charles: ACH.6.

³⁸⁵ e.g. OLD.84; SPE.5; SPM.7; SPO.1; SPC.191; SMV.7; SJS.11; SLM.71; CEL.85; COR.135; PMH.65.

³⁸⁶ See figs. 36-7.

series of parties *audivimus legere* their transactions in 979.³⁸⁷ In 1024, the *scriptum* of Arvildi and his son Diaco was *a nobis factum et auditum*, while Rapinate *ista carta scripta et cognita legente audivi* in 1027; Sancho García and Urraca *audivimus* their privilege *sicut hic scriptum est* around 1012.³⁸⁸ As Ilduara put it in 925, *presenti adfui et propriis auribus audivi*.³⁸⁹ But reading aloud was not only for the benefit of the granters; it was a communal process taking in all those present. This is assumed by a testament of 1024, *scitote qui hec lecturi estis et audituri*, and another testament of 936 introduces the business of the charter with the words *ut auditus sequitur*; the sanction of a donation in 1005 warns any who *verba legerit ut legentem audivit* not to violate it, while a confirmation of 948 hopes that *pax sit legentibus bel audientibus*.³⁹⁰ When Egilo and Goto handed their charter of donation to the witnesses for confirmation in 950, those named *legendo audierunt et sic rovoraverunt*.³⁹¹ We should credit the ubiquity, marked in the Liébana and Castilla, of documents read aloud, for their witnesses to hear.³⁹²

The alternative to hearing a charter, seemingly, was to read it for oneself. In the words of Roderigo *diagunus*, confirming his testament in 787, *religendo me cognovi*, or the countess Tota in 1031, *et legendo cognovi et satis michi complacui*.³⁹³ Agione *frater* was more emphatic in 944, claiming to have *religiendum quod habuimus*, while Beatus *presbiter* in 889 subscribed *que fieri volui et relegendum*.³⁹⁴ Notice as before reliance on the gerund: ‘I know from reading’ as much as ‘I know from hearing’. Categorical statements in the first person of reading are rare, such as Monnio *episcopo primitus legi et confirmavit* in 937, and Mumadona *in prompti loco testamento legimus* in 959, hardly ordinary cases.³⁹⁵ References to documents being read are

³⁸⁷ ACL.9; SDM.9; SAH.299.

³⁸⁸ SAH.412; COV.14; SMC.145.

³⁸⁹ CEL.23; cf. SMA.19.

³⁹⁰ SMA.32; CEL.52; ACA.131; SJP.18; cf. FLO.185 [I?].

³⁹¹ SPC.72; cf. ACL.723, ACL.800-801; SPC.43.

³⁹² e.g. ACL.315; SAH.52; ACA.140; SPM.8; OLD.83; SPE.7; SMB.1; ACO.28; SDM.3; STL.44; SPC.12; SML.2; COV.1; SPA.1; SSO.3; SMV.13; SMC.129; SDS.2; SMP.2; ACP.2; BUR.1; ADC.2; SJS.27; CEL.79.

³⁹³ FLO.12; SAH.428.

³⁹⁴ PMH.54; CEL.7; cf. ACA.129 [S?].

³⁹⁵ SMC.24; PMH.76; cf. ACL.824.

too common to mean firsthand reading: they are as ubiquitous as to being heard, alternating in use at Cardeña, while reading is far more frequent than hearing in the west, as if at Cardeña we are seeing scribal, and in the west regional, linguistic preference for a single phenomenon.³⁹⁶ When Gutier confirms in 925, *secundum quod relegendo certissime cognovi*, whereas Ilduara had heard this testament, are we glimpsing subtle differentiations in literacy?³⁹⁷ Gotina Núñez speaks of determining her testament for herself in 1025, *singillatim per ordinem recitatum*, but what does this mean?³⁹⁸ Note the testament of Ansur in 976, *omnia que abuiit lingua sua per notitia*, his speech by notice, or Sancho Ordóñez, who diligently *relegendo audirem* testaments from his ancestors in 927, or Gómez Díaz and his wife Ostrocia, in 1011, exchanging property *cum foro exlecto*, with its custom determined – or read out?³⁹⁹ There is a collapsing distinction between the written and spoken: *et sit verbum nostrum auditum pro Vanieza*, as Bishop Jimeno wrote, or said, in 1020.⁴⁰⁰ When Sigericus *presbiter et primiclerus annuntiavit* the testament of Bishop Diego in 967, or Fafila *confessor ore meo nuntiavi* his own in 952, this conjunction was becoming a reality; even more when Iohannes *sacer*, in 968, *scribere mandavi et lingua mea legi*.⁴⁰¹ In 952, at the end of a dispute, Velasco *ex ore suo proprio prefatus est* what became the sanction clause of the settlement; in a testament of 864, should anyone break it, *ste testamentus ei legatur*.⁴⁰² Fifteen parties made donations to San Mamés de Obaranes in 1009, and once they had *relegente audivimus*, they called their charter *hanc dicta vel scripta*, the things spoken or written.⁴⁰³ We are looking at a final equivalence: reading had become hearing.

³⁹⁶ e.g. ACL.37; SAH.4; ACA.2; OLD.7; SPE.8; SID.12; SPM.9; ACO.24; SVO.3; STL.13; SPC.1; SMA.15; COV.12; SPA.3; SSL.9; SMV.18; COR.94; CEL.1; SJS.87; SLM.6; PMH.29.

³⁹⁷ CEL.23; cf. e.g. ACL.8, ACL.57, ACL.88, ACL.146.

³⁹⁸ SAH.415.

³⁹⁹ SAH.284; SDC.38; SSO.10; cf. SSO.17.

⁴⁰⁰ ACA.230.

⁴⁰¹ ACO.26; CEL.95; CAS.9.

⁴⁰² ACL.256; SMV.3.

⁴⁰³ SMC.137; cf. ACO.34 [I].

Early medieval Iberia was a society organized for literacy, even if at one remove. Yet consider the responsibility vested in the scribe: not only to write the charter and record all those involved in and present for it, but also, in the absence of any other obvious agent, to disseminate knowledge of it by having the parties swear oaths on it and reading it aloud to the assembled multitude. The language of the text and the relationship of the scribe to it must come into focus: the late Latin or early Romance of its composition may be a choice to aid in its comprehension, rather than a sign of inability; indeed, the scribe, in reading out the writing, must have adjusted it as a matter of course from the conservative word of the written to the evolving word of the spoken.⁴⁰⁴ But the entire process of composition, comprehension, and confirmation bespeaks a social integration of the charter: in the planning ahead, in the coordination of assembly, in the involvement of the widest possible range of witnesses, all through the mediation of the scribe, we perceive a society seemingly with limited primary literacy nevertheless making full use of writing, a society of secondary literacy expectant of access by proxy to the written word, possessed of a documentary habit. If the tenth century saw the consolidation of the agents and the contexts, development of a scribal profession and nascent institutionalization of the witnesses gathered, consider again the role of the scribe. What consequences did this stabilization of the personnel of writing have? If ability to write confers power in a world with little of it, some qualification is still needed: in every locale we can find multiple ‘providers’, for kings, bishops, monasteries, churches, counts, and the laity. Think of supply and demand,

⁴⁰⁴ R. Wright, ‘La difusión inmediata del documento: lenguaje y lectura en el siglo X’, in Escalona and Sirantoine (eds.), pp. 117-30; T. Finbow, ‘Limiting Logographic Latin: (Non-) Separation of Orthographic Words in Medieval Iberian Writing’, in R. Wright (ed.), *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif VIII. Actes du VIII^e colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif* (Hildesheim, 2008), pp. 521-31; T. Finbow, ‘Inter- and Intra-Word Spacing Conventions in Early Medieval Iberian Texts – the Implications for Reading and Writing Strategies’, in M. van Acker, R. van Deyck, and M. van Uytvanghe (eds.), *Latin écrit – roman oral? De la dichotomisation à la continuité* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 159-85; A. Emiliano, ‘Representational Models vs. Operational Models of Literacy in Latin-Romance Legal Documents (with Special Reference to Latin-Portuguese Texts)’, in R. Wright and P.T. Ricketts (eds.), *Studies on Ibero-Romance Linguistics Dedicated to Ralph Penny* (Newark, 2005), pp. 17-57; cf. R. Wright, ‘Reading a Will in Twelfth-Century Salamanca’, in H. Petersmann and R. Kettmann (eds.), *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif. Actes du V^e Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif* (Heidelberg, 1999), pp. 505-16; J.A. Puentes Romy, ‘Aproximación a una visión actual del Latín Documental Hispánico’, *Euphrosyne*, 31 (2003), pp. 483-9; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 102-4.

since scribes certainly had much to offer, yet so did their employers; Sampiro ascended on royal favour from deacon to bishop. Multiple providers means competition for patronage, limiting the power of any one scribe. They are, after all, largely anonymous to us. So what to offer to distinguish oneself from competitors? We are going to see a greater incidence of charters citing other texts over the course of the tenth century, paralleling the consolidation of the scribal profession. The scribe should be visualized not only as writer and reader, but also as adviser and counsellor, provider of skills as well as expertise, interpreter of written sources of authority. The literate dynamic of early medieval Iberia is the greater organization over time of its society around the central, if elusively anonymous, figure of the scribe.

RETAINING

The charter, once created, was not at the end of its lifecycle, but the beginning of a long afterlife of continuing use. If we are going to grasp fully the ongoing relevance of the charter, we need to understand why this was so and how it worked. The language of the text expects future use, for the sanction clause exists to ward off any who would violate the transaction, often making specific mention of the document recording it; permanence was not assumed, but safeguarded. Confirmation of charters after the fact was also common, whether by affixing additional signs to them, generally those of kings or bishops, or by means of new charters, at times even filling up free space on the original parchments. These endorsements reflect how texts remained live participants in evolving social relationships, and the dynamic circulation which such expectations and confirmations presume was enabled by functional archives. The beneficiary of a transaction typically received not only the record of it, but also the prior documentation of that property, which is how collections of charters were formed. The full range of parties – institutions and persons – kept archives, and dorsal notes preserved on some originals, summarizing key details to facilitate consultation, point to organizational habits, to a conscious need for access. The oldest surviving cartularies date to the late eleventh century, but references from the ninth and tenth imply efforts to store charters with greater security or order by making copies, and there are scattered examples of archival strategies in development. As some more than others realized, the written word could be reused as well as used.

The expectation of a future for the transaction and its record is embedded in the sanction clause. This precedes the date and subscriptions and takes the form of a tripartite condition: the protasis envisions potential violations, while the apodosis establishes consequent spiritual as

well as secular penalties.¹ When the *infante* García made a donation to Abellar in 909, the target of the various penalties for violation was anyone who should attempt to infringe this charter, while in a testament to Valpuesta from 864, the same sanction included the instruction to read out its text to the violator, presumably to ensure that he realized his crime.² Awareness that the permanence of the document could be endangered seems to have been acute at Eslonza, where such sanctions are notably regular; a quarter of its charters penalize anyone who should infringe this decree, testament, or document, another quarter anyone who should disrupt it.³ A common practice was to identify precisely the typology of the charter in its sanction clause: in an example from Orense dating to 888, anyone who should infringe this document of exchange must pay the penalty, while in an instance from León dating to 930, he who should break this *placitum* must do likewise; a donation to Sahagún from 983 which mentions potential violation of this deed, *pictacium* (bill), testament, and charter of *perfilatio* is a trifle extreme.⁴ Uniquely but suggestively, a confirmation by Vermudo II in 999 cites not only the deed itself, but also the *priorem testamentum* being confirmed.⁵ When Egeredus and Rosula, making a donation to Samos in 960, prayed that no man should tamper with this testament and what is annotated in it, they were speaking on behalf of the granters of all charters everywhere.⁶

The text had to be defended actively: as some sanction clauses anticipated, it might be sent into judgement, or even mutilated or altered maliciously.⁷ Clearly this was in the mind of the scribe of a donation to Celanova in 995, who added to the penalty that this charter should have perpetual validity in every council and for all time, and Lopo Royo committed himself to

¹ J. Mattoso, 'Sanctio (875-1100)', repr. in *idem, Religião e cultura na Idade Média portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1982), pp. 397-428; M. Domínguez, 'Fórmulas de sanción en documentos del noroeste peninsular hasta al año 1000', in *Latín I*, pp. 475-80; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 56-80; Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 121-4.

² ACL.24; SMV.3; cf. SAH.429; SPC.11.

³ Infringe: SPE.1-2, SPE.10, SPE.14-5, SPE.25, SPE.31. Disrupt: SPE.11-2, SPE.16, SPE.19, SPE.22, SPE.26, SPE.32.

⁴ OUR.1; ACL.85; SAH.316; cf. ACL.116, ACL.409, ACL.674; SMV.34; SJS.44; OUR.4; PMH.61.

⁵ COR.113 [I?].

⁶ SJS.27; cf. ACL.47; SPM.4.

⁷ OUR.3; SAH.336, SAH.391.

vindicating *hanc scriptura* in a sale to Bishop Ovecco of León in 939.⁸ With the *placitum*, the contract specifies at times that, in the event of breaking it, one or both of the parties should pay a monetary fine, or enter into slavery in one case from 985.⁹ Few sanctions otherwise make mention of particular measures to defend the text, such as payment of one talent of gold *post parti testamenti* in a charter of 882 from Portugal.¹⁰ But the charter could speak for itself, and one of its two future applications, as envisioned in the sanction, is to counter claims made against it. Distinctive to Santo Toribio is a variant on the standard condition of vindication that sets out penalties if the granter cannot vindicate the property in judgement specifically by means of this charter, and a sale to Bagaudano and Faquilona in 916 considers complementary scenarios of the granter Liberius and the charter being unable to do so.¹¹ Some texts underline that the granter should do the vindicating with the charter (of the recipient), while others envision a joint responsibility to deploy it; validity of the written record as title to property is constant.¹² The logical corollary is the second future foreseen for the charter in sanction clauses: initiating claims against others. In a *placitum* of 1016, indeed, Flaviano and Ranimiro promised Oseredo Tructesindiz to make no more trouble, by themselves or through *potestates*, *scripturas*, or any action, while Fronili undertook in 1029 not to offend by any agency or earlier or later charters.¹³ Such expectations foreshadow the reuse of charters in dispute settlement, for which they had to be retained, but also prepared.

i. Confirmation

The first sign that a charter continued in active use beyond its creation comes from the text itself, which often bears a signature or statement appended in confirmation at a later date.

⁸ CEL.224; ACL.130.

⁹ PMH.144; *cf.* ACL.597; SAH.424; RCV.3; PMH.46.

¹⁰ PMH.9; *cf.* PMH.63.

¹¹ STL.23; *cf.* STL.14, STL.26, STL.79.

¹² Granter: STL.27, STL.35. Mutual: STL.57, STL.68.

¹³ PMH.228; SAH.424; *cf.* ACL.887; PMH.226.

Such notices are present on at least 139 (4%) of the documents, but the minority of originals in the corpus means that we cannot always rely on palaeography to distinguish contemporary from subsequent confirmations, so the true figure could be greater.¹⁴ Charters bearing notices of confirmation concentrate between the late ninth century and the early tenth, from the accession of Alfonso III to the death of Ordoño II, the formative decades of Asturias-León and its ecclesiastical foundations; few of the notices themselves are dated, however, and most are datable only roughly from what is known of their granters (if identifiable). The phenomenon is principally represented in the west and the centre, especially at Samos, Santiago, Eslonza, and Oviedo, reflecting the fact that it occurs primarily on royal diplomas and ecclesiastical charters, above all on royal donations to ecclesiastical institutions, major constituents of these archives. Originals bear confirmations less often than single-sheet copies because they are also a feature of forgeries, most prevalent in that medium. Kings were the protagonists of most confirmations, but ecclesiastics and the laity were also involved, as recipients and even as granters.

Royal diplomas with notices of confirmation include some with single and others with multiple instances. While it has been argued that the act served to revalidate the charter, in theory revocable during the Visigothic period, there is no evidence for this: confirmations are typically just a name, sometimes a title, followed by *confirmans* or similar, so if anything was being renewed, it was not legal force but the personal relationship between royalty and recipient engendered by the original grant.¹⁵ The sole survey of royal confirmations fails to discriminate clearly between the contemporary and the posterior, but once corrected, it reveals that, while every king from Alfonso II onward, except García I, confirmed diplomas of his predecessors, the chief practitioners were Ramiro II, Ordoño III, Sancho I, Vermudo II, and Alfonso V; since

¹⁴ See figs. 38-40.

¹⁵ L. Sánchez Belda, 'Notas de diplomática. La confirmación de documentos por los reyes del occidente español', *RABM*, 59 (1953), pp. 85-90, 115-6; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Documentos de Samos de los reyes de Asturias', *CHE*, 4 (1946), p. 152; *idem*, *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo* (rev. ed., Madrid, 1993), pp. 157-90.

the last three held precarious positions, the function was at least partly to build (or rebuild) political networks.¹⁶ The earliest original royal diploma with a single royal confirmation is a donation of Ordoño I to Bishop Fronimio of León from 860, which his successor Alfonso III confirmed with *Adefonsus confirmans* and a *signum* below the name of his father.¹⁷

This is a model not only for the technique, but also the timescale, of such notices, for granter and confirmer are normally within a generation of each other, father and son, or more rarely brothers. The testament of Alfonso V to Santiago de León in 1012, for instance, was confirmed by Vermudo III, who styled himself *rex prolis Adefonsi* and affixed a monogram, while the twin grants by García I to Eslonza in 912 were both confirmed by his brother Ordoño II, and the donation by Sancho I to Lorrvão from 966 was confirmed by his nephew Vermudo II.¹⁸ In a few cases, the separation surpasses one generation, such as in a diploma of Ramiro II to Celanova from 949 with a confirmation by his grandson Vermudo II, dating to at least 36 years later and demonstrating that documentation long remained in circulation.¹⁹ Confirmatory notices tend to be laconic, but an occasional short formula highlights a relationship. One gift from Ordoño I to the priest Vincentio and Audofredo in 857 includes a later note by Alfonso III that, as his father had done, so also did he confirm.²⁰ Some were witnessed, most often by the queen or another relative: a diploma of Ordoño II from 920 was confirmed by Alfonso IV and the future Ramiro II, while another of García I from 913 was confirmed by Ramiro II himself and his wife Urraca; a testament of Ordoño III, dated to 954, bears a confirmation by Sancho I accompanied by two members of his court, and a donation of Ramiro II to Abellar in 934 was confirmed by Alfonso V and his notary Sampiro much later.²¹

¹⁶ DRA, pp. 83-8, 417-50.

¹⁷ ACL.2; cf. A. Millares Carlo and J.M. Ruiz Asencio, *Tratado de Paleografía española* (3rd ed., 3 vols., Madrid, 1983), ii, no. 109.

¹⁸ ACL.708; SPE.1-2; PMH.92. Father and son: ACL.45, ACL.48; SID.3, SID.7; ACP.9; SDC.18; SJS.18, SJS.24; CEL.69, CEL.198, CEL.218; PMH.2, PMH.17. Brothers: SDC.31-2, SDC.45.

¹⁹ CEL.85; cf. SDC.35; PMH.36.

²⁰ SJS.6; cf. CAS.4; CDR.42.

²¹ ACL.51; SPE.3; ACL.270, ACL.101; cf. OLD.196; SID.1; SDC.69.

Royal diplomas bearing multiple notices of confirmation witness the text active over a significantly longer span of time, and transformed into a medium through which kings inherited legitimacy from their ancestors. The earliest example is the diploma of Silo from 775, confirmed by Alfonso II and his successors Ramiro I, Ordoño I, and Alfonso III.²² The obscure beneficiaries of this diploma evidently sought consistently to strengthen it, but doing so was clearly a performance of Asturian kingship: the succession of Alfonso II to Vermudo I was via a rather distant relationship which could have benefitted from linkage to another predecessor, and those who followed could join themselves to the legacy of his reign. The point is not that the religious community in question conferred any legitimacy on the king, but that the charter became an arena in which to perform kingship to subjects. Royal diplomas of the Leonese period were confirmed by multiple kings, if not necessarily consecutive ones: a donation of the *infante* Ramiro to Valdevimbre from 918 has confirmations by Fruela II, Alfonso IV, Sancho I, and Alfonso V, spanning nearly a century, a long documentary afterlife again bearing witness to a dynastic tradition of patronage.²³ Other diplomas were textual sites where rivalries played out, and the contest of Sancho I and Ordoño IV saw both affix their names, as had Ordoño III, to a dispute settled before Ramiro II in favour of Celanova in 950, in a competitive effort to forge a relationship with the powerful monastery, while Ramiro III and Vermudo II, in addition to Sancho I, did likewise with a donation of Ordoño III to Santiago dating from 952.²⁴

The initiative for confirmation is seldom clear, but is commonly assumed to come from the beneficiary.²⁵ One diploma of Ramiro III to Sobrado from 968, however, bears a notice that Alfonso V came to the monastery on 18 April 1017, the *die cenalis Domini*, and confirmed it by hand with his *signum*, beside that left before by his father Vermudo II; the granter should not be denied agency, and may have sought out texts in order to connect himself to their living

²² ACL.1; Pacheco Sampedro, 'Tradición', pp. 776-88; *idem*, 'Arqueología', pp. 59-77.

²³ ACL.47; cf. SDC.20, SDC.55; CEL.44, CEL.77, CEL.123.

²⁴ CEL.86; SDC.44.

²⁵ Sánchez Belda, 'Notas', pp. 111-3; DRA, p. 83.

history.²⁶ The only confirmation citing beneficiary initiative is of a later date: appended to a dispute held before Alfonso V in 1014, it states that the abbot of Guimarães came to Alfonso VI in León to have him add his *roborem* or support.²⁷ The three bishops who joined Ramiro II in confirming a diploma of Alfonso III from 875, earlier confirmed by Ordoño II and Fruela II, could have been travelling in his entourage; the abbot, four deacons, priest, notary, and seven others who joined Sancho I to confirm an exchange of 956 between Ordoño III and San Martín de Fonte de Febro, later confirmed by Ordoño IV and Vermudo II, are most easily read as denizens of that monastery.²⁸ Both parties, ultimately, had an interest in confirmation. For the beneficiary, the charter retained its validity, but relationships called for renewal; for the king, itinerancy offered the opportunity to write himself into the acts of his predecessors.

Royal notices of confirmation may also be found on private charters, but more often in single than in multiple instances. The earliest example is the sale made by Quiza Gonteriquiz to Cakaril, Gondemaro, and Fonsino in 788, of debated originality and dating; the anachronistic appearance of Silo as a confirmer at least suggests that its date is incorrect, but the confirmation of Ramiro I fifty years later is unproblematic, and remarkable on a lay transaction involving seven cows.²⁹ Surely this property cannot be the real object of confirmation: perhaps the family is commemorating its royal contacts? The practice begins in earnest with Ordoño II, and its principal exponents are Ramiro II, Sancho I, and Vermudo II, three of the five most regular confirmers of royal diplomas as well.³⁰ Most single notices are on donations from ecclesiastics or laymen to monasteries or churches and within a generation, such as the donation of Egeredus and Rosula to Samos from 960, with a confirmation by Ramiro III; in the minority of witnessed cases there are exceptions, such as when Ramiro II, two bishops, a *dux*, and a *comes* confirmed

²⁶ SLM.101; *cf.* CEL.9;

²⁷ CDA.15.

²⁸ ACL.7; ACL.295; *cf.* ACL.38, ACL.41; SID.8; SPO.1.

²⁹ COR.1; J.A. Souto Cabo, 'A propósito da "charte presque célèbre" de Quiza Gonteríquiz', *Verba*, 36 (2009), pp. 216-29, 240-45; Sáez and E. Sáez, 'El diploma de Quiza Gonteríquiz', *Signo* 3 (1996), pp. 69-82.

³⁰ DRA, pp. 451-85.

a charter of endowment made by the priest Godesteus to a Galician church in 854 (if that date is in fact correct).³¹ Aside from a few ecclesiastical disputes later confirmed by kings, the only case involving the laity alone, other than that of 788, is a sale by Zahadon and four others to Gonde miro and his wife Susanna from 933, to which Vermudo II added his confirmation over half a century afterward.³²

The primary function of royal confirmations of private charters was to forge links between kings and ecclesiastics, and only donations to religious institutions are confirmed more than once. The kings responsible are at times close temporally: the second testament of Bishop Sisnando to Sobrado from 966 was confirmed by Vermudo II *pro memoria*, then by his son Alfonso V, who records how he and his notary Fulgentius visited the monastery to do so on the same day that he confirmed an earlier royal diploma to it in 1017; both Sancho I and Ordoño IV also affixed their confirmations to significant private endowments of Celanova from 942 and 951 in their struggle for its loyalty.³³ The written word in its afterlife continued to be a medium on which narratives of succession and legitimacy were composed. In other cases, the kings identified are remote from each other: the testament of Gundesindus and three others to Lorrão from 919 was confirmed successively by Ordoño II (or III), Ramiro II (or III), Sancho I, and Vermudo II, across a span of over sixty years, as was a donation granted by the priest and abbot Visclafredus to the monastery of Rosende in 904.³⁴ Such notices demonstrate further that charters could stay in active circulation for as long as their holders wished.

The confirmation of earlier documents with names, titles, and *signa* was not uniquely a royal practice, but one undertaken additionally, albeit more rarely, by ecclesiastics and the laity. No pattern is perceptible in the six charters confirmed by bishops after the fact, since a donation

³¹ SJS.27; SJS.5. Single: ACL.278, ACL.709; SPE.7; SID.10; SJP.9; SJS.11, SJS.43; SLM.82; CEL.174; PMH.15, PMH.83, PMH.132. Witnessed: ACL.75, ACL.93, ACL.333; SJS.39, SJS.42.

³² PMH.39; *cf.* ACL.191; ACO.25; SDC.51.

³³ SLM.98; CEL.72, CEL.91; *cf.* ACL.220; CEL.53, CEL.185; PMH.84, PMH.100.

³⁴ PMH.22; SJS.S1; *cf.* SID.15; SPA.5.

by Abbot Cipriano to Santiago de León of 944 has a confirmation by Bishop Velasco of twenty to thirty years later, whereas a testament of Bishop Ranulfo to San Pedro de Montes from 892 was confirmed first by Bishop Fortis of Astorga in the 920s and then by Bishop Gonzalo in the late tenth century.³⁵ Three of the other four are dubious, but the last is suggestive, a charter of the restoration of San Antolín de Güimir by Abbot Didacus in 1026; the basilica was consecrated in 1030 by Bishop Pedro of Astorga, who confirmed the document in the company of eight priests and a dozen others, indicating that a ceremonial context could explain some of these episcopal acts.³⁶ As for royal diplomas, family connections are in many cases crucial, and after the inventory and testament made by Abbot Offiloni and two companions for Samos in 872 comes the statement that Visterla the deacon also confirms this document in accordance with what his grandparents or ancestors had done.³⁷ Those featuring the laity are similar, such as the donation of 960 by the priest Terenzanus to Abellar, which contains a codicil that, after his death, his *gens* from Valdesogo and the brothers of the monastery witnessed its validation and confirmation, or the testament of the religious Velasquita to Santa María de Mezonzo in 988, bearing a notice that Teobaldus came there to confirm this act by his mother.³⁸ One final and exceptional instance is a dispute of 995 which records how Citi Lucidi forced Senta to give him all his property by a *cartula conscripta*, and then fled with rebels to Portugal; the document was invalidated in a royal council, and Senta left his lands to Samos, but in a postscript Citi Lucidi later returned from Portugal, confessed, and confirmed the testament before witnesses, betraying a belief in the charter as a living record, needing to be updated.³⁹ If we knew episcopal histories and lay identities like royal chronologies, more such cases would emerge, but there is

³⁵ ACL.180; SPM.2.

³⁶ SJS.87; *cf.* COR.12 [I], COR.27 [F]; ADA.1 [F].

³⁷ SJS.8.

³⁸ ACL.329; CEL.203; *cf.* ACL.338.

³⁹ SJS.S9.

ample evidence to conclude that kings, ecclesiastics, and laymen were all active in the afterlife of the charter, in which granters, recipients, and their descendants renewed relations.

Documents also continued in use beyond the moment of their creation in the variety of new charters which confirmation produced. While it has been claimed that the practice of copying a text when confirming it arose in the twelfth-century reign of Alfonso VII, it is attested in the early Middle Ages, when documentation increasingly came to multiply.⁴⁰ In 998, a council presided over by Vermudo II confiscated property from rebels and gave it to Sampiro; according to a statement at the end of the text, Alfonso V confirmed this diploma on 13 July 1020 in León, before the *armiger regis*, two monks of the palace, and two others.⁴¹ The note adds that many witnesses to the old document are absent from this new one; it is written by a single hand, in Visigothic cursive characteristic of other diplomas of Alfonso V, clearly a notarial copy of the original.⁴² Sufficient examples exist from the tenth century and early eleventh to conclude that confirmation by way of new copies developed as a practice in this period. The donation and sale by the deacon Eugenius to Abellar from 923 is classified as a contemporary copy by its editor, and the confirmation by Alfonso IV and another bishop which it bears could be the context of the copying, while a charter of Ordoño III to the religious community of Pardomino from 954 has been confirmed numerous times, by Vermudo II and Alfonso V amongst others, the script of whose names corresponds to that of the scribe, an odd coincidence unless the text were a copy made at the date of the latest confirmation.⁴³

Palaeographic analysis is impossible for confirmed documents which are not preserved in the original, but some even so are detectable as ‘confirmation copies’. The donation by the priest Felix to San Miguel Arcángel de León of 1021 bears an addition, dated to 1029, that he

⁴⁰ Sánchez Belda, ‘Notas’, pp. 92-3; cf. SER.1.

⁴¹ ACL.581.

⁴² M. Carriedo Tejedo, ‘El diploma 3-4 del Archivo de la Catedral de León. Problemas cronológicos que suscita’, *AL*, 39/77 (1985), pp. 71-2.

⁴³ ACL.58, ACL.280; cf. VDJ.2; SJS.S1.

reaffirmed the endowment with further liturgical objects and books; the text records only the witnesses to this second act, suggesting that those of the first were excised when the copy was made.⁴⁴ Similarly, the document recording the restoration of Santa María de Loyo by the major Galician aristocrats Gutier and Ilduara in 927 incorporates a later confirmation and donation in memory of Gutier which his family made after his death; this has been deemed an interpolation, but beneath the names of four kings, two contemporary and two posterior confirmers, a note reads that other bishops, powerful men, and lessers may be found *in carta vetera*, possibly a statement by the cartulary copyist, or testimony of a ‘confirmation copy’ of the original.⁴⁵

Instead of making a copy of an old charter, one could also add a new charter confirming it directly onto the original parchment. When sundry relations in 986 confirmed the donation of a decade earlier by Adrianus and Leokadia to a monastery of Santa Marina, they situated the document in space left empty by the columns of witnesses to the original, while the dispute between the monk Pedro and Victino in 953 bears a confession and confirmation by Florentina, related to one of the defeated parties, added onto the lower left of the parchment in 981.⁴⁶ This reveals not only an ongoing awareness of prior written acts, but also the ability to consult and complement them. The first *fuero*, granted by Count Munio Núñez to Brañosera in 824 (although this is debated), was confirmed three times via further charters, by Gonzalo Fernández in 912, Fernán González in 968, and Sancho García in 998; all now survive in a single copy and, although made by an eighteenth-century archivist from an eleventh-century transcription, its form could indicate that the four texts were originally on one parchment, as each confirmer uses the formula that he saw this charter and confirms it.⁴⁷ The donation by Riquilo to Abellar in 955, comparably, is preserved in a cartulary copy, but includes at its

⁴⁴ ACL.777; cf. CEL.25; ACH.10; VEG.2.

⁴⁵ CEL.29 [I]; cf. ACP.10.

⁴⁶ OLD.21, OLD.26; ACO.25; cf. ACL.10, ACL.330.

⁴⁷ SPA.1; G. Martínez Díez, ‘El primero fuero castellana: Brañosera, 13 de octubre de 824’, *AHDE*, 75 (2005), §2, 5, 9; A. García-Gallo, ‘En torno a la carta de población de Brañosera’, *HID*, 11 (1984), pp. 1-11.

conclusion the text of a confirmation before three brothers on 11 February 965; another by Vermudo to Valpuesta in 957 relates that Proclina and Anderazo, after the death of their brother, went to the monastery and confirmed the transaction for an honorarium in 958, affixing their signs to its written record in the presence of the original witnesses.⁴⁸ Some confirmations involve new transactions, such as the gift by Aloytus to his wife Paterna in 965; another text on the lower right of the parchment records that one of the original confirmers and *previsores* met to apportion the land concerned, and Sancho I subscribed with two bishops.⁴⁹

The normal practice, however, was to confirm a charter by means of a subsequent but separate document, a charter of confirmation, and one instance recounts the process involved. Fernando Flaínez and his wife Elvira had founded a monastery dedicated to San Martín, and petitioned Alfonso V to confirm their endowment of it, which he agreed to do in return for a horse with saddle and harness; they then donated more property to it and recognized the royal confirmation in an *agnitio et confirmatio testamenti*, before relatives gathered at a *castello*, in the presence of Bishop Servando of León, to hear the whole read aloud and affix their signs to this new document once more, implying that they had witnessed the original.⁵⁰ Confirmation involved consultation of a document prior to the creation of another. Some 118 (3%) of the total corpus of charters consists of confirmations, the earliest dated to 811 and distributed fairly evenly across the period.⁵¹ The type is most concentrated at Santiago and Samos in the west, Oviedo in Asturias, and San Juan de la Peña, Arlanza, Albelda, and Oña in the east; these collections feature significant numbers of royal and comital documents, as well as forgeries, all associated with confirmations, which rarely survive as authentic originals.

Yet fewer than half of charters of confirmation which identify themselves as such make explicit reference to the document being confirmed, rendering a definition of this type elusive.

⁴⁸ ACL.293, ACL.385; SMV.35; cf. SMA.20, SMA.25; SLM.101.

⁴⁹ COR.71; cf. COR.29; SLM.122, SLM.122bis; SID.15-6; ACA.10, ACA.14-6.

⁵⁰ SMB.1.

⁵¹ See figs. 41-3.

In 945, for example, Bishop Ovecco of León granted a *scriptura agnitionis et confirmationis* to Sahagún, confirming a charter of *perfiliatio* brought to him by the brothers of the monastery, as well as a still surviving testament from the *infante* Ramiro; a similar title heads the *exquisitio* held before Alfonso V at Santiago in 1019, which, after oaths sworn by *senioribus prioribus* of the see, reaffirmed eight diplomas issued to it by kings from Alfonso II to Vermudo II.⁵² In many cases, on the other hand, a charter is not called a confirmation but turns out to be in practice, such as a *kartula donationis vel comutationis* of Verisimo and Salvatore to the priest Bellite from 999, which is in fact confirming a *perfiliatio* made to him by their mother, in return for certain property; a comparable *seriens testamenti* of Vermudo II to San Andrés de Pardomino in 985 concedes *tributo* from the Esla valley, as written in the testament of his predecessors to the monastery, while Senioldus even sees the *testamentum conscriptum* of Didacus and Argilo in the hands of Abbot Albaro of Santillana in 962, but terms the document confirming it a testament as well.⁵³ Whether subtle distinctions are at work, or lost reasons to present the acts as new transactions, prior charters were being confirmed, and relationships renewed.

Documents were also often confirmed in the course of dispute settlement, which may at times have been an object of disputing. Contested boundaries are commonly involved, and Vermudo II records in a confirmation to Samos of 993 that his ancestors had made testaments to the monastery defining its limits but malicious men had infringed them, so he sent agents to retrace them and *prebuisset illorum veritate*; in 950, similarly, a *litigantium causa* between the *villa* of Santa María de Verín and its neighbours twice required officials, first royal then local, to delimit it by landmarks, and in a charter issued the next year, further *pervisores* inspected its limits and confirmed the prior division.⁵⁴ Another dispute between Sahagún and relatives of

⁵² SAH.101 (SAH.12-3); SDC.64 [I]; *cf. e.g.* SAH.404 (SAH.6); STL.75 (STL.58); SPC.88 (SPC.87); SMV.7; CEL.30.

⁵³ ACL.585, ACL.506; SDM.5; *cf. e.g.* ACL.40; SAH.26 (SAH.24); SID.3; SMA.29 (SMA.8); SLM.105; CEL.110.

⁵⁴ CEL.88, CEL.94; SJS.61; *cf.* SJS.17.

the priest Liubila over his testament was resolved by exhibition and confirmation of the text, and the narrative concludes that a *fedus novum* was made in order that *scandalum* should cease *per hunc scriptum*; argumentation is absent or irrelevant, controversy as to the facts superficial or non-existent, raising the possibility that the victorious parties were in reality testing their title to property, although this could equally be a strategy of presentation to deny the defeated parties any grounds for future appeal.⁵⁵ The charter was to be permanent, and in only one case was it invalidated by its granter: Iohannes and his wife Flamula explained in 941 that they had made a testament to Bishop Cixila and Abellar, but Melic *presbiter* had seduced them into reclaiming and voiding it and making another to him; after realizing that they had erred, they reconfirmed their original act.⁵⁶ The standard premise for dispute settlements featuring written evidence, in contrast, was violation of it by a third party, the typical outcome for it to be restored, such as when Teodemirus of Santiago de León asked Alfonso V to confirm a *villa* which the monastery held by testament but had been taken into the royal *mandamentum*; the king agreed, and issued another charter of it in 1012.⁵⁷ Confirmation of documentation, if not the purpose, was an outcome of disputes, validating the relationships of persons and property which they recorded and renewing the afterlife of the written word.

ii. Preservation

In the language of expectation and the practice of confirmation, the text, once written, remained in active circulation, and this depended in turn on its preservation. The corpus of documentation, in the present stage of its transmission history, survives in 23 major and many minor collections, but organizing the charters by original beneficiary can partly reconstruct the

⁵⁵ SAH.276 [I]; cf. SAH.183 [S/F]; Collins, 'Law', pp. 496-8.

⁵⁶ ACL.147.

⁵⁷ ACL.708; cf. ACL.707.

much greater range of archives which existed in the early Middle Ages.⁵⁸ Nearly three quarters were granted to religious institutions: three or more texts have been preserved from 109 distinct monasteries or churches, half of these texts in the centre, half in the west and east; Celanova in Galicia has the largest collection, with 280 charters, followed by the 260 of Sahagún in León. Twenty or more documents survive from 29 institutional archives: many of these absorbed the smaller collections over time and are now containers for them, although some Leonese cases, such as Abellar and its 180 charters, were folded into the archive of their episcopal see instead. This predominance of monasteries and churches reflects their unique role as the conservers of early medieval documentation, but the remaining charters, nearly a quarter, are to individuals, ecclesiastical and lay, indicating some personal archiving, wherever it was done.

Personal archives, as with institutional collections, are concentrated in the centre, where we rely less on cartularies for preservation. Multiple documents survive in the name of 34 individual ecclesiastical beneficiaries, such as thirteen charters for Melic, priest-at-large in the mid-tenth century around Sahagún, and ten to the Leonese priest Munnio in the 970s.⁵⁹ Yet this total is far less than the 95 identifiable lay archives, which account for over four times as many documents, including numerous sizeable collections: eleven or more charters are preserved for ten couples, notably the 59 of Count Pedro Flaínez and his wife Bronildi and the 53 of Count Fruela Muñoz and his wife Amuna, both based in the region of Otero de las Dueñas and whose descendants founded that monastery.⁶⁰ Other major archives are those of Hermegildo and his

⁵⁸ See fig. 44; cf. Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 269-81; M. Calleja Puerta, 'Les sources documentaires pour l'histoire des familles aristocratiques du royaume de León (X^e-XII^e siècle): production, usage et conservation', in M. Aurell (ed.), *Le médiéviste et la monographie familiale: sources, methods et problématiques* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 105-16; *idem*, 'Archivos dispersos, fuentes reencontradas. Notas metodológicas al estudio de las elites del reino de León en los siglos centrales de la Edad Media', *Medievalismo*, 12 (2002), pp. 9-36.

⁵⁹ Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 278-9; B. Casado Quintanilla, 'Melic (+960), presbítero, agricultor y ganadero: datos y conjeturas', *ETFHM*, 22 (2009), pp. 48-9; M.J. Carbajo Serrano, *El monasterio de los Santos Cosme y Damián de Abellar: monacato y sociedad en la época astur-leonesa* (León, 1988), pp. 165-7; Fernández Flórez, 'Documentos', pp. 110-15.

⁶⁰ Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 273-6; A. García Leal, 'El archivo de los condes Fruela Muñoz y Pedro Flaínez (854-1048): una visión nueva de viejos documentos', *Signo*, 13 (2004), pp. 121-8.

wife Paterna, with 45 charters surviving in the documentation of their foundation of Sobrado, and Bagaudano and his wife Faquilona, significant local élites whose 14 charters passed, with their patrimony, via their son Abbot Opila into what later became Santo Toribio; the archive of Gutier and Ilduara, similarly, passed into the family foundation of Celanova.⁶¹ For some of these figures, however, the precise channels of documentary survival are less apparent: Count Munio Fernández and his wife Elvira made at least one similar gift of their property to religious institutions, whence their 21 charters survive in the collections of various Leonese monasteries and churches; others such as Fruela Velaz and his wife Jimena, with eight charters in León and Sahagún, are transients in the historical record, known only by these texts.⁶² This last category, indeed, is the most common, augmented by the remaining 12% of the corpus which is comprised of charters addressed to miscellaneous beneficiaries, each of them attested uniquely; plenty of individuals received and retained documents.

Yet even without this preliminary reconstruction of contemporary archives, the charters hint at individual collections. In a document dated to 1008, a dispute over ownership of a *villa* went against Bishop Jimeno of Astorga and was settled in favour of Munio Fernández by means of an oath taken on written evidence: since only the victor had reason to hold onto this record, it must originally have been preserved in the personal collection of the count.⁶³ Another charter from 1019 describes Alfonso V confiscating property from two homicides and giving it to Cidi Domneliz; the account *in extenso* of the later and more formal judicial proceedings in 1020 is stitched to the parchment, perhaps an archival unity dating to when both texts belonged to their beneficiary.⁶⁴ In 1008, on the other hand, Martino made a sale to Xemenia and Fernando *fratre*,

⁶¹ Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 269-73, 276; M.C. Pallares Méndez, *El monasterio de Sobrado: un ejemplo de protagonismo monástico en la Galicia medieval* (Coruña, 1979), pp. 29-43, 71-6; M.E. Pontieri, 'Una familia de propietarios rurales en la Liébana del siglo X', *CHE*, 43-4 (1967), pp. 119-29.

⁶² e.g. ACL.701; M.C. Torre Sevilla-Quiñones de León, 'Munio Fernández y su descendencia. Vida, patrimonio y política familiar de un conde de Astorga', *Astórica*, 14 (1995), pp. 149-72; J. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Notas sobre el alavés Froila Velaz y la "Peña del Rey"', in *Estudios en homenaje a Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años* (6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1983), ii, pp. 145-53.

⁶³ ACL.669; cf. ACA.212; PMH.226.

⁶⁴ ACL.760, ACL.772.

and the rubric of the cartulary copy states that this is a charter of San Juan de Corniero; the two recipients subsequently appear alongside Michael, *fratre* of San Juan, suggesting that they were monastic agents, and their own individual archive later folded into the institutional one.⁶⁵ But the most consistent sign of a personal collection remains a series of charters with beneficiaries of similar name, proximate dates, and property in the same area. Ederonio Alvitiz and his wife Crastina, for instance, in the first decade of the eleventh century, made six purchases of land in the Portuguese *villa* of Custóias, while Advocatus and his wife Leovilli, in the mid-tenth, twice did likewise there.⁶⁶ These are the small proprietors, otherwise unknown, who needed and kept written records just the same as the great monasteries, churches, and aristocrats.

Archives were created in the first instance by the transactions which charters document, when the text was received into the institutional or individual keeping of its beneficiary. In his testament of 1018 to Santiago de León, for example, Sampiro stated that he confirmed it before a multitude of the faithful and placed it onto the altar of the monastery, while Bishop Reccared, confirming the endowment of Piasca by Theoda and Aragonti in 930, consecrated the charter, which had been given to the church in his presence; such handover is regularly attested, by the granter or an agent.⁶⁷ Equally common is notice of delivering the document to the recipient for preservation in an archive, such as the priest Velasco, who records in a donation to the abbot of Congosto in 950 that *reponimus* it *in arcis* or in the chests; this is characteristic of charters to Buezo de Bureba, which specify transferral to the church and storage in its archives, while Gundesalvus, in his testament to Guimarães from 983, says that he put it in the *thesauris* of the basilica.⁶⁸ In the west, suggestively, the beneficiary can even be identified as the archives, and

⁶⁵ SAH.393, SAH.394.

⁶⁶ PMH.195, PMH.199, PMH.203-4, PMH.208, PMH.215; PMH.93, PMH.109.

⁶⁷ ACL.756; SAH.39; *cf.* SAH.101, SAH.164; SMA.19; SJS.27; SLM.38; CEL.154; PMH.87.

⁶⁸ COV.1; SMV.21-2, SMV.25-6; PMH.138; *cf.* SLM.4.

Elarinus and Gundilo, in a charter to Samos of 931, donate half their property *in archivis vestris* in perpetuity, equating maintenance of the transaction with preservation of its text.⁶⁹

Accounts of consulting charters confirm that they were archived with the beneficiary, as well as the fact of their accessibility. In a document of 1026, the bishop of León describes *perexquirens* the charters and testaments of his see upon assuming office, and discovering that a *villa* rightfully its property had been seized by a count in the preceding period of unrest; he was thereby able to appeal to the king for its restoration.⁷⁰ The majority of examples come from Santiago, such as when Sancho Ordóñez visited in 927 and confirmed those testaments of his ancestors *recondita in tesoris Apostoli* after Bishop Hermegildo had read them out; Ramiro II came to Compostela in 934 and, inquiring what his ancestors had given to it, found testaments dating back to the reign of Alfonso II, to which he added one of his own.⁷¹ In a dispute between the see and a local lord over division of property amongst their intermarried dependants, Bishop Pedro declared before Vermudo II in 999 that the relevant testaments, confirmed in the treasury of Santiago, should not be voided, while the great *exquisitio* held there in 1019 to confirm eight royal diplomas by oath noted that the documentation of the episcopal patrimony was stored in the same archive.⁷² The principal spur to archival consultation was dispute, and in the late tenth century, Bishop Pelayo of Lugo, opposed by the same Bishop Pedro, made a claim for *familia vel plebs* of Sobrado, presenting *noticias per nomina eorum* which he had found *in scriniis vel thesaurum* of his church of Santa María; his successor tried this again in 1025 and, attempting to reclaim *servos ecclesie* alienated from the see, undertook to provide supporting *scripturas veredigas*, if he could find them in the treasury (by no means a certainty).⁷³ Yet it was not only the beneficiary who remembered the location of the archived text: when Iohannes and his wife

⁶⁹ SJS.15; cf. SLM.21; PMH.1.

⁷⁰ ACL.829.

⁷¹ SDC.38, SDC.41 [I].

⁷² SDC.58, SDC.64 [I].

⁷³ SLM.109; CDA.x.

Flamula wished to cancel their testament to Abellar, they arranged for its return to them from the monastery, where it evidently remained accessible to both granter and recipient.⁷⁴

The charter tended to change hands along with the property which it concerned, and so archives were also formed at a secondary level, as consolidation of ownership entailed the same for documentation. Records of transactions regularly mention joint transfer of land and charter, such as in 921 when Taion donated to Sahagún property given to him by Ordoño II, noting its boundaries to be those in the text which the king had made for him and he now handed over to the monastery, or in 833, when Count Galindo Aznárez I of Aragón donated land to Siresa with *mea ipsa scriptura*, similarly stipulating its appurtenances and limits to be *sicut textus scripture ipse continetur*.⁷⁵ The practice is most commonly attested in the west, at times with a generic character potentially encompassing the whole written history of the property, whether changing hands together with *omnibus suis scriptis* as in a donation involving Samos in 1009, or *pactos atque testamentos et cartas* as in the background to an exchange involving Santiago in 955; the endowment of Rosende in 904 included men of the *patrocinio* of Visclamondus and the charters in their possession, while the granter confirmed *quantum cartas quas in manu fratrum ponimus* in a testament to Celanova of 962.⁷⁶ More specifically, when priests of the Galician monastery of San Andrés donated it to Celanova in 1002, they handed over its documents and *firmitates*, notably the first testament which its founder Abbot Salamirus had made of the site; at a dispute in 1011, comparably, Tructesindo Guimiriz defended his property against Ruderigo Froilaz by relating how Davi and his wife Animie had acquired it through a written *anutione*, then sold it with that text to Scemena *per cartula venditionis*, before she bestowed it and both documents upon her children, who finally made a charter of donation of it and its records to him.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ ACL.147.

⁷⁵ SAH.24, SAH.19; ACH.3; *cf.* ACL.746; SAH.273; ACO.7.

⁷⁶ SJS.69; SLM.80; SJS.S1; CEL.154; *cf.* SJS.39, SJS.68; CEL.192; PMH.51.

⁷⁷ CEL.261; PMH.216; *cf.* SJS.92; SLM.127; CEL.263; PMH.76, PMH.242, PMH.265.

The semantic slippage whereby possession of land and text became equated must have arisen from this phenomenon. In 1018, for example, Sampiro made a donation to Santiago de León, recording how he had purchased from *magister* Ascarigo both a *villa* and the charter by which he in turn acquired it from Vermudo II, and had then received from Queen Elvira another charter of confirmation after she briefly confiscated it; when Elena gave property to her cousin Bello in 962, she noted that her father Vigilane had sold it to another cousin by a charter which she herself bought from him.⁷⁸ In a particularly suggestive case, Valasco came to Guimarães in 1022 when near death and handed Abbot Honoricus a document through which he had been granted a church in his lifetime, requesting that it be confirmed to his grandson on like terms; both records, of this transaction and the original grant, are copied consecutively in the cartulary of the monastery, indicating that the transfer of the earlier charter to the new owner took place.⁷⁹ This process of passage is on occasion implicit in the text, as in one testament of 963 in the archive of the majordomo Ansur and his wife María, giving to Sahagún a meadow which they had purchased from Tota: the charter of sale documenting this transaction in 961, surely donated in the same context, may also be found in the monastic collection, and this dynamic, repeated over a millennium, is the creative force behind the present distribution of the corpus of documentation.⁸⁰ The path by which individual archives entered into institutional ones is not always so straightforward, but can typically be surmised. Jimena and her son Gonzalo, for instance, made two donations to Sahagún late in the tenth century, including property inherited from her parents Munio Flaínez and Froileuva, and twenty of their charters are in the monastic archive; Vistrilli did likewise to San Martín de Turieno in 951, explaining how three documents of her parents Munio and Gulatrudia came there.⁸¹ These transfers reflect an ongoing relevance of the written record, but have condensed a multiplicity of archives into a handful.

⁷⁸ ACL.756; SAH.206; *cf.* SJS.69, SJS.73; SLM.111; CEL.44.

⁷⁹ PMH.251, PMH.168.

⁸⁰ SAH.215, SAH.194; Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', p. 279; *cf. e.g.* SAH.245, SAH.216.

⁸¹ SAH.328, SAH.345; STL.54; STL.19-20, STL.38; Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 273-4.

There is almost no indication that charters were archived with third parties, at least to the exclusion of their beneficiaries. The sole explicit exception is a dispute of 952, in which Velasco claimed to have documentation contradicting what Abellar had produced, at the *recluso* or cloister of an *infante*, but when he and Abbot Severo went there in search of it, they found nothing; the disposition of the property of Melic *presbiter* in 960 involved a search for his testament, and a *notitia* of it was discovered *apud fratrem* Adulfum, apparently on a wax tablet, but this text is likely a forgery.⁸² Reference in the *Chronicle of Sampiro*, however, to an otherwise unknown monastic foundation charter of Ramiro II from about 946 suggests that its author, a royal notary, had access to royal archives where copies of such diplomas were stored, and there does seem to have been a backup repository from which lost diplomas could be restored.⁸³ An unusual narrative text from Samos dated to 944 recounts how Berila, during his restoration of the monastery, sent two brothers to petition Fruela II and Bishop Ovecco for a *cartuario* stored in the *thesauro* of San Salvador de Oviedo and containing lost *firmitates*; the request was granted and 59 charters to the house were recovered, ranging from a testament of Alfonso II to another of Sancho Ordóñez.⁸⁴ Gutier and Eloitus indicate in a document of 932 that their ancestor Aloitus, founder of Santa María de Cambre, also had *omnes ipsas scripturas testamenti vel benefacti* held at San Salvador for protection and preservation; when the monks lost their copies of many of them, their father paid 500 silver *solidi* to Alfonso III, who *reduxit* or restored them, and they ultimately passed with the church itself to Antealtares.⁸⁵

Yet royal confirmations as a rule grant written title anew in response to petition for lost, stolen, or destroyed documentation, rather than draw on these supplementary copies.⁸⁶ In a

⁸² ACL.256; SAH.183 [S/F]; cf. Casado Quintanilla, 'Melic', p. 48, n. 1.

⁸³ SIL.1; cf. *Sampiro*, pp. 329-30.

⁸⁴ SJS.20; M. Calleja Puerta, 'La Catedral de Oviedo como centro de conservación de documentos en la alta Edad Media', in *Estudios*, iv, pp. 180-85.

⁸⁵ COR.33 [I].

⁸⁶ W. Brown, 'When Documents are Destroyed or Lost: Lay People and Archives in the Early Middle Ages', *EME*, 11/4 (2002), pp. 344-54.

document of 902, the archpriest Theodonandus relates how the priests of his family foundation of San Esteban de Calvor, in negligence, vice, and corruption, mislaid its charter of endowment, prompting him to notify Alfonso III and his court, who ordered *pictacium hunc testamenti dotis simulque donationis* to be written for him, itemizing and confirming the monastic patrimony; the inventory of Ordoño II restoring Samos in 922 uses identical vocabulary to explain how the documents of the monastery *deperierunt* before this renewal, suggesting that it is a formula for archival loss.⁸⁷ Bishop Pedro of Lugo made a comparable *subiessionem* to Alfonso V in 1027, saying that Vermudo II had made a testament of the *comisso* of Mera to the see, but hostile or malign parties had taken it from the *scriniis et tesaris* of his church, so the king duly issued a confirmation in memory of his father.⁸⁸ The restoration charter of San Pedro de Rocas in 1007 sets out in detail the foundation of the monastery under the patronage of Alfonso III, and tells of how all his successors down to Vermudo II confirmed his testament to it, before describing a great conflagration which destroyed its *firmitates et scripturas*; Alfonso V therefore issued this *agnitio*, confirming the history, property, and documentation of the house.⁸⁹ Lost charters were also restored by non-royal actors on occasion: when the sons of Argilo learned from their mother that she and her husband Aloitus had made a testament to Santa María de Cinis, now missing from the *tesauro* through priestly negligence, they granted a new donation to confirm the old one in 915, just as, after Vikings *concremaverunt ipsasque scripturas* of Santa Eulalia de Curtis, the bishop of Santiago, descended from its founder, laid out the history of the monastery and enumerated its endowments, re-founding it for the soul of his father in 995.⁹⁰ Absent knowledge of the situation, however, as in these requests to kings, there would have been such scope for manipulation by the beneficiary that the granter should first have consulted the archive, lest the written record be redefined in confirmation.

⁸⁷ SJS.10, SJS.S2.

⁸⁸ CDA.33.

⁸⁹ SPR.1.

⁹⁰ COR.21; COR.110.

Such an active afterlife required that archived charters be accessible for consultation, and the organizational means ensuring this were dorsal notes. These are summaries on the dorso of the parchment made for reference once it had been folded for storage, and occupy the surface which remained exposed. As a rule in Iberia, this is a small area: the parchment was typically folded enough to reduce a charter to the size of a (thick) business card, thereby minimizing the dimensions and maximizing the portability of an archive. The editors of the León, Otero, and Eslonza collections are unfortunately alone in having systematically identified, transcribed, and dated dorsal notes, so I shall confine myself here to these originals, and indeed to those dorsal notes contemporary with the writing of the text itself. So defined, there are dorsal notes on 149 (30%) of 499 original charters, spanning the early medieval period; the sample size is too small to yield a consistent trend, but the incidence is continuous and periodically tops 50% – they were common.⁹¹ They appear somewhat less often at Otero than the other two collections, because they are somewhat more typical of royal and ecclesiastical documents, but even so the rate for lay charters is a not insignificant 23%, offsetting the fact that explicit references to archives put them solely in religious institutions; the laity had their own archives too. One final point to note is that the occurrence of dorsal notes on donations *post mortem* stands out; these documents by definition have long-term implications, and needed to be to hand.

When charters with dorsal notes are divided by beneficiary into ecclesiastical and lay archives, then subdivided by status into episcopal, monastic, clerical, aristocratic, and peasant collections, the application of a broadly similar organizational strategy at every level of society becomes apparent. The sole episcopal archive represented is that of the see of Santa María de León: the dorsal notes of its charters consistently identify the location of the property involved in the transaction, suggesting a geographical arrangement of documentation; cartularies almost all have this internal logic, at least partly, so they may be direct reflections of their source

⁹¹ See figs. 45-7.

collections.⁹² A plurality of dorsal notes mention the typology and the name of the granter as well as the property, such as a parchment with a charter of 960 labelled as a testament of Bishop Ilderredus of the *villa* of San Claudio Araduey, or another with two texts from 979, summarizing them together as a charter of Revel, Godesteo, and Duraviles of the *villa* of Mahudes.⁹³ Nearly so common is to note location alone, and a donation of 860, for example, describes itself as of the *villa* of Usso in Asturias, San Martín in Asturias, and Sauceta, a second of 999 as concerning the *castello* of San Salvador.⁹⁴ Additional combinations of property and other data are attested, including granter, document type, and even transaction type, but rarely; some are fragmentary, owing to the typically poorer state of preservation of the hair side of parchments.⁹⁵ The one exception designates a donation of 928 as a testament which Frunimius Olemundi made, only recording document type and granter, but the donor was the bishop of León and the location his episcopal city, and this may have seemed redundant to include in the summary.⁹⁶

Geographical organization of episcopal archives indicates an anticipation that charters were to be used in the administration of property over the long term, since location has no date of expiry as a point of reference; conspicuously absent are any dates, which might imply a less pragmatic, more historical orientation. Monastic archives account for the most summaries, and reflect largely the same practice. Again a plurality makes mention of granter, document type, and property, and a donation to Eslonza from 936, for instance, is labelled a testament of Muza son of Armentarius of Cañones, providing some lineage for the granter not present in the text, while omitting the second *villa* concerned; in general, identifications of property are specific, but one case refers to it baldly as land, difficult to reconcile with a geographical arrangement.⁹⁷ These data were complemented on occasion by the name of the beneficiary, such as a donation

⁹² cf. Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 269-71.

⁹³ ACL.333, ACL.463-4; cf. ACL.108, ACL.130, ACL.217, ACL.549.

⁹⁴ ACL.2, ACL.588; cf. ACL.550, ACL.707.

⁹⁵ Granter: ACL.111. Document: ACL.548. Transaction: ACL.145.

⁹⁶ ACL.76.

⁹⁷ SPE.12; ACL.586; cf. ACL.18, ACL.41, ACL.227, ACL.383, ACL.547, ACL.628, ACL.889.

to Santiago de León of 1015, with a dorsal note calling it a charter of testament which Bishop Jimeno and Gotina *confessa* made of the *villa* of San Pelayo in El Bierzo on the Oza to Abbot Todemiro Muza.⁹⁸ Variation is the norm, but citation of location is the shared feature; at times, transaction substitutes for document type, and a parchment of 923 from Abellar describes itself as a sale and donation of Eugenius *diaconus* of lands and *bustos* in Covellas, but at times both attributes are missing.⁹⁹ The dorsal notes on the charters of Eslonza make a habit of including solely document type and property, or just property, such as the donation of 918 labelled a testament of the land of Fonte de Sabucco, or the sale from 946 summarized as being about Lampreana, the territory where all the many properties concerned are found.¹⁰⁰

While monastic archives are mainly organized geographically, a secondary ordering is also apparent, based on the granter of each charter. A personal system need not have been any less viable, since monasteries did, for example, make inventories of dependants, and therefore could operate on individual terms, but it does seem to anticipate using documentation over the shorter term, since names are less enduring than places. These dorsal notes identify granter and document type most often, such as a sale to Santiago de Cellariolo of 931 which is designated a charter of Stefano, omitting his wife Fackina, also named as a vendor; a donation made by a son as testamentary executor for his father to a monastery of San Martín y San Sebastián in 1001, similarly, is summarized as a testament of Ssegudo on behalf of Fruela.¹⁰¹ On occasion, transaction substitutes for document type, and a parchment of Santiago de León from 1015 has only Arbidio and exchange on its dorso.¹⁰² The periodic inclusion of the beneficiary alongside the granter is odd, such as a donation of 999 labelled as Sarraciniz to the brothers of Valdecésar, or another of 917 as a testament of San Cristóbal Antealtares of Bishop Fronimius, also

⁹⁸ ACL.736; *cf.* ACL.93.

⁹⁹ ACL.58; *cf.* ACL.98, ACL.267, ACL.401; SPE.17. Absent: PMH.179.

¹⁰⁰ SPE.5, SPE.21. Document and property: SPE.24; ACL.89, ACL.229. Property: SPE.27, SPE.29; ACL.817.

¹⁰¹ ACL.90, ACL.600; *cf.* ACL.221, ACL.732; SPE.26; OLD.21; VEG.3.

¹⁰² ACL.739; *cf.* SPE.14. Lacunae: ACL.195, ACL.754.

mentioning the document type.¹⁰³ Perhaps this could reflect the archiving institution being different from the beneficiary, either because the property had since changed hands again or some monasteries kept charters on behalf of others? Another sale of 990 is called a charter of Doña Imilo of Refoyo: in the text she appears as an abbess and the purchaser, so the moment at which the dorsal note was made may also be relevant, and this description date instead to when she gave her possessions (with the documentation) to her monastery.¹⁰⁴ Other summaries noting the beneficiary institution pair it at times with transaction or document type.¹⁰⁵

Clerical archives, more seldom surviving, are organized by the same logic of geography and personal names. Place is again the norm: the standard practice was to record the granter, document type, and property, as a sale of 1023 to the priest Servandus does in unusual detail, identifying itself as a charter of the vineyard of Ariolfo of Villavente, noting the boundaries on all four sides, and mentioning his daughter Doña Mater, who figures in the dispute behind the text.¹⁰⁶ The variations on this pattern are familiar, including substitution of transaction for document type, omission of the granter, and citation of location alone.¹⁰⁷ The clergy of Otero, however, seem to have sorted their documentation by name, and a sale to the priest Braolio in 964 is labelled a charter of Gogina, the vendor, while another from that year, between the same parties, is summarized as a charter of sale of Gogina.¹⁰⁸ Two name the beneficiary, which may again date to when the property next changed ownership; a seemingly contemporary dorsal note on a sale of 930 by a lay couple to the priest Felis references the *villa* of the bishop, a figure not present but perhaps a later recipient who then gave it to his episcopal see.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ ACL.587, ACL.43; *cf.* ACL.295.

¹⁰⁴ ACL.537.

¹⁰⁵ Beneficiary: ACL.298; ACM.6. Document: ACL.538. Transaction: OLD.20.

¹⁰⁶ ACL.799.

¹⁰⁷ ACL.7, ACL.212, ACL.468, ACL.814, ACL.825. Transaction: OLD.186. Granter: ACL.83 [?]. Location: ACL.563-4, ACL.593.

¹⁰⁸ OLD.15, OLD.14; *cf.* OLD.49; ACL.161.

¹⁰⁹ ACL.88; *cf.* ACL.398.

The laity, both aristocrats and peasants, had no less need to organize their archives for access than ecclesiastics, and employed identical strategies. One difference, however, is that they used the personal system more often, which could reflect how the individual relationships of a lifetime were central to the formation and administration of lay patrimonies. The aristocratic collections include the major archives of the Flaínez and Muñoz families from Otero, and typically we find the document or transaction type, granter, and property all named. The dorsal note for the payment of a judicial fine to Flaíno Muñoz in 993, for instance, calls it a charter of Mater of Villar, and the parchment even has a binding strip attached for use after its thirteen folds had been made, leaving just the summary visible; a sale to Cidi Domínguez and his wife Oria of 1031, similarly, is labelled as a charter of Stevane of land in Coreses at the spring.¹¹⁰ The archival notices of other Leonese aristocrats often consist only of location, at times alongside document type, such as a donation to Munio Fernández of 989 with Taural, a lone toponym, on its dorso, or a sale to Fruela Velaz of 962 called a charter of Valdevimbre; transaction type is substituted twice.¹¹¹ Pedro Flaínez and Fruela Muñoz, however, as well as a handful of others, made it a habit to organize their documentary collections by personal name, usually alongside document type, and so a *per filiatio* to Pedro Flaínez from 1001 is a charter of Cidi and Nadalia, while a donation for a judicial debt to Fruela Muñoz from 1022 is likewise a charter of Aragonti; a parchment bearing two sales to Jimena Muñoz of 1003 has a composite note labelling it a charter of Maxito and Monio.¹¹² Transaction type is occasionally substituted, such as in the charter to Menicio and his wife Avola from 898 described as a sale of Donadeus; there is one case when the beneficiary is added after the document type and granter.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ OLD.34; ACL.883; *cf.* OLD.12, OLD.31, OLD.75, OLD.118, OLD.129, OLD.135, OLD.164; ACL.305, ACL.378, ACL.560, ACL.612, ACL.760, ACL.882, ACL.895.

¹¹¹ ACL.530, ACL.352. Property: ACL.315, ACL.655, ACL.669. Document: ACL.562, ACL.741; OLD.90. Transaction: ACL.3; OLD.11.

¹¹² OLD.55, OLD.142, OLD.64-5; *cf.* OLD.37, OLD.58, OLD.74, OLD.124, OLD.134, OLD.141, OLD.179; ACL.780, ACL.839.

¹¹³ ACL.13; *cf.* ACL.25, ACL.324; OLD.32. Beneficiary: OLD.176; ACL.719.

Peasants who have left no more than a few charters to their name evidently felt the same need as aristocrats to arrange them for preservation and consultation, in the short as well as long term, since their dorsal notes take the same forms. Most of these archival references make mention of location, such as a sale to Flaynus and his wife Bronildi from 941 labelled a charter which Ermegildos made of a vineyard in Torre, naming granter, document type, and property involved; omitting the first or the first and the second is also common.¹¹⁴ In all but one case, when transaction is substituted for document type, the beneficiary is also added, yielding quite a full summary: a charter of 908, for example, is called a sale of Splendonius of land in Viego which he sold to Fredesinde.¹¹⁵ Reference to the beneficiary but not the granter may once more date to when the property next changed hands; a sale to Agube and his wife Auria of 950 is described as a charter of Oteros del Rey to San Julián, again naming a party not present in the text.¹¹⁶ The personal system is also in evidence, such as in a sale to Vegila and his wife Arilo of 1009 summarized as a charter of Dominico and Infante, identifying the granter and document type.¹¹⁷ Whatever survives, peasants had their own collections of documents, sufficient in size that they needed to organize them. How they did so was by means common to early medieval Iberian society as a whole, which regularly called on the scribe to append a summary to the charter, alternately prioritizing personal name or location, so that in the archive it should remain readily accessible, whether for immediate or future employment.

Despite a largely shared archival culture, however, certain monasteries and élites also developed a further strategy of preservation in this period, assembling and transcribing their archives of charters into cartularies, paralleling the evolving procedure of confirming texts through new copies. The earliest references to cartularies date to the mid-tenth century and

¹¹⁴ ACL.143; *cf.* ACL.194, ACL.223, ACL.711; OLD.61; OUR.4. Granter: ACL.391, ACL.616, ACL.652. Document: ACL.234; CRZ.1.

¹¹⁵ ACL.21; *cf.* ACL.35, ACL.404, ACL.429.

¹¹⁶ ACL.226; *cf.* ACL.12, ACL.158, ACL.476.

¹¹⁷ OLD.78; *cf.* ACL.579; OLD.5; OUR.1. Granter: ACL.82, ACL.894; *cf.* ACL.297. Document: ACL.886. Illegible: OLD.18.

come from the west: we have already encountered the most notable, kept at Oviedo and containing copies of royal diplomas to Samos, cited in a narrative of 944.¹¹⁸ These copies seem to have been complete, but the remaining cartulary citations provide no such detail. In 976, for instance, Sunilani *confessus* made a gift of, amongst other things, the site of San Salvador with its appurtenances and *cartarios*, to his son Vermudo, priest of Santiago de Barbadelo; in 1009, similarly, Abbot Vermudo gave property and books to the same dependent house of Samos, including a *liber cum nostrum renovum*, conceivably a compilation of written records of rents, if that is what the last word means.¹¹⁹ Ramiro II gave a *villa* to the monastery of Castrelo in 947 after he had *revolvimus carturarios nostros* or gone over his cartularies and found it in his possession, while Flamula made a testament to Guimarães in 960, noting that all her *cartarios* were at Salzeta and should be brought to the monastery.¹²⁰ The bequest of Abbot Randulfus in 994 usefully explicates the term, for it includes what he has acquired *per nostras kartas* as recorded *in ipso nostro kartario*; such personal cartularies also appear in the narrative of Odoynus in 982 and the testament of Cresconius in 1010, both texts from Celanova.¹²¹

While there are no surviving examples of ‘proper’ cartularies with full transcriptions, despite the references, we do have what could be described as registries. The entries are extracts or summaries of original texts, and the resemblance to dorsal notes is such that they may have evolved from them.¹²² One from Otero, dated to 976, is labelled an inventory which Fernando Vermúdez and Elvira made of the charters of the *villa* of Natahoyo, and briefly registers nine documents, beginning with the charter of Donnon of the apple-tree in Ramma by the house of Negelle.¹²³ Another from Lorvão of the same date provides a résumé of eight testaments to the

¹¹⁸ SJS.20; cf. Sáez, ‘Origen’, pp. 12-3.

¹¹⁹ SJS.39, SJS.69; cf. de Valdeavellano, “‘Renovo’”, pp. 408-19.

¹²⁰ CDR.63; PMH.81.

¹²¹ PMH.169; CEL.191, CEL.321; Carzolio de Rossi, ‘Cresconio’, pp. 277-9.

¹²² Escalona, ‘Antes de los cartularios’, pp. 135-41.

¹²³ OLD.22; Kosto, ‘Documentary Practices’, pp. 274-6; cf. A. Prieto Prieto, ‘El conde Fernando Vermúdez’, *AL*, 28/55-6 (1974), pp. 197-213.

monastery drawn up, apparently, on a single day, but amalgamates granters and witnesses into one confirmation clause in which they affix their signs to the *cartas testamentorum*.¹²⁴ As I have essayed, especially for Sahagún, some of these instances could be preparatory minutes of documents, or notes on transactions never formalized: the list of twelve sales to Iscam and his wife Filauria between 945 and 954, for example, makes very simple statements, such as Teuda sells half an enclosure for twenty silvers, before concluding with a composite confirmation.¹²⁵ What distinguishes the archival registry is an indication at the outset, or in one or more of the entries, that its sources are written. One text of 971 entitles itself a notice or inventory of the *villas* and properties recorded in the testaments of Sobrado, donated by Hermegildo and Paterna as well as their descendants; a document of roughly 1011 is termed a *nodicia* of property and vineyards of Santiago de León, and ends by noting a charter which Arvidio made.¹²⁶

This form of documentary organization seems to have been practiced at Celanova more than anywhere else (similar evidence has now emerged for Valpuedra), and the monastery, perhaps not coincidentally, has left the largest archive from the period. Cresconius *praepositus* is the key figure, who as monastic purchasing agent in the late tenth century and early eleventh compiled several registries to manage the records of his many acquisitions.¹²⁷ The most explicit case is a series of seven summaries of sales with an amalgamated confirmation dating them to 1001 and locating the property in the territory of Sorga, which could again be preparatory notices, were it not for the concluding statement that this inventory was written and *translatum* from charters in 1005.¹²⁸ Another undated example is labelled an inventory which Cresconius *praepositus* made from many parts, and is comprised of short statements of 43 transactions, variously simple notices, extracts of extant documents, or transcriptions of whole texts; some

¹²⁴ LTL.32.

¹²⁵ SAH.94; Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 279-80; cf. ACH.4; CEL.184.

¹²⁶ SLM.102; ACL.704; Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 270-71; cf. ACA.224; SJS.56; COR.55 (COR.54), COR.56, COR.68.

¹²⁷ Carzolio de Rossi, 'Cresconio', pp. 242-79.

¹²⁸ CEL.299, CEL.253-9.

25 of the statements mention a charter being made, so a textual source for the entire inventory seems probable.¹²⁹ The range and extent of this registry exceeds the norm, however, and most of the inventories drawn up by Cresconius are, like the first, explicitly limited by region, or on occasion by party; a second from 1005, for instance, is headed an inventory of all the properties which Cresconius *frater* bought or acquired *pro pretio digno* in the *villa* of Moreira near Celanova.¹³⁰ One exceptional case lacks a date but describes itself at the end as concerning the lands recorded in the charters of Alvito and his wife Nunillo, also located in Moreira.¹³¹ Other monastic agents for Celanova compiled inventories similarly organized by geography, such as Abbot Aloitus, who listed thirteen purchases of vineyards in Bobadela in composite form in 1013, or Vermuduz Eroptiz, who made a *noticia de testamento* of men of Santa María de Verín in sundry locations in 1026.¹³² When the *Tumbo de Celanova* was finally compiled in the high Middle Ages, it was no innovation, but drew on and extended many prior attempts at rationalizing and safeguarding the voluminous monastic archive.

The charter in early medieval Iberia therefore had an active afterlife. In the expectation latent in sanction clauses, confirmation through notices and new charters, and preservation by means of organized archives, recognition of the ongoing value of documentation is apparent. Common to all three facets of this second life is an anxiety about maintaining the permanence of charters, which mandated continual reengagement with them, whether in the obligations assumed by the granter in the sanction, the names added by new parties onto old parchments, or the sorting and resorting of charters in a constant movement amongst original and subsequent beneficiaries. A dynamic circulation, more than anything else, characterizes the written word after the fact, and underlies not only the transmission history of the corpus to the present, but

¹²⁹ CEL.315 (CEL.216), CEL.273, CEL.293.

¹³⁰ CEL.290.

¹³¹ CEL.289 (CEL.243), CEL.266-7, CEL.286, CEL.288; *cf.* CEL.293, CEL.296-8, CEL.309, CEL.327-8.

¹³² CEL.338, CEL.368; *cf.* CEL.285, CEL.382.

also the prevalence with which charters cite each other, as we shall explore next. Above all there is the fascination of every user of documents, from kings and bishops via monasteries and clerics to aristocrats and peasants, organizing their collections, arranging them by place and person, already looking forward to their reuse, in archival procedures which can still be reconstructed from seemingly unimportant dorsal notes. Beyond this constant activity, however, the period is also the origin of developments in confirmation and preservation which have seemed, owing to the accidents of survival, to be innovations of the high Middle Ages. There is a kind of balance here, a shared archival culture, which is changed by two innovations of the mid-tenth century: as kings made confirmation copies of prior diplomas and the clergy distilled collections of documentation into thematic summaries, they took control of the afterlife of texts to a greater degree than before. As monasteries came to create cartularies, they began to master their archives, and seized the advantage in furthering their own interests.

II

THE NETWORK

Every charter is embedded within a network of texts, beginning with other charters. The practice of confirmation is only a limited case of this: available and circulating through archival habits, charters situated themselves in the context of other charters to establish written histories of property, and as key points of reference in the settlement of disputes. The interconnectedness of the documentation via mutual citation is what proves that charters mattered: they speak not in statements but conversations, they live not in moments but continuities. In order to consider the phenomenon of charters citing charters, I have recorded every instance of it, whether or not the cited charter survives, from the terms which they employ for themselves, from the general, *carta* or *testamentum*, to the more specific, *colmellum divisionis* or *titulum dotis*. Documentary citations occur in 565 (14%) of the total corpus of charters, with striking consistency: from the outset of the Leonese period, when the numbers are large enough to yield meaningful trends, the incidence oscillates between roughly 8% and 22%, rising gradually, a recurrent feature of the documentation.¹ This conceals, however, a pronounced regional variation: the practice is significantly more common in the west, at Samos, Santiago, and Celanova, than in the centre, excepting Oviedo, whereas in the east it is almost non-existent.² Royal diplomas stand out for citing other documents the most often, reflecting the tendency of kings to confirm and build on the acts of their predecessors, but ecclesiastical and lay charters do so as well, if less regularly. Both donations and sales with circumstantial explanations or conditions attached are much more likely to refer to other texts; confirmations, disputes, and the inventories which we have

¹ See figs. 48-50.

² cf. J.Á. García de Cortázar and L. Agúndez San Miguel, 'Memoria y cultura en la documentación del monasterio de Celanova: la respuesta de las "fórmulas inútiles" (años 842-1165)', in M.I.V. Valdivieso and P. Martínez Sopena (eds.), *Castilla y el mundo feudal. Homenaje al Profesor Julio Valdeón* (3 vols., Valladolid, 2009), iii, pp. 263-4.

already encountered are also prominent sites of reference. Forgeries habitually make mention of other charters, presumably for verisimilitude, while citations are typically omitted from late copies; neither authenticity nor transmission otherwise seem important factors. Documentary citation, therefore, was consistently common, widespread in society if effectively confined to the west and centre. The historiography has touched on the role of written evidence in disputes, but this is not the extent of texts locating themselves textually. If we consider charters both in the background as context and in the foreground as evidence, we can perceive how, over time, they promoted their own use, making the history of property written history.

i. Reference

Why do charters cite each other? The safest ground on which to answer this question is in the minority of cases where the cited charter survives, in order to establish the existence of real rather than purely rhetorical citations. These are classifiable by function into four types, each a different facet of the afterlife of texts: in confirmation, to record the means of acquisition of property, for further information, or as justification for a transaction. Citing a prior charter in confirmation is the most straightforward, and we have already encountered it as a sign of the continued validity and accessibility of documentation beyond the context of its creation. There are paradigmatic examples from Sahagún: when Adileubus sold property to Melic *presbiter* in 940, for instance, he also confirmed the charter of *perfilatio* which he had made to him eight years earlier, while Infante, newly widowed in 956, confirmed the testament which her husband Foracasas had made to the monastery the year before.³ In the first case, the original transaction was complemented by another between the same parties, while in the second, the scope of the original transaction was extended by a third party joining it. Often this is a relative, as here, but it can also be a bishop or king; the forms are by no means exclusive, and particularly prevalent

³ SAH.75 (SAH.45); SAH.150 (SAH.144 [I]).

at León, Samos, and Santiago.⁴ Confirmation functioned to bring forward past charters in time, updating them to new social configurations in the process: the citation is of the relationships as much as the transactions which they record, defending and extending them to the present. This is especially apparent in more formal confirmations, such as when Bishop Ovecco of León, at a council of 945, confirmed a testament granted to Sahagún by the *infante* Ramiro three decades previously, in addition to other documents concerning the same property which do not survive; in 1018, similarly, the monastery hosted the court of Alfonso V, who listened to the abbot read out a testament, over a century old, made by his ancestor Alfonso III, and confirmed it against some *scurriones* (literally buffoons) who had invaded the property involved.⁵ Whether between bishop or king and monastery, in both cases relationships are renewed through the medium of revisiting prior documentation, and the practice is particularly common in the west.⁶

These confirmations cite the fact of another text, but others quote the content, pointing to specific provisions or drawing terminology from the earlier transaction. In 932, for example, Ramiro II confirmed the endowment of Samos, observing that his father Ordoño II had granted the monastery a diploma expelling a *scortum* or prostitute (perhaps an informal wife) alongside many other unchaste inhabitants and ordaining a new congregation of brothers to reside there; Sancho I confirmed the same in 962, recording how Ramiro II, his own father, had directed the inhabitants of the surrounding mile and a half to render *opus fiscale* or tribute to it.⁷ When the future Alfonso III held a council at Santiago in 862, he issued a confirmation of a charter from four years before, summarized as a grant of all the *villas* and their inhabitants within six miles,

⁴ Complementing: ACL.290 (ACL.184); ACL.506 (ACL.280), ACL.41; ACL.798 (ACL.759); SDC.4 (SDC.3, SDC.1-2 [I]); SDC.8 (SDC.4, SDC.1 [I]). Relatives: OLD.26 (OLD.21); COR.21 (COR.12 [I]); SLM.98 (SLM.82); SPA.1D (SPA.1A-C). Kings and bishops: SAH.265 (SAH.162); SDC.40 (SDC.1 [I]); SJS.13 (SJS.2); SJS.S2 (SJS.7, SJS.2).

⁵ SAH.101 (SAH.12-3); SAH.404 (SAH.6, SAH.7-8 [F]); Fernández Flórez, *Elaboración*, pp. 89-92; I. Alfonso, 'Judicial Rhetoric and Political Legitimation in Medieval León-Castile', in *eadem*, H. Kennedy, and J. Escalona (eds.), *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimation in Medieval Societies* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 55-8.

⁶ Status: SDC.8 (SDC.4); SJS.10 (SJS.1); PMH.17 [S] (VDJ.2 [I]); PMH.251 (PMH.168). Disputes: SPC.88 (SPC.87); CEL.94 (CEL.88).

⁷ SJS.16 (SJS.S2, SJS.13, SJS.6-7, SJS.4, SJS.2); SJS.29 (SJS.17-8, SJS.2); cf. SJS.24 (SJS 16-8, SJS.2).

and later kings repeated the terms enunciated by Ordoño II in a diploma of 911, that they should pay *censum* to the see as *homines ingenui* or free tenants.⁸ Such citations bring forward prior charters in time, but also demonstrate close rereading, grounding a new transaction in detailed recollection of its written predecessor, and this appears again to have been a principally western practice, which Samos and Santiago deployed to defend and extend their patrimonies.

The second type of citation records the means of acquisition of property, and served to establish the right of the grantor to dispose of it and ground the transaction in its written history. When David and his wife Margarita gave a vineyard to Abellar in 921, they recorded that, nine years before, they had bought it by a charter of *comparatio* from four persons, while Citaius *presbiter* entered that monastery in 955, conceding property in Covellas which he and his sister Filauria had purchased by charter five years previously.⁹ The habit was common to all sectors of society, foremost the clergy.¹⁰ As with confirmations, certain citations describe the means of acquisition in detail: in 952, for example, the religious Hermegildo sold property to Santos Justo y Pastor which Ramiro II had confiscated from the killers of his nephew Odoario Díaz and given to him by written ordinance in return for faithful service, while Bishop Servando of León donated a court to the abbess of San Vicente in 1030 which Flamula had conceded to him by testament, in memory of her sister, on condition that he hold it in life and leave it after his death to a religious institution of his choice.¹¹ The first case sets out the circumstances of the original transaction enabling this new one, whereas the second relates its terms or conditions, legitimizing the disposal of the property and commemorating Flamula, whose pious bequest the bishop was fulfilling, while memorializing her sister, in whose memory it had been made.¹²

⁸ SDC.3 (SDC.2 [I]); SDC.35 (SDC.21, SDC.1-4); SDC.38 (SDC.21, SDC.1-4); SDC.41 (SDC.38, SDC.34-5, SDC.21, SDC.1-4); *cf.* SDC.21 (SDC.4); COR.20 (COR.19).

⁹ ACL.57 (ACL.29); ACL.288 (ACL.219).

¹⁰ Royal: SAH.293 [I] (SAH.144, SAH.150 [I]). Ecclesiastical: SJS.8 (SJS.6-7); PMH.99 (PMH.61); LPC.109 (PMH.253). Lay: ACL.753 (ACL.730).

¹¹ ACL.253 (ACL.123); ACL.862 (ACL.857).

¹² Circumstantial: ACL.596 (ACL.541); CEL.246 (CEL.223). Conditional: SAH.24 (SAH.19); SAH.245 (SAH.216).

Detailed citation seems mainly to have been practised by the great monasteries and aristocrats, perhaps most sensitive to potential litigation, but it shares with simple citation an awareness that a transaction was, or could be, the most recent in a chain of documented acts, and each recognition consolidated a mentality that the history of property was written.

Most citations of lost charters record means of acquisition: this was the main reason to cite. Sarrazino Silez and his wife Sacia sold a *villa* to Fafila Fredenandiz and his wife Adosinda in 1002, for example, which they had obtained by a charter from Ramiro III; in an extreme case, Valerio and Dominico, alongside their wives and children, sold property to Furakasas and his wife Korexia in 1014 originally belonging to Olalio, which Vermudo II had seized and given by charter to Vellite, who then sold it to Dominico.¹³ Personal archives were brought to bear here, and Bishop Fruela, in 1002, cited three charters of donation, from Queen Elvira, Abbot Cixila, and Betotti, in his testament to the see of León; when Assur Sarraciniz and his wife Gilvira, in another donation from 999, declare that they vindicated their ownership of the properties in question before Vermudo II with the charters of purchase of his parents Sarracino Munioniz and Sarracena, they make the legitimating purpose of the practice explicit.¹⁴ These cases from León can be paralleled in Asturias, Cantabria and elsewhere in the centre, but well over half of all instances are western, particularly from Celanova and Samos.¹⁵ Citation of single charters is the norm, and Hermegildo and Paterna, building up estates by purchase from ordinary laymen, acquired properties obtained in turn *per scripturam* and *per textum scripture*, but denser citation, of multiple charters, is visibly more frequent in the west, especially (but not exclusively) in the documentation of kings, bishops, and aristocrats.¹⁶ These references to means of acquisition typically specify a charter, type of transaction, and parties to it, while two

¹³ ACL.614, ACL.724.

¹⁴ ACL.629, ACL.587; *cf.* ACL.703, ACL.865.

¹⁵ *e.g.* ACO.7; SVO.12; STL.7; SDM.23; SAH.206; OLD.56; ACA.53; SID.7; SPE.21.

¹⁶ SLM.31, SLM.59-60, SLM.62; *cf.* SLM.14. Single: *e.g.* SDC.15; SJS.23; SLM.73; CEL.53; COR.50; OUR.1; OSE.1; PMH.61. Multiple: *e.g.* SDC.22; SJS.36; SLM.80; COR.110; CEL.57; PMH.76-7.

add that a price was paid.¹⁷ Detailed citations are rarer, again most common in the west, reading particulars of prior transactions such as circumstances and conditions.¹⁸ The regularity of the practice demonstrates not only an awareness of the written history of property, but also an interest in the fact that it had one, presupposing some attendant advantage.

This consciousness of the web of documentation in which land and its ownership were enmeshed is implicit in referencing earlier charters for further information. At the beginning of the eleventh century, Amico and his wife Columba paid a judicial fine by giving half a meadow to Cresconius *praepositus*, specifying that it was next to a *quinione* or plot of land belonging to Lovesindo, who had already made a charter of it to Celanova.¹⁹ This citation therefore flags a related but distinct transaction, involving a different grantor; in other cases, the grantor is the same, like in a confirmation.²⁰ In a sense, this is footnoting, referencing relevant transactions in written form: if the purpose was to provide the full context of each charter, the outcome was the progressive buildup of interconnections amongst the documentation. Other citations of this type are for critical details. In 1029, for example, three *fideiussores* made a *placitum* on behalf of Fruela Sendínez, undertaking to hand over a price to Count Pedro Flaínez when he returned to Valdoré, but they refer for the actual amount to the charter of sale written ten months earlier, and indeed, for the boundaries of the property, to the grant of it by Ordoño I in 854, nearly two centuries before, although this last text is itself a problematic eleventh-century copy.²¹ The norm, however, is to cite properties or appurtenances less integral to the transaction, and the second testament of Bishop Sisnando to Sobrado in 966 includes all those movables listed in his first one, which it would take too long to enumerate again, thereby assuming its immediate

¹⁷ SID.7; PMH.227.

¹⁸ SJS.72; ACL.703; SLM.128; *cf.* ACL.432; SVO.29; SLM.125. Circumstances: SJS.78; SLM.4, SLM.122; PMH.179. Particulars: ACL.432; SAH.200, SAH.386; SVO.16; COR.29; SDC.66; PMH.168, PMH.219. Conditions: ACL.865; STL.38.

¹⁹ CEL.315 (CEL.310); *cf.* CEL.297 (CEL.296)

²⁰ Different: SDC.45 (SDC.1-4); SJS.37 (SJS.2). Identical: SID.16 [S] (SID.15); SAH.345 (SAH.342, SAH.328); ACL.772 (ACL.760); PMH.97 (PMH.76).

²¹ OLD.190 (OLD.188, OLD.1).

and ongoing accessibility for reference.²² Most cases of citing lost charters of related transactions or with further information are again from the west, but two Leonese examples are illustrative: Iulianus *presbiter* made a testament to Santos Justo y Pastor in 954, and mentioned his two previous attempts, both of which he had to have voided by an episcopal council when the recipient institutions were hit by scandal, while Brandila donated half the property which he held by purchase from his mother-in-law Marie and by inheritance from his wife to Abellar in 942, on condition that he work it in his lifetime along with the other half which Marie had granted by document to the monastery.²³ These citations record the written basis for any exceptions, limitations, or additions which apply to the current transaction. In the testament of Rudesindus to the monastery of San Vicente from 867, he noted that, while he left his *servos* and *ancillas* to the patronage of its brothers, he had freed them *per alia scripta* and granted them property by another testament.²⁴ The goal must have been to prevent future challenge, flagging the supporting written evidence for doing so.

Citing a prior charter as justification for a current transaction brings us full circle back to confirmation. When Sancho Ordóñez visited Santiago in 927, he heard Bishop Hermegildo read out the testaments of his predecessors, and duly confirmed them: according to the diploma, Fruela II had previously come there to pray, and the bishop had shown him the same testaments as encouragement to imitate their example, but he refused and indeed alienated property given by them, violating the very sanction clauses which Sancho now reviewed.²⁵ Fruela had in fact made several donations to the see, but in blackening the legacy of his rival, Sancho was making the point that the legacy of past written acts should shape present choices, and many Leonese kings accordingly grounded their generosity to Santiago in recollection of what their ancestors

²² SLM.98 (SLM.82); *cf.* SLM.90 (SLM.91); PMH.138 (PMH.88).

²³ ACL.278, ACL.150. Same: OLD.21, OLD.27; ACO.7, ACO.42; STL.75; COR.71, COR.96; SDC.20; SJS.9, SJS.90, SJS.43; CEL.218, CEL.309; PMH.70, PMH.172, PMH.197, PMH.200. Related: SAH.30; OLD.181; SLM.28, SLM.106; CEL.105, CEL.315.

²⁴ COR.4 [I]; *cf.* SLM.38. See also: SAH.416; SDC.30; SJS.66; CEL.199, CEL.316, CEL.373; PMH.106.

²⁵ SDC.38 (SDC.21, SDC.1-4); *cf.* SDC.34-6.

had put in writing, whether or not similar representations by their beneficiaries had motivated them.²⁶ At a less exalted level, a dispute between the family of Alvarus and Abellar over land in Covellas was settled when the former sold it to the latter in 941; eight months later, Argemir cited this charter of sale while selling back his own share, bought from his brother Alvarus, to the monastery.²⁷ In the case of those citing lost charters, the sale in 930 by Sarracinus and his wife Lela to Felis *presbiter* and family of land inherited from his father Terencius states that its limits are where the charter of inheritance confirms them: this assumes that the relevant text could be ‘called up’ as needed, and requires it if the boundaries had to be proven.²⁸ Access to and knowledge of prior charters are also preconditions for citing them in justification of new transactions, such as a sale by Ermoriquo and his wife Rosaldi to Pedro Flaínez from 1003, in lieu of a charter of *perfiliatio* which they had made to him of a third of their property.²⁹ Once created, therefore, the written record was only at the beginning of a long lifecycle of recurrent and varied reference, and in outline or in detail it served, by means of citation, to legitimize, contextualize, and rationalize, in circulation stimulating and structuring subsequent acts.

Charters could also cite other documentation in general, but the question is whether this was drawing on the authority of written records where none existed. Vermudo II confirmed the property of San Vincenzo de Pombeiro in 997, making reference to its *scripturas veteres et novas*, just as Ramiro III (unless this text has been tampered with) gave Sobrado the *comitatos* which its founders had formerly held *per commissorios* in 968, and reaffirmed its possession of those *mandationes* recorded in its *pactos et testamentos* ten years later.³⁰ In many cases, the citations must have been real, but specificity does not seem to be the purpose here; these

²⁶ SDC.24 (SDC.16, SDC.12); SDC.41 [I] (SDC.1-4); SDC.44-5 (SDC.1-4); *cf.* SJS.57 (SJS.29).

²⁷ ACL.148 (ACL.141).

²⁸ ACL.88. Identification: ACL.189, ACL.492; SAH.161; COR.58; SJS.88; SLM.98; CEL.174. Delimitation: ACL.340; SSO.17; ACH.3; PMH.196. Appurtenances: OLD.76; ACA.226; ACO.7; SLM.121; CEL.8, CEL.121.

²⁹ OLD.66; *cf.* ACA.190; COR.53; COR.110; PMH.115, PMH.255.

³⁰ SVP.3; SLM.101, SLM.105; *cf.* SMB.1; COR.114; CEL.110; SJS.29.

references look instead to the authority and legitimacy bestowed by the fact of documentation. This is clear in a confirmation issued by Sancho III to Albelda in 1024, stating that, as his pledge was made in other donations and transfers, so it was in this one, while Alfonso V, after a fire, reaffirmed to San Pedro de Rocas in a diploma of 1007 all *firmitates et scripturas* granted and confirmed by his ancestors back to Alfonso III.³¹ The same purpose was served by general citations on acquisition of property, pointing not to specific title deeds but to the fact of title deeds in order to establish the right of the granter to dispose of it. The deacons Alvarus and Abraham made a charter of sale to Bishop Velasco of León in 967: they sold a *villa* bought from various vendors by *ceteris scripturis*, as if a documentary *et cetera*.³² The pattern is for the charters cited to be of the granter or a relative and record the purchase of property now piously donated, suggesting that religious institutions in particular wanted at least the appearance of a written history.³³

In the west, where most examples come from Celanova, Samos, and Sobrado, the prior transaction can be a sale or exchange as well as a pious donation, and the property inherited by *colmellos* or *scripturas divisionis*, but the ‘textual expectations’ remain the same.³⁴ Particular to Galician and Portuguese charters, however, is the practice of emphasizing the written quality of acquisition, without making reference to a text but with phrases like *sicut exaratum est*, and of noting the fact of prior documents beside prior granters, such as with the formula *per cartas et auctores propios*.³⁵ On a few occasions, in the centre too, the former owners are identified: the testament of Bishop Fruela of León in 1002 includes property obtained *per cartas emptionis*

³¹ SMA.32; SPR.1.

³² ACL.403.

³³ Granter: ACL.265, ACL.405, ACL.462, ACL.611, ACL.655, ACL. 754; SAH.145-7, SAH.330, SAH.345; OLD.185; CAS.6, CAS.11; ACA.263; ACO.40. Relative: ACL.180, ACL.600; SAH.111; SVO.25.

³⁴ Donation: SJS.33, SJS.36, SJS.39, SJS.46, SJS.72, SJS.80, SJS.90; SLM.91, SLM.100, SLM.128; COR.116; CEL.57, CEL.81, CEL.99, CEL.154, CEL.188, CEL.199, CEL.202, CEL.215, CEL.326; SVP.2; PMH.25, PMH.169, PMH.201, PMH.214, PMH.219, PMH.222, PMH.224, PMH.248. Other: SJS.76; SLM.68, SLM.121, SLM.127; CEL.84, CEL.192, CEL.290, CEL.338; PMH.215, PMH.259. Inheritance: SJS.43; SLM.98; COR.135; CEL.304; PMH.76.

³⁵ Acquisition: SDC.62; SLM.80; CEL.229, CEL.318. Granters: SJS.28; CEL.97.

seu placita iuditorum from Bellito Gallego and Iusto of Santibáñez; the vague expression of a written history has been filled out with the participants in it, but that is an atypical occurrence.³⁶

The thrust of these forms is encapsulated in the endowment of the monastery of San Antolín in 1027 by Abbot Didacus, who donated all his *villas* and lands which he had bought for a price and noted in his *cartulas*, just as their prior owners had consigned them to him before witnesses; price paid and ownership transferred publicly, all the elements of a charter of sale were present, so the property had a written history, and the details were superfluous to enumerate.³⁷

When Placia sold her fifth, held from her husband Illalli, to Vimara *presbiter* in 932, she noted that her children had already made charters to him, while Sesmiro *frater* gave a third of his property to Bishop Rosendo and Celanova in 962, but reserved the rest for his wife and children, to whom he had earlier made charters.³⁸ The nature of these citations requires parties to be stated, but the use of the plural and the vagueness as to content convey a general character: the function is to say, ‘see the family papers’, waving at a written context, rhetorically warding off challengers. Documentation for appurtenances and boundaries can also be cited generally: Egeredus and Rosula gave their monastery of San Mateo to Samos in 960, for example, with everything which belonged to it as recorded in its *scriptis veteris et teneris* or documents ancient and new, just as Vermudo II transferred men into the service of Montesacro in 987 within the limits set in the *testamenta et agniciones* or testaments and settlements of the monastery.³⁹ One wonders at the purpose of such general citations: to give the impression of a written foundation where it was absent, or to leave the recipients, all religious institutions or persons, flexibility to refine the auxiliary texts? Imprecision need not have been a disadvantage in every case. But the practice is evidence of how citation promoted itself: the more charters

³⁶ ACL.629; cf. SAH.125; OLD.11; PMH.221.

³⁷ SJS.87.

³⁸ CEL.37, CEL.155; cf. CEL.308; PMH.202; SDM.22.

³⁹ SJS.27; SDC.55. Appurtenances: SJS.24, SJS.57-8, SJS.75, SJS.S1; SLM.128; CEL.37, CEL.98, CEL.154, CEL.199; PMH.201, PMH.222, PMH.224; SAH.308. Delimitation: SJS.24, SJS.39, SJS.73; SLM.127; ACO.24; SVO.29.

cited other charters, the more interconnected all charters became, and the more conspicuously a charter lacking citation, or property lacking a charter, lacked such written authority.

The centrality of documentation to the history and context of property is reflected in a vocabulary of transfer by charter unique to medieval Iberia and France. The verb *incartare* is a compound of the prefix *in-* with the noun *carta*: it means to consign ownership of property in writing, as if ‘to en-charter’, and its use is attested throughout Iberia from the tenth to the thirteenth century.⁴⁰ The word can be employed with reference to means of acquisition or related transactions, but examples of the first are more numerous, in León, Galicia, and Portugal. A fragmentary charter of 932 is amongst the earliest, and records Gunterogia giving certain properties to Carboeiro, including one which an illegible party *incartavi* to her; in 945, similarly, Sisimiro sold a *villa* to Hermegildo and Paterna which he held *incartatum* from Annisco.⁴¹ The timing of this linguistic innovation is worth noticing, since it parallels two developments of the tenth century, the scribal profession and the council, and fits increasing ‘written arrangements’ and ‘written expectations’ in society. From this point onward, the term sees regular use in pious donations, lay transactions, and a few disputes. When Vermudo and his wife Onega donated property to Santiago de Barbadelo in 1031, for instance, it included a quarter of a *villa* which a monk Gaton, and a third of another which Teodegia, had *incartavit* to them, while Adosinda gave two villas which she and her deceased husband Ramiro held *incartata* from Ordoño III in an exchange of 964.⁴² The verb is also used to reference the charter of a related transaction in examples mainly from the west, such as when Edronios sold an agent of Bishop Rosendo land bordering the property of Ascarigo, *que iam tibi est incartata*, in the mid-tenth century, or the widower Donazano gave all his property to his two children, except

⁴⁰ *Léxico*, s.v. ‘encartare’; *Lexicon*, s.v. ‘incarto’; cf. *Niermeyer*, s.v. ‘inchartare’; *Blaise*, s.v. ‘incarto’; *Glossarium*, s.v. ‘incartare’.

⁴¹ COR.34; SLM.62; cf. CAS.1 [?].

⁴² SJS.95; PMH.88. Pious: SAH.285, SAH.308, SAH.328, SAH.342; SLM.98; SJS.43, SJS.80; CEL.210; PMH.99, PMH.192, PMH.222. Lay: ACL.741, ACL.753; PMH.61. Other: SLM.80, SLM.127; SJS.69.

for what he *incartavit* to Gonzalo, in 1001.⁴³ The testament of Mumadona Dias in 959 includes much land which many a former owner *incartavit* to her, and a *villa* obtained *per incartatione*, a verbal noun for ‘transfer by charter’ thought incorrectly to be a development of the eleventh century.⁴⁴ Some documents even refer to themselves by this terminology, such as a charter of 1003 by which Auria *inkarto* a court to Munio Fernández in payment of a judicial fine, clearly meaning the transfer accomplished by this text.⁴⁵ There may yet be other verbs for transfer by charter, such as *pactare* from *pactum* or *implacare* from *placitum*, both ‘to agree in writing’, further enshrining the functions of charters in the language used for them.⁴⁶

Charters citing other charters, however, make up no more than a fifth of the corpus, and some consideration of the many charters which do not is therefore in order. The absence of any citation is at times only apparent. In 954, for example, Ordoño III confirmed the endowment of Pardomino, but also, silently, an earlier confirmation by Ordoño II in 917: the same passage of Scripture is quoted and both charters specify that its boundaries should be just as the abbots Fredamundus and Maximus obtained them, so the scribe clearly had the prior text before him.⁴⁷ Constancius *confessor*, similarly, made a donation to Abellar in 944, including land held from an exchange with Bera; not only is this documented by a charter of 923, but the reference adds additional information from some other source, such as that Bera was a monk of Valmadrigal.⁴⁸ Tracking ‘silent citation’ is a challenge given how many documents could be sources, assuming that they even survive, but simple non-citation of a known charter is easy to spot. In 985, for instance, Sancho Garcés II confirmed the donation of a *villa* to Pampaneto made by his father García Sánchez I, but did not cite the diploma recording this gift, while Alvitius and his wife Nunillo sold a quarter of a vineyard to Cresconius *praepositus* in 1005, in addition to the three-

⁴³ CEL.184; PMH.185; cf. CEL.222, CEL.289, CEL.297, CEL.315; PMH.112, PMH.149; ACL.376.

⁴⁴ PMH.76; cf. SLM.90; *Léxico*, s.v. ‘incartacione’; *Lexicon*, s.v. ‘incartatio’; *Niermeyer*, s.v. ‘inchartatio’.

⁴⁵ ACL.632; cf. CEL.31, CEL.264, CEL.334.

⁴⁶ e.g. CEL.357, PMH.264.

⁴⁷ ACL.280 (ACL.41); cf. ACL.102 (ACL.40); SAH.342 (SAH.328).

⁴⁸ ACL.187 (ACL.59); cf. SDC.17 (SDC.16).

quarters which they had sold him already, without indicating that, four months before, they had made a charter of that sale.⁴⁹ The non-citation of other charters, indeed, spans the regions and social strata of early medieval Iberia, replicating the fourfold typology of citation.⁵⁰

Why would one not cite a charter? Consider transactions involving parties with known archives, such as Hermegildo and Paterna, who when confirming their endowment of Sobrado chose not to cite their own supporting documentation.⁵¹ More subjective are the many instances where a charter cites no written record but describes prior transactions in such great number or detail that one seems necessary, the potential of memory notwithstanding. In 970, for example, Vitalis *confessor* gave nine properties to Sahagún, identifying in each case from whom he had bought it and for what price, while Fredesindo *frater* and his extended family donated lands to Eslonza in 950, narrating their ownership history from acquisition by his grandparents to the delimitation of their boundaries at a council held by the son of Alfonso III.⁵² If documentation was routinely handed over when property changed hands, explicit mention of it would perhaps not have been strictly necessary; in these potential cases of non-citation, indeed, it is the means of acquisition which is specified in such great number or detail as to suggest a prior text. The practice has two implications: first that the citation rate must underestimate the real frequency of consulting charters, and secondly that those who did so explicitly were emphasizing the fact

⁴⁹ SMA.29 (SMA.8); CEL.288 (CEL.286); *cf.* ACL.233 (ACL.232).

⁵⁰ Confirmation: SAH.26 (SAH.24, SAH.19); SAH.290 [I/F] (SAH.286); SAH.406 (SAH.391); SAH.422 (SAH.333); CAS.4 (CAS.2); SPM.5 (SPM.2); STL.75 (STL.58); SJP.30 (SJP.25); CEL.186 (CEL.110); CEL.298 (CEL.296-7); SDC.2 [I] (SDC.1 [I]); SDC.17 (SDC.1-2 [I]); SDC.39 (SDC.1 [I]); COR.16 [I] (COR.15 [I]); PMH.37 (PMH.15); PMH.107 (PMH.101). Acquisition: ACL.617 (ACL.557); SAH.215 (SAH.194); SAH.284 (SAH.272-3); SAH.322 (SAH.78); SAH.333 (SAH.332); ACA.8 (ACA.7); ACA.84 (ACA.71); SPC.89 (SPC.87); SSO.12 [S] (SSO.10); CEL.210 (CEL.206); SDC.31 (SDC.28); PMH.16 (PMH.14); PMH.40 (PMH.39); PMH.47 (PMH.42); PMH.63 (PMH.53); PMH.99 (PMH.88); PMH.138 (PMH.88). Information: SAH.11 (SAH.9-10); SAH.217 (SAH.208); SAH.279 (SAH.145); CEL.222 (CEL.206); PMH.194 (PMH.191). Justification: SDC.67 (SDC.52-4, SDC.56); SJS.52 (SJS.44).

⁵¹ SLM.73; *cf.* SLM.82; CEL.40, CEL.72; SAH.306.

⁵² SAH.258; SPE.24. Number: ACL.543, ACL.679, ACL.691, ACL.709, ACL.815; ACA.151; SDM.6, SDM.37; ACO.39; SMA.17; SMI.2; SSL.14; CEL.122; SDC.70; SCR.1; PMH.12. Detail: ACL.736; SAH.175, SAH.255, SAH.402; OLD.32; ACA.230; STL.57; COR.99; CEL.30, CEL.65, CEL.68, CEL.108, CEL.158, CEL.216, CEL.233, CEL.238, CEL.262, CEL.342; SDC.49; PMH.92, PMH.170, PMH.241.

of doing so. Basing a positive statement on a written record was not mandatory, but rather seen at times to be useful, and the explanation lies in the function of charters in disputes.

ii. Evidence

Transactions not only generated a single textual record, but also involved the creation and consultation of a wider array of procedural texts, from which it was a short step to using written evidence at court. In addition to the drafts and versions which we have already considered, the transient documentation produced in the course of writing a charter includes permission slips, provisional wills, property lists, and correspondence, each less a discrete operation than a stage in a process. When Fruela planned to sell a *villa* held in service from Queen Tarasia to Imilo in 994, for instance, the purchaser required him to produce a charter from his mistress granting a *mandato* to do so; use of such permission slips appears to have been normal when disposing of property over which another party had some claim through lordship, familial ties, or tenure.⁵³ Provisional wills, analogously, commission a testamentary executor, typically a relation or the beneficiary, to dispose of property on behalf of the granter, and Vita, on her deathbed in 1030, summoned Abbot Felix of San Miguel de León to inventory her estate, before selecting agents from her *gens* and directing them *de suo ore* and by a *scriptum* to donate it on her behalf to the monastery, as they did after her death in the text recording this account.⁵⁴ The inventory seems to be another recurrent component of the writing process, such as when Serenianus *presbiter*, in 947, gave Bishop Rosendo and Celanova, amongst other possessions, *libertos* belonging to his family as named *in noticia*; evidently a more detailed register was attached which had been drawn up for this purpose.⁵⁵ The business of going to court, finally, was expected to be initiated *per nuncium et scriptum*, at least by a

⁵³ ACL.560; cf. ACL.543, ACL.862, ACL.895; SJS.40.

⁵⁴ ACL.873; cf. ACL.830; SAH.284; SJP.10; SLM.98; PMH.34.

⁵⁵ CEL.81; SLM.119; Pallares Méndez, *Monasterio*, doc. 13; cf. SJS.58, SJS.73; PMH.259.

diploma of Alfonso III to Santiago from 866, and aptly so for what turns out to have been a thoroughly documentary process.⁵⁶

Settling disputes generated texts: agreements, affidavits, and written oaths all facilitated reaching a resolution.⁵⁷ The purpose of some *placita* or agreements was to bind the parties to the next stage of settlement, whether to offer testimony, present documentation, swear an oath, submit to the ordeal, or consult the law. The advocates of Varoncelus and Bishop Indisclus of Astorga, for example, were required by the judges in 878 to *conscribere roborare et firmare* a *placitum* to produce witnesses for their claims when the king next came to León, while Hermegildo made a *plazum* in 991 to send a representative on the date arranged to undergo the ordeal of hot water for him.⁵⁸ Agreements were not always kept, but violation of them was one route to resolution, such as in a dispute between Sahagún and the family of Vigila, where both parties confirmed a *placitum* to present themselves and their evidence before the king and bishop of León, but only Vistremiro *frater* showed up; after waiting until three days past the agreed date, the judges decided in his favour.⁵⁹ The terms of settlement could also be secured by *placita*: Mitto Todegildiz and his partisans reached an agreement at the end of a convoluted case in 1014, promising to restore a contested *villa* to Guimarães within three days.⁶⁰ If these conditions were infringed, further litigation ensued, as with the rebel Conanzo and family; held by Vermudo II and released on a *placitum* to raise no more opposition, they found, on resuming their villainy, all their property forfeit on the grounds that they *mentiti sunt ipsum placitum*.⁶¹

⁵⁶ SDC.4; cf. SDC.8; SJS.20.

⁵⁷ cf. Collins, 'Law and Charters', pp. 498-506; *idem*, 'Visigothic Law', pp. 87-90.

⁵⁸ ACA.5; OLD.31. Testimony: SDM.31; SDC.23; SLM.57, SLM.111, SLM.119; CEL.260; CDA.x; PMH.183, PMH.193, PMH.216, PMH.228; ARO.2. Documentation: SPC.90; SLM.127; PMH.225, PMH.228; ARO.2. Oaths: SDC.23; COR.95; CEL.260; CDA.x; PMH.183, PMH.225. Ordeals: SMP.1 [?]; CEL.260. Law: SLM.111; CEL.345; CDA.x; PMH.183, PMH.193.

⁵⁹ SAH.159; Collins, 'Law and Charters', pp. 502-3; cf. OLD.109; SLM.43-4; CEL.223; PMH.212.

⁶⁰ PMH.225; Prieto Morera, 'Proceso', pp. 479-81; cf. ACL.777; OLD.4, OLD.147, OLD.195; SJS.37; SLM.69, SLM.72, SLM.119; CEL.315, CEL.331; CDA.7; PMH.183.

⁶¹ ACL.541; cf. SAH.427; OLD.56-7; SDC.57; SLM.111; CEL.326, CEL.345, CEL.360, CEL.382; PMH.193.

Affidavits have a range of different titles but the single function of recording testimony at any stage of reaching a resolution. They are often cited in charters where the defeated party makes compensation: in 1021, for instance, Cidi *presbiter* and his mother Goda confessed in a *manifestum* before judge, *saio*, and *homines bonos* to usurping a *villa* from Mumadona *ancilla Christi* and giving it to someone else, and arranged to sell her a court in return.⁶² When Lupi and his wife Elo sold a vineyard to Fruela Velaz and his wife Jimena in 963, in contrast, they were paying for damages to person worth 130 *solidi*, but also to property worth sixty *solidi* as enumerated *in noticia*; the cited text sounds less like a confession by the defendant than the statement of charges by the appellant, perhaps originally written in the margin.⁶³ Evidently both ‘confessions’ and ‘charges’ could be filed in the course of disputes, since Mater in 993 confirmed a *manifesto*, as recorded *in noticia*, concerning *raupa* which she had stolen from Zislla, and made a charter of half her property to Flaíno Muñoz and his wife Iusta in judgement for it.⁶⁴ The terminology is difficult to pin down, and probably varied from scribe to scribe, including outliers like a *documentum petitionis* from Samos and an *indiculum testimonii* at Celanova.⁶⁵ All these texts emerged organically from the settlement process and are therefore also cited in the more streamlined final accounts of them. Gontrigo represented Pedro Flaínez on the date set by *placitum* in 1019, for example, arguing that Zidi Andrias had taken property from him, as recorded in the *noticia*, before giving it to a third party; the parties then made a *placitum* to inquire as to the relevant law, and after this accusation was repeated at the next stage of the process, Zidi Andrias made a *placitum* confessing that he had done what was in the *manifestum*, leading to a final *pactum* of resolution.⁶⁶ Six texts in total, in addition to the narrative itself; settling disputes was a documentary process in every phase.

⁶² ACL.779; cf. ACL.378; OLD.148, OLD.151, OLD.187; FLO.75; SLM.37, SLM.44, SLM.69; Martínez Díez, ‘Instituciones’, pp. 164-6.

⁶³ ACL.360; cf. SAH.261; SLM.69.

⁶⁴ OLD.34.

⁶⁵ SJS.S10; CEL.52; cf. CEL.260.

⁶⁶ OLD.116; cf. CAS.1; SSO.3; CEL.292; ARO.2.

Even oaths relied on the written word. The *condiciones sacramentorum* records the text of the oath to be taken, naming saints and other spiritual authorities, setting out the testimony, and stating the penalties for perjury; this was put, at least in theory, on an altar, where the parties or witnesses recited its contents as they touched it with their hands. When Celanova made a complaint before the court of Alfonso V in 1001, accusing Adefonsus of usurping its property, the judges asked both parties to bring witnesses, and chose ten to swear the *seriem conditionum* on behalf of the monastery, as well as a neutral party to undergo the ordeal of hot water, but on the agreed day, Adefonsus yielded outside the church where the rituals were to occur.⁶⁷ The other party, despite not swearing the oath, could also interact with its text: when Lovesindo Abenazar and Guimarães had elaborated their competing claims in 999, they each offered five witnesses before the *saio*, then agreed by *plazo* to go *pro ad lege* to the count and judges, and compared all their evidence, before agreeing in a *plazo* that the monastic witnesses take the oath, but as above Lovesindo capitulated, was ejected from the church, and confirmed the *conditione* in question in the hands of the *saio*, receiving payment *in conpagina*.⁶⁸

The point about all these references is that they point to real procedural documents. The final versions of disputes, as we have already seen, could incorporate *placita* as attachments. A settlement of 978, for example, is followed by a *placitum* made by Magito to return land which he had taken from Sahagún, and another to exchange it for property elsewhere, probably some compromise arrangement worked out after the fact.⁶⁹ The similarity of the few surviving stray *placita* also confirms the representativeness of those incorporated into the final record, such as an agreement between Abbot Montanus and Cissela *presbiter* in 927, promising the *saio* that they will appear before the judges on the next *die in feria* of San Bartolomé with their

⁶⁷ CEL.260; cf. OLD.31.

⁶⁸ PMH.183; cf. PMH.225.

⁶⁹ RCV.3; I. Ruiz Albi, 'Hallazgo de un documento original del monasterio de Sahagún (año 978)', in *LH*, vi, pp. 143-6; cf. ACO.25; OLD.38-9, OLD.116, OLD.150-51; STL.66; FLO.73-5; CEL.200; PMH.167.

witnesses to take the oath.⁷⁰ Surviving affidavits are all confessions: in 1022, for example, Emlo admitted, as charged, that he had convinced Todildi *ancilla* to steal grain from the house of her master Fruela Muñoz, in the same year as Enego acknowledged the accusation that he and his mother Auria had tried to abduct Midona Vita, another dependant of Fruela Muñoz; the texts are both situated amongst and cited by the full original documentation of the settlements.⁷¹ One oath is also preserved in a similarly integrated context, when Bishop Pelayo of Lugo and Bishop Pedro of Santiago (acting here for Sobrado) disputed ownership of some men, and two each from nine *villas* in the locality were chosen to take the *conditiones sacramentorum* at the hand of the *saio*, swearing by the patriarchs and Apostles, amongst others, on the altar of San Julián, where they held the text, that they were free and owed only *vectilia et tributa* to Sobrado.⁷² Stray records of oaths seem to be in the original form which once rested on the altar: four witnesses swore on behalf of Abbot Tello against two priests in 911, invoking the Trinity, the four Gospels, and the relics of San Millán de Gabinea, to name but a few, that they knew firsthand that one of the priests had given himself and his property to the monastery and been leased land in return; both priests confessed as much on the text itself.⁷³ Procedural documentation was therefore not some fossilized Visigothic formula, but the means by which every stage of settlement was negotiated, and the raw material from which the scribe ultimately fashioned the record of it.

In this documentary process of disputing, the introduction, evaluation, and confirmation of written evidence played a fundamental role in advancing and defending claims to property, but one complemented rather than contradicted by oral methods of proof. While the possession of a supporting charter was on some occasions linked directly to a successful outcome, in most

⁷⁰ SMP.3; cf. PMH.144, PMH.209.

⁷¹ OLD.147 (OLD.148); OLD.150 (OLD.151); cf. OLD.38 (OLD.39), OLD.125; SPC.90; SMP.1; CEL.200.

⁷² SLM.109; Prieto Morera, 'Proceso', pp. 476-8; cf. CAS.1.

⁷³ SMV.8, SMV.10; Collins, 'Visigothic Law', pp. 94-5; cf. SMP.2; C. Humfress, 'Judging by the Book: Christian Codices and Late Antique Legal Culture', in W.E. Klingshirn and L. Safran (eds.), *The Early Christian Book* (Washington, 2007), pp. 141-54.

cases this was mediated by recourse to a combination of inquests, testimony, oaths, and ordeals, which could function, absent documentation, as means to resolve differences.⁷⁴ Only a minority of disputes involve written evidence, but the most numerous subset of these feature one party introducing it and the other straightforwardly conceding the right of ownership. Functionally some are indistinguishable from charters of confirmation: Bishop Savarico of León reminded Vermudo II in a *querimonia* of 985 that his predecessors had granted certain *villas* to the see as recorded in prior documents, but Gómez Díaz and other magnates had seized them by force, so the king restored possession to him.⁷⁵ On other occasions, the respondent yielded immediately, recognizing the validity of written evidence presented, such as when Lellitius and Lillus simply admitted in 885 having received a church of San Andrés from a bishop attached to San Martín de Turieno, which its founders had originally given the monastery by testaments, but alienating it after six years and now lacking anything to contradict the accusation.⁷⁶ Disputes can even be cast bluntly – and one can see how it was in the interest of the victorious party to do so – as violations of charters, leading promptly to settlement by compensation, and in 997, for instance, Belito and Kalendo accepted that they had cultivated land *de testamento* de Santa Marina de Viñayo, overturning that document with its sanction of 500 *solidi*, in a quotation of the surviving text from 976; restoring it, they reiterated the penalty, although they do not seem to have paid it.⁷⁷ The defeated party barely factors in many of these cases, and it is likely that, whatever messier sorting out actually took place, the victor has chosen to simplify the resulting record so as to emphasize, almost uniquely, the validity of the written title.

⁷⁴ Collins, 'Law and Charters', pp. 495-6; *idem*, 'Visigothic Law', pp. 86-7; Martínez Díez, 'Terminología', pp. 256-7; *idem*, 'Instituciones', pp. 162-3; J. Alvarado Planas, 'Ordalías y derecho en la España visigoda', in *Antigüedad*, pp. 507-617; *cf.* Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 141-7; Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 134-57; K. Heidecker, 'Charters as Texts and Objects in Judicial Actions: the Examples of the Carolingian Private Charters of St Gall', in *USML*, xxii, pp. 51-3; *idem*, 'Communication by Written Texts in Court Cases: Some Charter Evidence (ca. 800-ca. 1100)', in *USML*, i, pp. 101-26.

⁷⁵ ACL.508; *cf.* SAH.183 [F] (SAH.167-8 [F]); Fernández Flórez, 'Documentos', pp. 110-15; CAS.3; COR.128 (COR.73); SDC.58; SJS.50; CEL.263, CEL.302.

⁷⁶ STL.17; *cf.* ACL.829; SAH.159; SPC.35 (SPC.10); CEL.195 [I] (CEL.113); CDA.viii; Collins, 'Visigothic Law', p. 94.

⁷⁷ OLD.43 (OLD.21); *cf.* ACL.379, ACL.624; RCV.3; CEL.126, CEL.270, CEL.308; PMH.163, PMH.200.

Identifying moments when a party in sole possession of documentation did not emerge victorious from disputing is challenging, implying effective superiority of written evidence. There are two potential cases. In 1009, disagreement arose between Nina Meirelez, Ioannes *presbiter*, and others, over the monastery of Valdearcos and its property, but they made a pact, granting it for life to Ioannes on condition that it pass to the mother house of Abellar after his death; Nina and Ioannes later asked the abbot of Abellar to return this testament, and the *cella* stood empty until a new brother was sent, when the abbot confirmed the document, restoring a fifth of the property to it and reserving the rest for Abellar after Nina had died.⁷⁸ The details are convoluted, but the point is that, although earlier charters of settlement and testament were overturned, it was the parties to them who did so in order to reach a new arrangement. In 1027, however, a dispute arose between Furtunius Ermiariz and a Gutier *diaconus*: while Furtunius asserted that his father Ermarius had *per suas cartas* bought a *villa*, Gutier replied that he had taken it from him in payment of a debt, and the judges decided on behalf of Gutier, who went on to make an exchange with Furtunius.⁷⁹ The victor proved his claim without written proof, but the original title deed was not at issue; the dispute concerned the subsequent history of the *villa*, for which neither party offered documentation.

The value of possessing a charter is underlined by those cases in which it, the written evidence itself, was the object of dispute, since otherwise no such effort would have been made to obtain or retain it. A narrative from Samos dating to 944 relates how Berila, commissioned to restore the monastery, sent two brothers to acquire copies of its lost *firmitates* from the royal archive in Oviedo, and they returned from Fruela II with the *cartario* of 59 charters; after Berila had left on pilgrimage, however, Bishop Erus of Lugo usurped control of Samos and seized its cartulary, forcing the brother in charge to appeal to Sancho Ordóñez, who restored it to him.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ ACL.677.

⁷⁹ SLM.127.

⁸⁰ SJS.20.

The centrality of documentation to ownership also underlies the codicil to a diploma of 968 by which Ramiro III granted a number of *comitatos* to Abbot Pedro of Sobrado; forty years later Bishop Pelayo of Lugo, returning one such county to the monastery, explained that Gutier Osoriz had stolen this document of it from Sobrado and handed it over to him, but Munia, a religious, had apprised him of the situation.⁸¹ Munio Gutiérrez argued comparably in 992 that his father had owned a church in Galicia, together with the testaments of its founders, and leased it to Viliulfus on terms of service, but he and his brother Christoforus *presbiter* conspired with others to steal and conceal the documents. When Viliulfus confessed on his deathbed, they were discovered in the possession of Christoforus, who made a *placitum* to retain that church on the same terms as before; later claiming that Viliulfus had been given it outright and he himself had held the stolen testaments for thirty years, he was charged with violating his own agreement and lost to Munio in court.⁸² Charters did not confer ownership on any new holder, so the reason behind these thefts must be a recognition that, without them, their beneficiaries did not occupy nearly so strong a position from which to defend their rights.

Resolutions were nevertheless seldom reached on the basis of written evidence alone: oral and ritual processes served to integrate the proffered documentation into the participating community and create consensus around the settlement. One means of doing so, practised only in boundary disputes, was to confirm a charter through an inquest. In 931, the brothers of San Julián de Ruiforco had to defend their right to two *villas* granted to the monastery by diplomas of Alfonso III, García I, and Ordoño II: their inhabitants claimed to hold them *de presura* or by appropriation (from waste), so Alfonso IV and his court visited them in order to hear testimony, and set the limits of their respective landholdings according to what the *vetustiores*

⁸¹ SLM.101.

⁸² SLM.111.

or elders reported and the documents recorded.⁸³ This case was settled by bringing the written and oral evidence into contact, and potentially competition, but others were resolved by way of demonstration. In 933, for instance, Ramiro II sent two *missi* to Samos to demarcate the mile and half surrounding the monastery, as donated by testaments of Alfonso II and successors; the inhabitants of two nearby *villas* had infringed these diplomas by usurping a property within the limits, but the royal agents set up *archas* or boundary markers to clarify monastic ownership.⁸⁴ More common was for the various modes of proof to confront each other in court, where having a written basis for a claim guaranteed the upper hand. A document of 974 from Sahagún, while possibly interpolated, is indicative: Liubila *presbiter* granted two churches by charter to Abbot Gonzalo who, on becoming bishop of León, made a testament of them to the monastery; after his death Taion, the brother of Liubila, appealed to the court of Ramiro III and testified in *voce publice* that he should have inherited them, but the monks produced both documents and Abbot Ranosindus verified that the second had been made in his sight, thereby settling the matter, as the court determined that ownership by Sahagún should be confirmed in writing.⁸⁵

The supporting statement by the abbot also demonstrates how written evidence and oral testimony had a complementary relationship, and even when contradictory both were factored into the settlement.⁸⁶ Didaco Luboniz and his family made a complaint against Froilo and San Vicente de León in 1025, before the bishop of Astorga and a council, that they had bought half a *villa* for a just price from Ecta Fernández and his brother; Froilo responded that the king had granted it by charter to her deceased husband for population, and after his death had ordered a testament made of it to that monastery, where he was buried. If Didaco had a charter, he said nothing of it, but the bishop nonetheless decided that he should be given half the surrounding

⁸³ ACL.89; cf. Collins, 'Visigothic Law', p. 88; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 200-201; J.M. Andrade Cernadas, 'La voz de los ancianos. La intervención de los viejos en los pleitos y disputas en la Galicia medieval', *Hispania*, 72/240 (2012), pp. 11-34.

⁸⁴ SJS.17; cf. SLM.57.

⁸⁵ SAH.276 [I]; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 40-41.

⁸⁶ cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 165-82.

land lest he lose the whole price which he had paid, while the *villa* was confirmed in monastic ownership, recognizing the validity of writing without discounting speech.⁸⁷ The spoken word was the medium in which documentation had to be processed for a transaction – never mind a settlement – to be accepted and endure, which is why charters were typically introduced alongside testimony in disputes. Such was the case in 1011, when Davi and his wife Animie acquired property by means of a written *actio*, then sold it to Scemena *per cartula venditionis*, handing over the earlier text; she bequeathed the property and both documents to her children, who for their part made a charter of it to Tructesindo Guimiriz with its texts, but after 35 years, Ruderigo Froilaz claimed that a slave of his grandfather had sold it to him by another charter. Ruderigo was unable to produce this text in court, so both parties made a *placitum* to reappear in three days, each with five witnesses knowledgeable about the property; the judges selected those of Tructesindo as *quales plus melioras* or (in some sense) better, and he reconfirmed his documentation with their aid.⁸⁸ In other cases, *auctores* or parties, past granters or sometimes witnesses, to the charters filled this role. Nemoirelli *presbiter* and Abbot Balderedus of Valdevimbre, for example, both laid claim to certain mills in 941: one produced his documents and their *auctores* (here their vendors) of twenty years before, the other brought the same but from only four years earlier. The *auctores* for Nemoirelli, furthermore, testified to a judgement two decades previously in favour of their parents against the parents of the monastic *auctores*; the settlement survives, and the judges, in deciding on his behalf, quoted details from it.⁸⁹

When prior parties had to confirm testimony given in support of documentary evidence, they did so by oath, one of the two rituals which functioned to reinforce written argumentation in disputes. In 946, for example, Berulfo *presbiter* sought to prove his ownership of a church of San Esteban against the claim of Matheo by introducing his testament of it together with its

⁸⁷ ACL.822; cf. SAH.401 (SAH.333).

⁸⁸ PMH.216; cf. PMH.228; CEL.331.

⁸⁹ ACL.144 (ACL.34); cf. ACL.724; SJS.26 (SJS.25); STL.66; ARO.2.

auctores: these, Gualamiro and Flaino *presbiter*, stated that they saw, heard, and were present (here as witnesses) when sons of Godesteo iben Mazaref made charters of the church to Berulfo and Sisebuto *diaconus*, as is attested by two surviving texts, and took the attached *condiciones sacramentorum* in confirmation.⁹⁰ But the oath was more often taken by a party to the dispute, such as in 1008, when Bishop Jimeno of Astorga asserted that his sister Velasquita had made a charter of her *villa* to Munio Fernández against her will, but he countered that he had bought it from her for a price of 250 *solidi* and presented the charter documenting it. The assertion was difficult to prove, and the judges ordered Munio and two associates to confirm his written evidence and testimony *per sacrum iuramentum*; they swore an oath *per series condiciones* in a rare surviving victory by a laymen over an ecclesiastic.⁹¹ Guimarães was even able to defend its patrimony against royal incursion by similar means, according to a charter of 1014: when Vermudo II tried to seize its estates, the abbot and monks brought their *testamentos et scripturas* to court, and took an oath on them by order of the king, who issued a confirmation; subsequently certain *inique et malicientes* convinced Alfonso V that the documents were not *verificos*, but the brothers came before him again, read their texts out, and swore another oath on them adhering to the attached terms.⁹² This pairing of written and spiritual authority seems to have been a particularly effective strategy for speaking truth to power.

Others commonly called *iuratores* could similarly give their word for written evidence; perhaps partisans or dependants of a party, they were knowledgeable about the matter at issue. When Vela Velaz usurped a *villa* which Sahagún held *de testamento de* the majordomo Ansur in 998, the abbot appeared before the rebel Count García Gómez and his ally Zahbascorta ven Abolhauz, offering requested but unidentified oath-takers in support of it, just as Abbot Indulfo of Santillana in 1006 brought two *iuratores* before the judges to swear that the monastery held

⁹⁰ ACL.192 (ACL.176, ACL.186); Prieto Morera, 'Proceso', pp. 471-4; cf. Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 143-57.

⁹¹ ACL.669; cf. ACL.410 (ACL.298), ACL.695.

⁹² CDA.15; cf. SMC.144; ACL.724.

certain land *per pactu vel testamentu* from Didaco Albariz, and had only given it to Guntosalbo in usufruct; in this case, the standing of the *iuratores* in the community is clear from their label of *omines bonos*.⁹³ The importance of these auxiliary participants in disputes lies in how often the oath was the breaking point, concession by one party here a common route to settlement. As we have already seen, in one momentous case of 961, bishops Rosendo of Mondoñedo and Sisnando of Santiago fought for *piscarias* or fishing sites in the *comitatus* of Posmarcos. Rosendo argued that his mother Ilduara had held a quarter *rationem* in them, while Sisnando countered that his predecessor had been given them *ingenuas* or freely (in full?) by a diploma of Ramiro II; they met at Guimarães and both presented *homines bonos veridicos* to confirm their claims, but the partisans of Rosendo withdrew from the oath, fearing to utter falsehood. Those assembled then ordered the agents of Sisnando to enter into the tomb of Santiago and swear over his body that since the date recorded in the diploma no *rationem* was ever rendered from the *piscarias* except to Compostela, and possession was confirmed.⁹⁴ The authority of the holy and the legitimacy of the text here acted in concert, deterring as well as resolving contention, at least as presented by the victors. The *Fuero de León* of 1017 canonized this relationship when it provided that, if the Church held any property without documentation its *cultores* could affirm their ownership by oath, formally a guarantor of truth.⁹⁵

The second ritual of confirmation for written evidence was the ordeal, which followed the same principles as the oath but involved separate personnel. When a party cited a charter in support of a claim and offered witness testimony in complement, another individual could on occasion be volunteered, or required, to undergo the ordeal of hot water to provide further substantiation.⁹⁶ In 953, for example, Pedro *frater* argued that Victinus had granted him vacant

⁹³ SAH.356 (SAH.284, SAH.272); SDM.19; cf. SDC.60; COR.95.

⁹⁴ SDC.51; cf. SPC.151; CEL.292; CDA.x; PMH.183; Collins, 'Visigothic Law', pp. 93-4.

⁹⁵ ACO.41 [2].

⁹⁶ Collins, 'Law and Charters', pp. 503-4; *idem*, 'Visigothic Law', p. 87; J. Alvarado Planas, *El problema del germanismo en el derecho español, siglos V-XI. Ordalías y derecho consuetudinario en la España visigoda* (Madrid, 1997), pp. 105-210; Alvarado Planas, 'Ordalías', §X; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 119-40.

land by a *placitum* worth 100 *solidi* in order that he build a monastery there, but had taken back the property by force after it was built, with much else besides; thirty witnesses testified under oath to support his allegations, before an *innocens* or neutral third party named Fernando swore to the same terms and undertook the *pena kaldaria*, putting his hand into hot water, where one *fidelis* of each party held it, and reappearing three days later to present it *limpidus* or unhurt.⁹⁷ When bishops Pelayo of Lugo and Pedro of Santiago were having their dispute over possession of certain men in the late tenth century, similarly, Pelayo had claimed that they were dependants of his see, recorded by name in notices kept in its archive, while Pedro had countered that they were granted *per testamentum* by Ordoño III to Sobrado; the inquest failed to resolve matters, so witnesses swore an oath on behalf of the monastery, and both parties gave *fideles* who led Salamirus *presbiter*, the *innocens*, through the ordeal. This is described in some detail: in a church of Santa Eulalia, before over fifty witnesses, he flung the *lapides igneos* from the *calida aqua*, and returned with his hands uninjured three days later, when the *innocens*, the two *fideles*, and the *saio* confirmed a *placitum* to this effect, and Pelayo yielded.⁹⁸ The ordeal served to put the text to the test of divine judgement, by way of a third party; a complicated ritual originating in Visigothic law, it was necessitated either by intransigence on the part of one of the disputants, or else the failure of the habitual modes of proof, by written evidence and oral testimony, to result in settlement.⁹⁹ As with the oath, it could also provoke default. Such was the case in the early eleventh century, when Alfonso usurped property given in testament by Abbot Salamirus, with all charters and *firmitates*, to Celanova: he denied the charge before Alfonso V and his court, but the monastery produced 356 witnesses to his ten, and Vimara, the monastic advocate, sent ten to take the *seriem conditionum* and an *innocentem* to undertake the *pena caldaria*, prompting Alfonso to confess and return the property, deterred by divine judgement.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ ACO.25.

⁹⁸ SLM.109; Prieto Morera, 'Proceso', pp. 476-8; cf. SDC.23.

⁹⁹ LV 6.1.3.

¹⁰⁰ CEL.260-61; cf. CAS.1; CDA.vii.

The settlement process differed when both parties possessed written evidence: in some cases this turned out to be a false claim, but in others careful comparison of the documentation was required. Arborius and María, according to a text of 952, had given themselves to Bishop Cixila and Abellar by testament, with all their property, but 24 years later, after both had died, Velasco seized that land, claiming to hold it by a *kartulam firmitatis* pre-dating the one made to the monastery; the parties appealed to Ordoño III, and made a *placitum* to appear before him in León, or the bishop if he were absent, with their respective documents, including a written agreement by Velasco to serve Arborius and María during his lifetime. At the episcopal council, Abbot Severo of Abellar produced both testament and *placitum*, whereas Velasco brought only the excuse that his charter was elsewhere: both parties went in search of it, but found nothing, and returned to court. Here the text records, interestingly, that they consulted the law *as if* the document had been produced, and it provided that, even if an earlier testament had been made, the granter had the right to change his mind; the later one stood.¹⁰¹ Velasco may have pretended to have written evidence, but he seems to have been capitalizing on the willingness of the court to take it, and his ‘inability’ to find his charter, in good faith; at the same time, a procedure to handle contradictory claims with written premises was clearly in place. Perhaps more is at work here, however, since elsewhere failure to produce the papers spelled defeat.¹⁰²

When both parties introduced valid written evidence, compromise became necessary, reflecting these competing legitimacies. Felix *presbiter* had built the monastery of San Miguel Arcángel on land which Columba had given him by testament in memory of her parents, but in 1021 the abbot of Celanova hauled him before Alfonso V and contended that Bishop Sisnando of Santiago had drawn up a document concerning the same property for his monastery; when Felix heard it read out, he and the abbot soon reached an arrangement, set down in a *placitum*,

¹⁰¹ ACL.256 (ACL.72).

¹⁰² SPC.90; SMC.194; cf. Collins, ‘Visigothic Law’, pp. 92-3; Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 151-64.

that within a certain time he should build a house in León and hand it over in exchange for that document, as well as making a *cautum agnitionis* that Celanova should trouble him no more.¹⁰³

In a similar (possibly interpolated) case of 1025, the bishop of Lugo sought the restoration of some *servos ecclesie* to his see, and claimed to the court of Alfonso V that his predecessors all the way back to Odoario had until recent civil strife held their ancestors through *colmellos* and *scripturas firmitatis*, which he undertook to get from the archive.¹⁰⁴ The advocate of the *servos*, seemingly backed by San Salvador de Oviedo, countered that their ancestors had come to the area as *ingenuos* by mandate of Alfonso III and populated abandoned *villas*, which Alfonso V had finally granted them by diploma. Both parties made a *placitum* to marshal witnesses, then another to consult the law, before the judges investigated their testimony by comparing it with the older and newer documentation; lastly, at the point of taking oath, the *servos* conceded and confessed to the truth of the *scripturis* and *colmellis* of Lugo. Despite close attention here to the written evidence, a resolution was only reached via appeal to a higher authority.

Yet the world of the text extended beyond parchment to stone boundary markers carved with text, and these, particularly prominent in Galicia and Portugal, functioned just like more traditional documentation. Reading the writing on such markers was one way to end disputes over property limits: as we have seen, Bishop Savarico of Mondoñedo made a *sugessionem* to Ordoño Adefonsiz for the see of San Martín de Dumio in 911, exhibiting the testament which Alfonso III had previously granted to Bishop Rosendo and asking for *previsores* to demarcate it. The bishops, abbots, priests, and *homines bonos* accustomed to *antiquum comprovare* came to a mountain between the bishopric and the *villa* of Infias, evidently the point of conflict, and found a stone bearing a *characterem* or device of San Vicente and another marked with a cross; thence they traced the perimeter along *petras fictas* or fixed stones set up *ab antico*, including

¹⁰³ ACL.777; CDA, pp. 142-5; cf. SAH.277.

¹⁰⁴ CDA.x; cf. J. D'Emilio, 'The Legend of Bishop Odoario and the Early Medieval Church in Galicia', in T. Martin and J.A. Harris (eds.), *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone. Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams* (Leiden, 2005), p. 50.

one *petra scripta* inscribed *terminum* and a second identifying Santa Eulalia.¹⁰⁵ Similar stones may be found in the boundary clauses of charters throughout the west, whether property given to San Martín Pinario in 912 and *cautata per petras erectas et scriptas*, paid in fine to Celanova in 952 and marked out before witnesses with *karacteres fitos*, or donated to Lorvão in 974 and delimited *per arcas antiquas et per petras sicilatas*.¹⁰⁶ At times, especially in the fewer Leonese examples, the inscription was not textual, or the terms used are ambiguous. In a charter of 930, for instance, Sarracinus and his wife Lela sold property to Felis *presbiter* and his wife Elduara bounded by crosses which his father had fixed for him, while Martino and his wife Semena in 1002 sold trees to Dominico and his wife Matre, some of them with *suas signas vel notas per suis terminis*.¹⁰⁷ Such markers were still written, if with symbols, and could therefore be ‘read’ as evidence in disputes. Donum and others had to give property to Pedro Flaínez, bordered by *moliones petrinius*, as a penalty in 1022 for felling trees in certain of his mountains and shifting the *arcas petrinius* or boundary stones there; in 950, a disagreement over borders between the inhabitants of Santa María de Verín and several neighbouring *villas* was only settled when the *maiores natu* of Baronceli traced the boundaries by following such noticeable signs as a *petram ferro sculptam quasi laco* or a stone carved out by an iron tool to resemble a basin.¹⁰⁸

In the absence of written evidence, the same four procedures employed to confirm it could also function effectively as independent modes of proof. Recognition of the superiority of written evidence is nonetheless latent in the misuse of charters, which reveals that, although it was not necessary, it definitely conferred an advantage. Misuse encompasses false transfer by charter, employing a text to alienate stolen property, and outright falsification, usurping property in the first instance by means of a text, twin strategies to establish claims to property

¹⁰⁵ PMH.17; cf. PMH.42; LV 8.6.1, 10.3.3; Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 192-4.

¹⁰⁶ COR.15 [I]; CEL.96; PMH.114. Stones: COR.76 [I], COR.96; SER.1; SPM.7; SPO.1 [?]. Characters: VDJ.2; CEL.90.

¹⁰⁷ ACL.88, ACL.613; cf. OLD.120; ACA.5; SLM.4; PMH.138; COR.19 [I].

¹⁰⁸ OLD.149; CEL.88 (CEL.94). Violation: ACL.191; OLD.4, OLD.121. Confirmation: SJS.61; COR.65; CEL.62, CEL.86.

on written foundations. In 1002, for example, the bishop of León narrated in a testament how a certain duke, during the previous episcopacy, had seized land from the see and alienated it *per scriptura testamenti*, but he, after his election, had petitioned Vermudo II, who restored it.¹⁰⁹ This was most frequent in the west, and a charter of 927 from Celanova is representative: Abbot Quintila had granted a written endowment to Santa María de Loyo, but his successor ruined it, violating the rights of his descendants by giving it in writing to Countess Ermesinda; when her son Count Gutier came to Sancho Ordóñez and Alfonso IV with both *testamento pristino* and *extremam kartam*, the council reviewed them and provided for its restoration.¹¹⁰ At Samos, indeed, there are three cases of persons being persuaded or forced to commit false transfer by charter, including Abbess Fernanda in 1011, whose parents founded San Pelayo de Piñeira but whom Onega persuaded with sweet words to give it to her by testament; Citi Lucidi compelled Senta to make a *cartula conscripta* of his property against his will, but he appealed to Vermudo II, who investigated and invalidated the extorted document in 995.¹¹¹

Forging a charter was a far more serious matter.¹¹² Bishop Gladila of Braga recorded in his testament to the Asturian monastery of Trubia in 863 a complaint made by some of its *cultores*, that his nephew had confected a *cartam falsariam* to himself of property which Gladila had given to it, and the bishop rejected the *scriptum* as fabrication; the threat was real, since in 944 the brothers of San Salvador de Loberuela accused Conantibus, one of their own, of evicting them by *cartas falsarias*, and only proved these to have been forged after consulting the monastic pact and the text which he had made when entering the monastery.¹¹³ Against this potentiality, conflicting written evidence not only had to be compared, but also authenticated, and a dispute settlement of 1014 describes the procedure in detail. The brothers of Guimarães

¹⁰⁹ ACL.629; cf. SAH.424; ACA.13.

¹¹⁰ CEL.29 [I]; cf. SDC.43; SLM.112; OUR.3, CEL.312; PMH.242.

¹¹¹ SJS.75, SJS.S9; cf. SJS.73.

¹¹² cf. O. Marlasca Martínez, 'La regulación de la falsificación de los documentos en el derecho Romano y en la Ley de los Visigodos', *ED*, 47/1 (1999), pp. 209-33.

¹¹³ ACO.7; SSO.3; Collins, 'Law and Charters', p. 508; cf. SLM.118-9; SDM.31; ACL.887.

complained to Countess Tuta that Ordoño Sentariz had usurped a *villa*, violating the testaments by which the founder Mumadona and the abbots had acquired it, so she directed them to make a *plazum* to appear with all their documents; the judges heard these read, then *adtestarunt* or set side by side the era date recorded in the texts produced by Ordoño with that in the texts brought by the abbot, determining the latter to be earlier and the former to be later, inconsistent, and therefore false. They concluded that he had substituted them for the authentic charters, and ordered that his documents be annulled and burned, endorsing those of the monastery. Yet here Ordoño argued in an obscure passage that the charters of Guimarães did not refer to the correct *villa*, and alleged that relatives, Todegildo and Guntina, had given it to him in writing, whereas the monastery claimed to hold it by gift from Count Gonzalo, to whom Mitto, son of Todegildo, had transferred it *per cartulam firmitatis*. Mitto Todegildiz refused to *auctorgare* or recognize any such text, which forced the monastic advocate, at the direction of the judges, to produce Tegio Gundesindiz and Emila *presbiter*, witness and scribe of the charter, and three others, to swear to its validity. Before they did so, Mitto relented and confessed.¹¹⁴

The manifold machinations of the adversaries of Guimarães were defeated by a careful investigation of the documentation, complemented with testimony from parties to its creation. But the most important act to note is the command by the judges to destroy the false charters brought by the defeated party, an order of significance which is common to such cases. When a dispute arose between Stefanus *frater* of Valeránica and Ariolfus *presbiter* over property belonging to another priest in 945, the former presented a charter of transfer, the latter a charter of purchase; the abbots of the court *exquierunt* or investigated the documents, determining that of Stefanus to be *falsaria* but that of Ariolfus to be *valida*, and ordered the *frater* to cast his forgery into the fire before them.¹¹⁵ In another case of 1015, similarly, Salamirus *presbiter* and

¹¹⁴ PMH.225; Prieto Morera, 'Proceso', pp. 479-81; Alfonso, 'Judicial Rhetoric', pp. 80-82; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 147-51; O. Marlasca Martínez, 'Algunos requisitos para la validez de los documentos en la *lex Visigothorum*', *RIDA*, 45 (1998), pp. 563-84.

¹¹⁵ SPC.55.

Vivili Truitesendiz both laid claim to a church; the judges accepted the documentation of the latter, which they found to be earlier in date, and *crebaverunt* or ‘broke’ the charters of the former, which were later in date.¹¹⁶ On occasion, destruction was also the fate of violated texts: Reparatus and his wife Trasvinda had made a charter of *perfiliatio* to Adericus and Sesina, for example, but the recipients used it as a pretext to seize all their property; with the patronage of Celanova, the granters were able to retake it, and then destroyed the offending document in court, denying it *roborem*.¹¹⁷ This was a simple precaution, designed to eliminate potential contradiction, but it can also stand for an entire mentality toward text; with so much potency resident in written evidence, it was imperative to ensure that it represented the truth.

Charters were the surest defence in cases of dispute, and this belief in the written record is what granted it increasing purchase in society. The moment one person obtained written title to property, all those who neighboured it gained urgent reason to do so: otherwise defeat could almost certainly be expected if ever disagreement should arise between them. In this fashion, charters were self-promoting, and their broadly greater use over time reflects the recognition of their efficacy. Charters situated themselves within a network of other charters, not only bearing witness to the ongoing relevance of each one beyond its context of creation, but also serving to identify means of defending themselves in court, and thereby defining the ownership of property as the very possession of written title. As charters cited other charters to confirm themselves, to establish a background of textual transactions, to flag other relevant records, and to supply further information, they constructed a network of interconnections, and created a written world in which ‘the files’ were everything, and each led to another. As documentary evidence was brought to bear in resolving disputes, it was not simply for display, but through

¹¹⁶ PMH.226.

¹¹⁷ CEL.52; *cf.* PMH.183.

testimony, oaths, and ordeals integrated into the participating communities even as it was put to the test. Written evidence was substance, not mere show, and in the attempts to steal it, extract it by force, or even forge it, we can perceive widespread recognition of its potential. In each victory for the text in court, and with firm action against false documentation, its status rose; in this circularity, use of charters engendered use of charters, respect for charters built up respect for charters. Those with the means and the inclination to acquire written title to property put themselves at a decided advantage, as those without would soon realize.

The second component of the network of texts in which charters positioned themselves is written law, as deployed and debated in the records of transactions and disputes. The law in use was the Visigothic code, promulgated in the mid-seventh century and forming part of the cultural inheritance of early medieval Iberia. Some citations of precepts and provisions recur so often as to be formulaic: invoked in the preamble or corroboration to confirm the legality of the act, or in the sanction to assess or assign the penalty for interference with it, Visigothic law contributes crucially to the legitimizing rhetoric of charters. Many individual citations imply, at some stage, a firsthand engagement with the code, being unique or too extensive or adapted in wording to be formulas; laws on inheritance, property, procedures, and penalties provide not a determinant of transactions and disputes, but a foundation for them, and witness a general yet flexible acceptance of a written framework for society. Kings and counts above all realized the potential for written law to function as a tool of lordship, and made use of it against rebels and adulterers to further their interests. Not all legal citation is explicit, however, and when silent, shaping the construction of a text and the process which it records with the phrasing or force of relevant legislation, this reflects a widespread internalization of written norms, accepted into the language of customary practice. The granting of the *Fuero de León* at the end of our period is a logical realization of the authoritative interconnectedness of charters and written law.

The early and high medieval afterlife of the Visigothic code has occasioned a great deal of comment, especially in Catalonia, but the studies essayed for the kingdoms of Asturias-León and Navarra do not take the full corpus of charters, and range of legal citations, into account.¹

¹ W.G. von Plettenberg, *Das Fortleben des Liber Iudiciorum in Asturien/León (8.-13.Jh.)* (Frankfurt, 1994); A. Isla Frez, 'La pervivencia de la tradición legal visigótica en el reino asturleonés', *MCV*, 41/2 (2011), pp. 75-86; C. Rodiño Caramés, 'A Lex gótica e o Liber Iudicum no reino de León', *CEG*, 44/109 (1997), pp. 9-52; E. González Díez, 'Decir el derecho en el Medievo en el reino de León (910-1230)', in *Actas de las III*

The editions are an obstacle: few editors identify explicit citations of law, let alone implicit allusions.² I have done so for the whole corpus, and there are legal citations in 439 (11%) of the charters.³ They appear in the mid-eighth century: allowing for limited survival of documents, this suggests that the practice represents continuity, rather than a later restoration by Mozarabic immigration or at royal initiative, although either could have contributed to its diffusion.⁴ Legal citation increases continuously, rising fourfold in the Leonese period, and this dynamic is worth considering. As with charter citation, it is twice as common in the west as in the centre, and twice again than in the east; the west has a more densely written culture.⁵ Proportionately citing law is a royal and lay act, above all in complex donations, confirmations, dispute settlements, and *placita*. Authenticity does not seem to be an important factor, but the citation rate is rather higher for originals, suggesting that its real frequency, varieties, and implications may have been even greater than the process of transmission allows us to perceive.

i. Rhetoric

The rhetoric of the charter legitimizes the transaction which it records, and one means of doing so was by enhancing the text with legal citations. These recurrent references need not

Jornadas de Derecho. La aplicación del Derecho a lo largo de la historia (Jaén, 1998), pp. 30-53; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 33-55, 232-6; M. Zimmermann, 'L'usage du droit wisigothique en Catalogne du IX^e au XII^e siècle: approches d'une signification culturelle', *MCV*, 9 (1973), pp. 233-81; W. Kienast, 'La pervivencia del derecho godo en el sur de Francia y Cataluña', *BRABLB*, 35 (1973-4), pp. 265-95; A. Iglesia Ferreirós, 'La creación del derecho en Cataluña', *AHDE*, 47 (1977), pp. 99-423; Wormald, 'Lex Scripta', pp. 20-25.

² cf. von Plettenberg, *Fortleben*, pp. 129-31; Rodiño Caramés, pp. 47-9; ACL, i, p. 411; LPC, pp. 973-4.

³ See figs. 51-4.

⁴ G. Martínez Díez, 'Los fueros leoneses: 1017-1336', in *RL*, i, pp. 289-91; Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal, 'Derecho', pp. 226-36; A. Prieto Prieto, 'La potestad judicial de los reyes de León', in *RL*, ii, pp. 527-52; S.M. Coronas González, 'El derecho de Asturias en la alta Edad Media', in *Libro del I Congreso Jurídico de Asturias* (Oviedo, 1987), pp. 73-95; cf. R. Gibert, 'Enseñanza del derecho en Hispania durante los siglos VI a XI', *IRMA*, I.5.b.cc, pp. 35-6.

⁵ E. Castro, 'Aspectos literarios y jurídicos en las *Leges Wisigothorum*', *Minerva*, 13 (1999), pp. 134-9; cf. Prieto Prieto, 'Potestad', pp. 538-42; E. Pastor Díaz de Garayo, *Castilla en el tránsito de la Antigüedad al feudalismo: poblamiento, poder político y estructura social. Del Arlanza al Duero (siglos VII-XI)* (Valladolid, 1996), pp. 186-95; L. Laffón Álvarez, 'Arenga hispana: una aproximación a los preámbulos documentales de la Edad Media', *HID*, 16 (1989), pp. 149-50; F. Martínez Llorente, 'La aplicación del Derecho en la Castilla altomedieval (s. IX-XIII)', in *III Jornadas de Derecho*, pp. 56-93; Collins, 'Visigothic Law', pp. 97-104.

have involved consulting the code, but they use its authority, and that of written law generally, since not all point to provisions to be found in it.⁶ Rhetorical citation authorizes action in three clauses, beginning in the preamble, where it affirms the legality of the transaction or the charter itself. ‘Great is the title of donation, in which no one can intrude upon the act of liberality, nor cast it beyond the law’: this prefaces many texts but originates in the Visigothic formulary, the language of which pre-dates Visigothic law, looking back to Roman legislation instead.⁷ In the west, however, a charter of Flamula to her sister Clixovara in 963 begins the same, but then adds that, according to the *lex gotica*, a donation should have force just as a sale: this is in fact a verbatim quotation of a Visigothic legal provision on exchange, substituting the transaction.⁸ More generally, monastic documentation from Portugal mentions the *instituta sententia* or *lex quod gloriosi principes nostri constituerunt* with illustrious orthodox men that everyone should have license to transfer their property to family members as well as others with perpetual force, reflecting the substance rather than the language of Visigothic law on donation.⁹ A charter from Lucedus to Nuvidio and his wife Sunildi of 865 uniquely paraphrases legislation on the validity of sale when evidenced by a written record as *licet ordo venditionis legem obtineat*.¹⁰ Standard practice was creative engagement with the legal text, aiming to fit it to the present need.

Some preambles focus instead on confirming the legality of the charter. At Guimarães, the ‘great is the title of donation’ opening formula twice has *scripture firmitatis* added to it, by which the document is linked more explicitly to the validity of law.¹¹ Allusion to the Visigothic code, however, can be subtle: three sales, separated widely at Sobrado, Sahagún, and Arlanza, open with a disclaimer that, in a transaction between buyer and seller, there should be *firmitas*

⁶ Martínez Díez, ‘Fueros’, p. 291; Rodiño Caramés, pp. 21–4; cf. Collins, ‘Law and Charters’, pp. 494–5.

⁷ ACL.719, ACL.730, ACL.871; SAH.318; ACA.17; PMH.174, PMH.197; cf. *FV* 30; Laffón Álvarez, pp. 147–57, 211–25; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 104–5. Partial: SPA.14 [?]; PMH.214.

⁸ CEL.158; cf. *LV* 5.4.1; PMH.159, PMH.215.

⁹ PMH.73, PMH.94, PMH.114, PMH.128, PMH.191, PMH.241; cf. *LV* 5.2.6.

¹⁰ SLM.12; cf. *LV* 5.4.3.

¹¹ PMH.166, PMH.200; cf. *FV* 30.

scripture lest afterward any *repetitio* take place: no law is cited, but the formula is an amalgam of Visigothic legislation on sales, which gain full *firmitatem* when effected *per scripturam*, and donations, which should never be *repetantur* or reclaimed.¹² Citations in corroboration clauses are similarly diverse. Some are word for word, such as an exchange between Fortunio and his wife Speciosa and Abbot Severo of Abellar in 950, which states that, *sicut lex docet*, exchange should be as valid as sale.¹³ One charter of Sarrazino Arias and his wife Froilo features another literal quotation of the *lex gotica*, that sale by document should have full force; ‘donation’ is substituted into the clause in a second document.¹⁴ More descriptive is a fossilized reference to the *Lex Aquilia* as granting firmness to all documents in a donation of 894 by Bishop Fredulfo to Valpuesta; an archaism of the Visigothic formulary, this might have served as a rhetorically potent reminder of the Roman authority behind the written record.¹⁵ Peculiar to pious donations and testaments, meanwhile, is an obscure nod to the *leges pacificas vel testacio testatoris* or peaceable laws and testamentary act of the testator by which the granter affirms the text and it acquires force: while it may refer to the permanence of ecclesiastical donation under Visigothic law, it may simply be an invocation of law in general.¹⁶ Once legal authority had been invoked, the language and substance of the reference could evidently be tailored to the occasion.

Formulaic citation is most common, however, in the sanction clause, where it supports the assessment or assignment of a penalty for violating the terms of the charter. Visigothic law recognizes the sanction, and prescribes appropriate punishment for all manner of crimes, from treason to heresy, as well as the fee payable to the judge who heard the case.¹⁷ Certain sanctions take explicit notice of this: in the testament of Elvira and Ramiro III to Celanova from 968, any violator is ordered *per canonicam et godigam sententiam* or by canonical and Gothic provision

¹² SLM.7; SAH.179; SPA.13; *cf.* LV 5.4.3, 5.2.6. OLD.176; *cf.* LV 5.2.7.

¹³ ACL.209; *cf.* LV 5.4.1.

¹⁴ ACL.751, ACL.713; *cf.* LV 5.4.3.

¹⁵ SMV.6; *cf.* FV 1, 6-7; Collins, ‘Literacy’, p. 117.

¹⁶ ACL.93, ACL.115, ACL.399, ACL.683, ACL.796; SDC.29; *cf.* LV 5.1.1.

¹⁷ LV 2.1.26, 2.5.5, 2.5.17-8, 3.1.4, 5.4.8.

to pay the monastery *quod lex imperaverit*, while a settlement reached in favour of Celanova in 1007 names the king and judge as the recipients of *quantum lex godica et veritas ordinaverit* *pariare* should dispute arise again.¹⁸ The generic term for these legal penalties is *damna legum* or the damages of the laws, borrowing from Visigothic legal vocabulary, and so a donation by Bishop Teodisclo to Sahagún in 969 enumerates spiritual sanctions and *insuper damna legum* – secular ones as well.¹⁹ Royal diplomas to Samos especially tend to label them as temporal in nature, while specifying the violator as constrained and compelled to pay them; *temporali lege quoactus* to do so, according to a testament to Celanova from 973, under the authority of king or judge in another of 999.²⁰ A donation by Ansemirus *presbiter* to San Pedro de Montes in 923, however, requires restoration, *ut legis est exinde sententia*, of all alienated ecclesiastical property, reflecting not the code but the language of the Visigothic formulary.²¹ There is a sense here that invoking ‘the law’ is potentially as deterrent as invoking any particular law.

Legal citations in the sanction clause provided a basis for setting the penalty at a certain amount, and drew on a range of figures to be found in the Visigothic code.²² Some sanctions simply demand equivalent recompense, as required by law for seizure of property by force: a donation by Aroza to Santiago de León in 982 directs violators, *ex proprie lege*, to restore as much as they have tried to steal, while a diploma from Vermudo II to the monastery of Laroá in 993 mandates, by the *lex gotica*, that they repay as much as they have attempted to disturb.²³ In a donation by Bishop Pelayo and others to Celanova from 978, composition for the damages of the laws is set at *auri talentum unum*; there is no such law, but could the same one-for-one

¹⁸ CEL.171, CEL.302; cf. SPR.1.

¹⁹ SAH.253; cf. LV 2.1.11, 2.1.29, 3.5.2, 3.5.6, 12.2.3; ACA.10; SJS.10, SDC.20.

²⁰ CEL.175, CEL.236; cf. SJS.16, SJS.24, SJS.29, SJS.61, SJS.84, SJS.S2.

²¹ SPM.7; cf. FV 8.

²² F. Mateu y Llopis, ‘Las cláusulas penales pecuniarias de los documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla (siglos X-XIII)’, *AHDE*, 23 (1953), pp. 579-93; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 192-4.

²³ LV 8.1.2; ACL.486; CEL.218; cf. LV 7.2.17, 7.3.1, 7.3.4, 8.3.2-3, 8.3.11-2, 8.4.1-3, 8.4.7, 8.4.13, 8.4.21, 8.4.31; SLM.73.

principle be at work?²⁴ The standard penalty is twofold, as legislated for appropriation or destruction of property belonging to another.²⁵ Per the testament of Virio and family to Castañeda from 965, the violator, *pro dampno legum*, must repay twice the donated mill, while the donation by Ramiro and Vermudo, priest and confessor, of themselves and their property to Arlanza in 982 prescribes a double penalty, *sicut lex mandat*.²⁶ Wording varies, and so the testament of Abbot Astrulfo from 842 speaks of doing penance at the gate of the church, compelled by the laws or judges, for twice what has been stolen, while a grant by Ordoño II to the monastery of Triacastela in 919 calls on the offender, under the *leges publicas*, to render it twofold what he has dared to defraud.²⁷ The twofold penalty can also be enhanced, as in the confirmation of Alfonso II to Samos in 811, which establishes, *per legis ordinem*, that he who contravenes it should offer double satisfaction and receive 100 lashes, ubiquitous in Visigothic law.²⁸ As above with the gold talent, there seems to be a monetary equivalence or alternative: in the pact of Zuleiman *conversus* and others with Castañeda of 953, the sanction tells violators, *pro dampna legum*, to pay two pounds of gold or twice the property concerned, while the grant by Vermudo II to San Pelayo de Oviedo in 996, *sicut lex codicet disnuciat et kanonica censura confirmat*, demands two talents of gold alone.²⁹ The Biblical talent cannot have had much use as a unit of account, but perhaps ‘two’, just as ‘twice’, had acquired legal resonance.

There are fewer sanction clauses with higher penalties which cite the law, but these can also be traced to injunctions of the code. Several Leonese cases present twofold and threefold compensation as alternatives, in accordance with Visigothic legislation on seizure of property which could not be legally obtained: in a donation by Vermudo II to Munio Fernández of 989,

²⁴ CEL.188; *cf.* SJS.36.

²⁵ LV 8.1.5; *cf.* LV 7.4.4, 8.1.7, 8.3.5.

²⁶ CAS.8; SPA.23; *cf.* ACL.781; ACA.71; SPA.26; CEL.357; PMH.119.

²⁷ CEL.1; SDC.29; *cf.* CEL.207.

²⁸ SJS.2; *cf.* LV 2-3, 5-9, 11-2; CAS.3.

²⁹ CAS.5; SPO.1; *cf.* SJS.28, SJS.41.

the violator is enjoined to restore double or triple, *secundum gotica lex sanxit auctoritas*.³⁰ In the west, however, in keeping with a broadly more complex legal and written culture, sanctions frequently mandate a fourfold penalty, as required by law for particular crimes such as damage to enclosures; in the restoration testament by Ordoño II to San Esteban de Ribas de Sil in 921, for instance, the offender should repay fourfold as the *leges pacificas precipiunt*, or humbled by the *damna legum* in a formula peculiar to Lorrain, while the *perfiliatio* of Fruela Leoderiguz to Munia Tegiz in 985 demands a double or quadruple fine, according to what the law teaches.³¹ There is no fivefold penalty in the Visigothic code, but payments of five *solidi* are prescribed regularly for offences against appurtenances such as trees, fences, and livestock: accordingly, a gift by Vermudo II to Celanova in 986 directs the violator, under *gotdigam legem*, to render five talents of gold, where the two ‘currencies’ are apparently synonymous.³² At a rather higher level, in a charter between Aloytus and his wife Paterna of 965, the sanction stipulates a fine for the *damna legum secularii* of 500 *solidi* to the fisc, plus twofold or threefold compensation; instead of reflecting specific legislation, this is another legally resonant figure, set in the tables of compensation as the maximum applicable by law for physical injury to the person.³³ Unique is a monastic pact of 871, which states that any who return to the secular life should forfeit all their property and *omnem vocem causandi pro ipsa legis mundane*, citing legislation on those deprived of the right to testify; this extreme threat must have meant checking the code.³⁴

The second type of legal citation in sanction clauses concerns assignment of the penalty, but is far less precise. As a rule, the Visigothic law awards the fine for a crime to the injured party or, if a slave, the lord; this seems to underpin one common formula, requiring the violator to pay the penalty to the beneficiary or to whom the law has given it.³⁵ In a donation of 871,

³⁰ LV 8.1.7; ACL.530; cf. LV 2.5.8; ACL.89, ACL.891.

³¹ LV 8.3.7; SER.1; PMH.40, PMH.44, PMH.47, PMH.146; cf. LV 7.2.18, 8.1.9, 8.1.12.

³² LV 8.3.1, 8.3.6, 8.3.14, 8.4.8, 8.4.29, 8.6.2; CEL.198; cf. LV 7.2.22, 7.4.1, 8.1.6; SJS.57.

³³ COR.71; cf. LV 6.1.2, 8.4.16; SAH.33.

³⁴ CEL.4; cf. LV 2.4.1.

³⁵ LV 2-11; ACL.8; cf. ACL.84, ACA.171.

the wording is to whomever *profuturis* (or *pro futuris*) the law has given it, suggesting that the reference could also be to inheritance legislation.³⁶ Most such citations, however, simply direct the penalty to its legal recipient without further specification, and so the real function may be to provide enforcement of the sanction with the rhetorical support of written law in general.³⁷ In a number of late Leonese documents, two royal diplomas but the rest private charters, written mostly by royal scribes (including Sampiro, Fulgentius, and Petrus), the king has been inserted into this formula: the testament of Munio Rodríguez and his wife Razel to San Miguel de León in 1012, for instance, assigns the fine to the king or to whom the law has given it.³⁸ Visigothic law only makes the king the beneficiary of compensation in cases such as treason and heresy directly affecting him: this clause not only introduces him to his potential benefit, but also associates royal and legal authority. Perhaps this is its rhetorical purpose, or perhaps it reflects an increasingly ‘royal outlook’ by the Leonese scribes. In the testament of Fernando Núñez to San Miguel de León in 1021, indeed, the violator repays twofold, per the *sacrum canonem et lex godice*, and two talents of gold to the king or to whom the *speculatorem legem* or examining law has given it; the royal name is here linked to canon as well as secular law.³⁹ One record of a council in 995 from Celanova substitutes judge for king, and a donation to Covarrubias from 950 adds in the count, using the same means to highlight different local authorities.⁴⁰

The rhetorically legitimizing function of such citation is reflected in terminology which grants the charter itself a legal quality. This applies specifically to *placita* or written agreements generated during transactions and dispute settlement, particularly at Otero. Fernando Braolizi and his wife Tegridia confessed in a *pena placita per iscriptum certu ligavile firmitatis* to Pedro

³⁶ CEL.3; cf. LV 4.2.

³⁷ ACL.882, ACL.570, ACL.649; SAH.129, SAH.220, SAH.262, SAH.427; CEL.181, CEL.231.

³⁸ ACL.709. Diplomas: ACL.748, ACL.788. Scribes: ACL.710, ACL.715, ACL.717, ACL.732, ACL.756, ACL.855, ACL.857, ACL.860, ACL.862, ACL.880. Others: ACL.514, ACL.635, ACL.681, ACL.736, ACL.826.

³⁹ LV 2.1.8, 12.2.12, 12.2.18, 12.3.2-5, 12.3.8, 12.3.11, 12.3.17, 12.3.19, 12.3.22; ACL.781.

⁴⁰ SMB.1; CEL.223; COV.1; cf. ACA.111, ACA.230; SAH.167 [F].

Fláinez in 1021 that they had defrauded him of *iudicatos* or the judicial fees owed to him, while *fidesiunsores* of Pedro Fláinez undertook in a *placitum per scriptum certum ligavilem firmitatis* to pay an agreed price to Fruela Sendínez in 1029.⁴¹ Comparable cases from León and especially the west include the *ligali placitum* made by Nazari and his wife Emissa to Donani Zalamizi in 985, promising to present themselves for judgement; other charters cite these legal documents, as in the record of a settlement between Rodrigo Romáñez and Jimena Jiménez in 1001, which notes that they entered a *ligavile* to offer testimony under oath.⁴² This descriptor was used for the *placitum* because it is typically, if not exclusively, linked to reaching an agreement in disputes, which regularly involved consulting Visigothic law. The intermediate stage of the settlement process when the parties checked the code, indeed, had its own turn of phrase, ‘going to the law’. Many disputants, having made their arguments, agreed next to go *pro ad lege*, such as when Osoredo Tructesíndez, his wife Unisco, and Godesteo made a *placitum ad legem* in 1004, and returned three days later *pro ire ad legem*; the meaning is clarified in the *placitum per scriptura ligavile* of Didago and Enego from 1022, who agreed to go *ad lege* with their parties and testimonies, reappearing in three days before the judges *cum lege de libro iudicum* to do as the law ordained, while Cida Aion, in her dispute with Munio Fernández and his wife Elvira in 994, simply went *ad librum*.⁴³ Visigothic law therefore has a constant presence in the language of transaction and contention: even if much of this usage is formulaic, it witnesses a dense degree of contact with the code on the part of the scribes who wrote the charters, a facility and preference for rhetoric with legal resonance, an omnipresent legal hinterland, which finds its counterpart in concrete cases of consulting the law.

⁴¹ OLD.136, OLD.189; cf. OLD.99, OLD.125, OLD.150, OLD.159, OLD.190; M.N. Sánchez González de Herrero, ‘El campesinado y sus rentas. El léxico’, in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 524-6.

⁴² PMH.144; SJS.S10. Instances: RCV.3; OSE.1; CDA.x. References: ACL.798; SJS.69; CEL.199-200; PMH.200.

⁴³ PMH.193; OLD.150; ACL.561; cf. ACL.597; CEL.200; CDA.x; PMH.183, PMH.209, PMH.258; cf. C. Sánchez-Albornoz, ‘El “Juicio del libro” en León durante el siglo X’, repr. in *idem*, *Investigaciones y documentos sobre las instituciones hispanas* (Santiago de Chile, 1970), pp. 287-91; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, ‘A veces de chica habla viene mucha folgura. Ensayo sobre un documento leonés del año 1000’, in *Escritos*, i, pp. 287-305.

ii. Practice

The longer and less glancing references to Visigothic law more obviously originate, at some stage, in firsthand encounters with its text, rather than formulas in common circulation, and provide transactions with a written framework of operational norms. The cited legislation is classifiable into laws on inheritance, property, procedures, and penalties; each offers a basis for negotiating the matter at hand. The most recurrent legal citation on inheritance is a provision that those without children should have free disposition of their property, and appears primarily in charters from the west.⁴⁴ When Unisco and her son Osoredo decided in about 1027 to make a testament of all their property to the monastery of Leça, they stated that Osoredo was *sterelis absque liberis* therefore their act had the support of Book IV, Chapter II, Sentence XIX of the *libro iudicum* (following the numbering of the Erwig recension), quoting the law from the first word of its title to the last word of its text.⁴⁵ Such precise referencing is not unique: Ermengro made a donation to the same two parties and their monastery of Vermoim in 1014, noting how *invenimus* in Book IV, Title II, Sentence XIX that he who does not leave child, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren has license to do what he wishes with his property, an extract from the opening of the law.⁴⁶ The scribe of the testament of Iquilo to Santa Baia in 973 misidentified the sentence as XVIII, omitting the last digit, but evidently knew the law, partly extracting and partly paraphrasing it to declare in the preamble that every freeborn man or woman who does not leave son or daughter has license to do as he wishes with his property.⁴⁷ Other citations are less precise and more reworked, such as in a testament of the religious Etdonem and two others to Celanova from 972, which begins with them agreeing to make it because the *gotorum sanxit auctoritas* that *homini filios non abenti de re sua quod voluerit faciat*, in an abstract conveying

⁴⁴ LV 4.2.20; Collins, 'Law and Charters', p. 508; cf. Davies, *Acts*, pp. 66-80.

⁴⁵ PMH.222.

⁴⁶ PMH.224.

⁴⁷ ACM.6.

the central tenet of the law through vocabulary derived from or synonymous with its text.⁴⁸ If this type of legal citation could be formulaic, it is at least highly variable by region, and scribes had the knowledge of and confidence with the law to shape it individually in use.

Various other inheritance law, indeed, was cited as the occasion required. A donation by Imiloni to Sahagún in 961, made in memory of her late husband and family, includes goods vindicated by her, *secundum gotica lege*, from her son Vincentio; the reference is clarified in the testament of Mumadona Dias in 959, which justifies her disposition of the property of her son Nuño, dead of fever, by the law authorizing the estates of a deceased son with no surviving children to be released into the possession of his parents.⁴⁹ When Cresconius made an exchange with Quinto and his wife Tructesinda in 997, similarly, he received property which the law had given Tructesinda on the death of her mother, invoking legislation on children inheriting from their deceased parents, more specifically daughters from their mothers.⁵⁰ A donation by Abbot Vermudo to Samos and Santiago in 1009 also contains a fragmentary curse against his *familia* in haughtiness, *sicut liber goticus docet*, and one interpretation could be that he has disinherited his own household in this transaction; the offences justifying such action are certainly regulated by law.⁵¹ The priority accorded to children in legal succession and the related limitation of free disposition to childless parents could even be the explanation for the institution of *perfilatio*, by which a donor adopted a beneficiary as heir, a law internalized to the degree that it gave rise to a new social transaction.⁵² In an early case, Licerius and his wife Faquilo made a *perfilatio* to Adeit in 875 so that he should inherit their property like one of their sons, as the law teaches; Reparatus and his wife Trasvinda, in a testament to Celanova of 936, record how, childless, they put all their property in the hands of their *suprinos*, making them a charter of *perfilatio*

⁴⁸ CEL.174; cf. CEL.242; SJS.54; ACM.1.

⁴⁹ LV 4.2.18; SAH.190; PMH.76; cf. SLM.87.

⁵⁰ CEL.234; cf. LV 4.2.2, 4.2.9-10, 4.2.14, 4.2.17.

⁵¹ SJS.69; cf. LV 4.5.1.

⁵² LV 4.2.2, 4.2.20; cf. L.G. de Valdeavellano, 'La comunidad patrimonial de la familia en el derecho español medieval', ASD, 3/1 (1956), pp. 9-40; Martínez Díez, 'Instituciones', pp. 123-5.

for after their deaths, but having been mistreated, decided to leave it to the monastery instead, since they have full disposition to do so *secundum gotorum iubet auctoritas*.⁵³ Inheritance law served to frame many donations by the childless, and it was conceivably to work around them that this curious institution came into being for the acts of those with children too.

Legal citation applied more generally to property transactions and disputes, above all when involving ecclesiastics or husbands and wives, and provided a framework for changes of ownership. Visigothic law limits pious donations, and gifts to third parties, to a fifth of the total property, should the donor have children, and so Iusta, for instance, bequeathed *sua quinta* to Santos Justo y Pastor in 1009, *sicut lex gotica disnunciat et canonica censura confirmat*, while the testament of Bishop Pelayo to Celanova from 982 notes that his father gave him a fifth of his property as monastic stipend because, *sicut lex gotica docet et sanctorum canones iubentur*, he could do with it as he saw fit, paraphrasing the cited provision.⁵⁴ A fifth is a common portion granted in such acts, but seldom linked explicitly to this legislation; what does get cited often, however, is the legal principle of the inalienability of ecclesiastical property, to which the code dedicates an entire title of four emphatic laws.⁵⁵ When Bishop Fruela of León made a donation to his see in 1002, he observed that a certain duke, *ignorans sacros canones et lex gotica*, had seized some of its possessions and given them away, while the abbot of Santa Lucía argued in 952 that Osorio Gutiérrez had taken control of it as *lex non continet nec sancta regida docet*.⁵⁶ The principle is also cited generally in confirmation clauses: ecclesiastical property should not fall into secular hands. In a donation by Muzara and Zamora to the church of Lordosa in 882, for example, they stipulate that the property be exclusive to those pursuing the holy or monastic life or for distribution to the poor, *sicut lex et canonica sententia docet*, and under no condition

⁵³ STL.14; CEL.52.

⁵⁴ LV 4.5.1; ACL.681; CEL.190; cf. LV 4.2.18-9; L.G. de Valdeavellano, 'La cuota de libre disposición en el derecho hereditario de León y Castilla en la alta edad media', *AHDE*, 9 (1932), pp. 129-76; Martínez Díez, 'Instituciones', pp. 107-23.

⁵⁵ LV 5.1.1-4.

⁵⁶ ACL.629; ACA.71.

alienated, while a testament of Abbot Donnani and Letula to a monastery of São Martinho from 924 limits ownership of it to deacons and any others in monastic orders, *ut canonica sententia docet et lex logica [sic] ordinat*.⁵⁷ Oveco Orbitaz and his wife Olimpia, indeed, wrote in 1028 that relatives had bought a *populatione* from Sahagún, but now they, realizing that it belonged to the monastery, returned it in gift: *sicut constitutum est in lege gotica*, no one should dare to buy, sell, or diminish ecclesiastical property, an apt summary of the relevant law.⁵⁸ The joint citation of canon law in many of these cases is noticeable, but general, to ‘the canons’, rather than ‘that canon’; the Visigothic code is the source for the specific provisions at stake.

Married couples also often asserted the right to dispose of their property. When Aloytus gave his wife Paterna a third of his property in 965, he declared it to be *licitum* because the *lex goddiga docet*, in Book V, Title II, on donations, that if a husband donates anything to his wife beyond the dowry, it should have full validity according to his wishes, which distils legislation at this reference (reversing active and passive parties).⁵⁹ In the testament of Hermegildo and his wife Eldonza to Samos in 978, he begins by stating that they have no children, and so, *sicut lex gotica docet* in Book IV, Title II, Sentence XIX, he may do with his property as he wishes, the law extracted verbatim. He also refers to Book V, Title II, Sentence IV, as above, but in an abbreviated treatment of a lengthier passage, excising irrelevant and redundant clauses while borrowing vocabulary from the text; this prefaces a disclaimer that she has made him a charter by which he may now dispose fully of their marital possessions.⁶⁰ Property after marriage was regulated by law, and Ildras, in a donation to Lorrão of 952, explicitly exempted the portion of his wife, *quod lex continet*, potentially meaning either her control of the dowry or her right to share what they acquire together and inherit as a widow equally with offspring.⁶¹ Transactions

⁵⁷ PMH.9, PMH.28; *cf.* COR.101.

⁵⁸ SAH.422; *cf.* LV 5.1.3.

⁵⁹ COR.71; *cf.* LV 5.2.4.

⁶⁰ SJS.40; *cf.* LV 4.2.20, 5.2.4.

⁶¹ PMH.65; *cf.* LV 3.1.5, 4.2.14, 4.2.16; CEL.12.

more generally enjoyed legal safeguards, such as Veila *presbiter* deployed in a charter to Iusta of 860, which begins with the *lex gotorum canet* that donations made before witnesses may not be reclaimed, but the beneficiary should confirm *per scriptura at per testes*, and the gift have full validity thereafter; another condensed version of a complex law, this keeps the essentials, in wording drawn largely from its text.⁶² When Alfonso V rewarded Sampiro with land in 1023, he indicated in similar fashion that it now belonged to him to bequeath to whomever he should wish, since a donation in the name of the prince, *sicut lex docet*, should remain irrevocably in his right, summarizing the law correctly.⁶³ In 1012, he issued a confirmation to Sahagún which included license to rule certain *mandationibus* with or without the royal *saio*, as the *lex sancta vobis auctorigat*, and in fact this official could legally exercise authority only over an appointed district.⁶⁴ Whether transcribing or ‘treating’ the law, scribes used their working knowledge of it to underpin the transactions of a wide variety of royal, ecclesiastical, and lay actors.

Yet the function of such pragmatic legal citation was to validate not only the ‘outcome’ of the charter, but also the procedure which yielded it. Restoring San Pedro de Rocas in 1007, for example, Alfonso V identified the motivation for his own and prior royal confirmations of the foundation by Alfonso III as a law that children and grandchildren should not infringe but confirm with every effort what their parents granted by document.⁶⁵ The two *personarii* acting on behalf of Iustesenda in her testament to Santiago de León of 1001, similarly, confirmed that they were present at her request, *secundum continet lex gotica*, fulfilling a legal requirement of testamentary agents, while Bishop Rosendo allegedly decided, with the company and counsel of his brothers at Celanova to write a *testamentum olografum* in 977, *ex legali precepto*; by law this was done only in the absence of witnesses, so the reference may be rhetorical reinforcement

⁶² ACL.860; cf. LV 5.2.6.

⁶³ ACL.802; cf. LV 5.2.2; ACL.530.

⁶⁴ ACL.707; cf. LV 2.1.18.

⁶⁵ SPR.1; cf. LV 2.5.4.

of the text with legal language.⁶⁶ When Assur and his wife Elvira gave a *villa* to three churches of Valdecésar in 999, however, they declared that with the countergift this transaction followed Book V, Title II of the *lex gotica*, which confers validity on transfer or gift of property by text, just as brothers of San Martín de Turieno sold land to Munio and his wife Gulatrudia in 915, under the *lex gothica* and *lex canonum*, complying with legislation on the sale of ecclesiastical property and by charter generally; in both cases, they were acting by law.⁶⁷ The most striking instance is the division of the estate of Munio Fernández and Elvira amongst their children by drawing *sortes codicas* or ‘Gothic lots’ and recording the results in a *colmellum divisionis* or ‘column of division’: the text deems this just and legitimate, seemingly citing a process in the Visigothic code originally applied to apportioning land between Goths and Romans.⁶⁸ Making such an obscure reference surely presupposes an act of reading the law local to this transaction; perhaps the division was unusually rich (or contentious), and called for special support.

More ‘procedural’ citations occur in disputes, where they guide judicial activity and the evaluation of evidence. Visigothic law mandates that resolutions be reached in accordance with it, and requires the judge first to hear witness testimony, then examine written evidence, which he should prioritize, and finally have the parties swear oaths, at his discretion.⁶⁹ ‘Going to the law’ really fits the first mandate, to make settlements by law: in 987, therefore, the inhabitants of Zacoys and Celanova undertook by *placitum* not only to go *pro ad lege*, but also to accept what it directed them to do.⁷⁰ The second requirement – on judicial procedure – can be seen in the dispute between Palla and San Martín de Pinario in 985. The judges ordered both parties, the *pulsator* and the *responsor*, to present twelve witnesses, and then chose, *per auctoricentiam*

⁶⁶ ACL.606; CEL.185; cf. LV 2.5.12, 2.5.16; Díaz y Díaz, ‘Testamento’, pp. 55-64; Fernández Flórez, ‘Documentos’, pp. 110-15.

⁶⁷ ACL.587; LV 5.2.6; STL.20; LV 5.1.3, 5.4.3; cf. ACL.798; CEL.246.

⁶⁸ ACL.743; cf. LV 10.2.1.

⁶⁹ LV 2.1.14, 2.1.23, 2.1.25.

⁷⁰ CEL.200; cf. CEL.344-5; PMH.183; Collins, ‘Visigothic Law’, pp. 88-90; von Plettenberg, *Fortleben*, pp. 44-58.

regem et legis goddice, the monastic dozen to confirm its testaments and *firmitates*; lastly they had them take oath at San Miguel de Barbadelo, following the ‘three steps to judgement’ as outlined by law.⁷¹ A sale by Count Pedro Flaínez and his wife Bronildi to Fruela Sendínez and his wife Rosla Geta in 1029 is more specific: the object is property of the count in Sobrepeña, including *iudicatos* or lands received as judicial fines, *per mea veritate et per legem*, seemingly invoking legislation on remuneration of judges with fees paid by the defeated party.⁷² But note a case in 1028: a prior judgement reached in favour of Munia was overturned because the law did not authorize it to stand for one so young in age, leading her to petition anew (presumably now older).⁷³ Legally no one under fourteen years old could appear in a dispute, so this seems to be another unique and specific legal consultation – after the fact, but still binding.

Laws on handling evidence are cited less often, but more precisely and extensively, and convey how the broad procedural guidelines of the code were implemented. We have already encountered the most complex case, involving the see of Lugo reclaiming certain men who had become *extranei* from its service in 1025.⁷⁴ Before Alfonso V and his judges, the episcopal *assertor* Tardenato argued that Bishop Odoario had populated the region with the ancestors of these men *ex plebe familie servorum suorum*, and his successors had held them since, by *colmellos* and *scripturas firmitatis*, until recent troubles; he undertook to produce the documentation and *testimonias* to swear to his assertion and undergo the ordeal, if the *lex godiga* order it, clearly referring to the general legislation on judicial procedure as well as trial by hot water.⁷⁵ Vermudo *presbiter*, on behalf of the respondents, countered that they were *ingenuos* first sent there by Alfonso III, and claimed to have written evidence to this effect. Both parties agreed by *placitum* to present 30 *testimonias* each, but in the event only 29 came

⁷¹ COR.95; cf. PMH.183; CEL.362; SMC.27.

⁷² OLD.188; cf. LV 2.1.26.

⁷³ SVO.29; cf. LV 2.4.12.

⁷⁴ CDA.x; Fernández Flórez, ‘Documentos’, pp. 137-9.

⁷⁵ LV 2.1.23, 6.1.3.

to testify to the episcopal *scripturas*, and 26 to the rebuttal, after which they agreed a second *placitum* to ‘go to the law’ and do as it said. The judges *previdimus* or determined the appellant *testimonias* to be *idoneas meliores et pluriores*, quoting Book V, Title VII, Sentence VIII that, in disputes over the status of a freeman or slave, the testimony of those *meliore adque pluriores* should be taken.⁷⁶ Next they cited the general law on procedure (in error adding an extra digit to its title), followed by Book II, Title IV, Sentence V, that every witness must testify in person, truthfully and only to what they know firsthand.⁷⁷ On this foundation of law, quoted verbatim but for slight morphological variants, the judges proceeded to compare the testimony of the chosen witnesses with the *scripturas vetustas anteriores et posteriores* of Lugo, and had the parties agree a *placitum* that Tardenato would bring his *testimonias* to swear at San Pedro de Braga, as the *lex godiga* ordains. The men conceded, and were restored to service.

Visigothic law acted as a resource of authority not so much to determine what decision to reach as how to reach it, validating the procedure. The dispute in 952 between Velasco Hanniz and Abellar was likewise resolved through legal reference.⁷⁸ Both parties had claimed possession of supporting written evidence, but Velasco tried the tack of being unable to find it. When they nevertheless appealed *ad librum* as if he had found it, agreeing to do what ‘the book’ mandated, the settlement quotes the familiar Book IV, Title II, Chapter XIX, that the childless may dispose absolutely of their property, before citing Book V, Title II, Chapter VI on donation in writing; this provides that a testament should take precedence over an earlier document where it or the property has not been delivered, and that a donor may alter a gift at any time if it does not take effect until death.⁷⁹ Both citations are literal extracts from the code

⁷⁶ LV 5.7.8.

⁷⁷ LV 2.1.23, 2.4.5.

⁷⁸ ACL.256; cf. Sánchez-Albornoz, “‘Juicio’”, pp. 287-91; Martínez Díez, ‘Fueros’, pp. 292-6; Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal, ‘Derecho’, pp. 275-7; Prieto Morera, ‘Proceso’, pp. 403-24, 444-7, 482-3, 486-7; Gibert, ‘Enseñanza del derecho’, pp. 36-7.

⁷⁹ LV 4.2.20, 5.2.6; P. Merêa, ‘Sobre a revogabilidade das doações por morte’, repr. in *idem*, *Estudos de direito hispânico medieval* (2 vols., Coimbra, 1952-3), i, pp. 173-98.

– the second omitting an irrelevant clause on stolen testaments – and the bishop duly confirmed Abellar in possession of the property, yet this is only ‘process’, because a compromise settlement is then arranged as the ‘outcome’. The same laws are at work in 974 when Taion argued to Ramiro III that Sahagún had taken the property of Liubila, his *frater*, denying him his inheritance; one of the monastic brothers replied that Liubila had given it by testament to Bishop Gonzalo, who in turn donated it by charter to them over 31 years earlier.⁸⁰ Sahagún was confirmed in ownership, *secundum lex sancta precepit*, not only recognizing the right of the granter to disposal, but also the legal principle of the thirty-year rule, effectively a statute of limitations on challenging past acts; if the timing seems convenient at thirty plus one, perhaps the monastery had delayed trial in the knowledge that it was running out the legal clock.⁸¹ In contrast, when Senta asserted to Vermudo II that he had been forced to confirm a *cartula conscripta* in favour of Citi Lucidi, he was able to have it voided: *per veram scientiam canonica et lex gotica*, all documents made unwillingly or invalidly should have no force.⁸²

But just as the sanction clauses of transactions drew on the code to set the penalty for potential violations, dispute settlements did so in actual cases. We find the twofold fine often: in 1025, for example, Losidio and his wife Aleza confessed to imprisoning dependants of Vela Vermuiz and seizing property from them; they sold him a *villa* in compensation, for *invenimus in lege* that he who usurps the property of another without judgement should double it.⁸³ Daildo and family were ordered to *componere per lege* twice the property which they had taken from Celanova in 1012, but, lacking the wherewithal, reached a compromise to work two *villas* for the monastery.⁸⁴ After the erstwhile patrons of Santa María de Ribeira despoiled its property, descendants of its founders petitioned Alfonso V and Menendo González, who ordered judges,

⁸⁰ SAH.276 [I].

⁸¹ LV 10.2.3.

⁸² SJS.S9; cf. LV 5.2.1.

⁸³ SAH.417; cf. LV 8.1.5; ACL.559

⁸⁴ CEL.332.

sicut lex gotica docet, to discern the truth in 1005; they *dederunt inter eos libris* and requested sworn testimony from the appellants to justify twofold restoration of the monastery, in addition to a monetary fine, although in the event a settlement was also reached and, *lex gotica cogente*, confirmed by the king.⁸⁵ The function of penal citation of the law, in both potential and practice, was therefore to frame resolution, stating what was meant to happen as a guide to what actually did. Seldom encountered are the higher compensations, such as the ninefold prescribed by law for general theft and killing animals, but Duano Teodac confessed to Ero Salidec in 1030 that he had stolen (*inter alia*) his cow, and the *lex codorum auctoritativa* him to repay nine cows and sustain forty lashes; the lashes also derive from separate legislation on confinement of cattle without cause, and he made a donation in lieu of both prescriptions.⁸⁶ The highest legal fine exacted is elevenfold, and solely in charters of Pedro Flaínez, such as when Serbodei and his wife Madre sold him half a *villa* in 1018 for a dozen oxen and cattle; judgement went against them *per lege et veritate*, because Book VIII, Title I, Chapter V (the chapter again a digit off) provides that he who incites another to theft, destroying land or livestock, should restore eleven times what was lost.⁸⁷ Fruela Muñoz, his counterpart in the Otero archive, seems to have been oblivious to this: Emlo repaid him only twofold in 1022, by the *lex godica*, for persuading his *ancilla* to steal cereal from his house and subsequently helping her conceal it.⁸⁸

Visigothic law, like other Germanic codes, offered a tariff for valuing physical injuries, which set a fine of five *solidi* per bruise, and, rarely for early medieval Europe, this is present in some dispute settlements.⁸⁹ When Massoria and her husband Tidon confessed to assaulting Cidi, dependant of Count Pelayo Muñoz and his wife Sancha, in 1029, they specified that they had made bruises valued at 280 *solidi* which the law ordered them to pay; the next year, Enegus

⁸⁵ CEL.292.

⁸⁶ LV 7.2.13-4, 7.2.23; ACL.872; cf. LV 8.4.11; PMH.210; E. Córcoles Olaitz, *El hurto en el derecho visigodo* (Bilbao, 2006); P.D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 251-8.

⁸⁷ LV 8.1.6; OLD.133; cf. OLD.116.

⁸⁸ OLD.147; cf. OLD.148; LV 8.1.10 [?].

⁸⁹ LV 6.4.1; cf. L. Oliver, *The Body Legal in Barbarian Law* (Toronto, 2011), pp. 247-62.

and his wife Arbidio gave property in *vestro iudicato* to Fruela Muñoz and his wife Gunterodo, *quomodo lex mandasse*, because their son had left bruises valued at 30 *solidi* on Flagino and Marino.⁹⁰ These cases at the very least understand the concept of a fixed rate specific to bruises, others the simple fact of legal penalties for acts. In 1021, for instance, Fernando Vermúdez and his wife Eldensenda sold part of a *villa* to Fruela Muñoz and his wife Muna, which Aita Cotinizi had stolen and the law *autorkavit* them to receive, taking no note of the ninefold fine legislated for general theft; a donation by the monk Ysydoro in an inventory of Cresconius, for what the *lex gotica* ordered him to pay for a stolen horse, also mentions none of the relevant laws on the amount mandated for crimes involving this animal.⁹¹ There is a further payment by Aloyto and his children to Cresconius in a charter of 1007 for stealing two *quiniones* or plots of land: judges inquired *pro lex cotica*, and decided to retake one and double the other, but it is not clearly stated that either penalty, equal or twofold, is from legislation on unjust seizure.⁹² Laws against concealment in matters of theft may lie behind an exchange of 932, involving a vineyard received in fine from Turibius: the law fined him for hiding his brother, who had stolen three oxen.⁹³ In the dispute of 992 between Munio Gutiérrez and Christoforus *presbiter*, the latter was judged for stealing testaments belonging to the former, *secundum legem goticam docebat et canonicam sententiam ordinabat*.⁹⁴ Neither case cites the legal penalty; the citations showed that a penalty should be paid rather than determined what penalty was paid.⁹⁵

Resolution required negotiation, and this most of all is what written law framed. Olidi and his wife Gota handed Cresconius half a *villa* in 1001 for what he owed *in iudicatu* for having been an *indicatore falso* or false informer; he could not afford to pay what the *lex cottica* asked, and made this offer instead. Citing the law here was to deliver the opening bid of a

⁹⁰ ACL.851; OLD.193.

⁹¹ OLD.131; CEL.315; *cf.* LV 7.2.13-4, 8.4.1; OLD.132, OLD.195.

⁹² CEL.308; *cf.* LV 8.1.2, 8.1.5; CEL.315.

⁹³ STL.41.

⁹⁴ SLM.111.

⁹⁵ *cf.* LV 7.5.5, 8.1.10; CEL.312.

bargaining process – the higher the start the better the finish for the beneficiary.⁹⁶ We can see this in the judgement of Aita Randemiriz and Anserigo Lovegildiz in 1020: they had conspired to murder Albitto Ennegoz, so royal *saiones* seized them and their property, pending a ruling. Alfonso V consulted Book VI, Title V, Sentence XII of the *lex godiga*, which provides that, if a freemen should kill another by common counsel, the conspirators should be condemned to death; nominating Cidi Donelliz, he directed them by law to compensate him.⁹⁷ Employing *rogatores* to arrange a compromise, the offenders handed over a *villa* inherited from their parents, but this record is in fact a later formalization: in 1019, the king gave half of that *villa* to Cidi for this crime.⁹⁸ The other half was the royal cut, giving him a positive incentive to wield the authority of law; offer death, but accept land. Legal penalties, like procedural laws, are a framework, boundaries within which to fashion a settlement. The contents of the code, apparently, were always to hand, with the authority to define what was right, in the full scope of transactions and disputes, to guide and shape how action was taken, to frame the terms by which outcomes were reached. Vast potential rested in written law, sitting and waiting for actors to realize, and to find the means to exploit.

iii. Advantage

This potential was principally apprehended by the kings and counts of León, who used Visigothic law as a tool of lordship, wielding it against rebels and adulterers to their benefit. In the late ninth century, Alfonso III granted three diplomas to Santiago of property confiscated by law from traitors against his rule: in the earliest, of 886, he donated possessions belonging formerly to Hermegildo and his wife Yberia, who had rebelled and accordingly lost them, *per*

⁹⁶ CEL.248; cf. LV 7.1.1, 7.1.5; CEL.249.

⁹⁷ ACL.772; cf. LV 6.5.12.

⁹⁸ ACL.760.

legum decreta et nostre sinodis instituta.⁹⁹ The identity of these ‘decrees of the laws’ is clarified by a diploma of 906, which relates how Alfonso III suppressed a Galician insurrection; in Lugo, he put his enemies *in legali sententia* and referenced Book II, Title II, Sentence VI of the *liber iudicialis* (the title should read I), on those who scorn the royal command, authorizing him to seize their property and bestow it on anyone of his choosing.¹⁰⁰ On another three occasions, however, Alfonso III made no mention of the law, but gave away possessions previously owned by faithless subjects, implicitly relying upon his legal right to do so, such as when he made an exchange in 895 of a *villa* owned by Vitizane *infideli*, who had lost it for his *culpam*; according to a text of 1007, this *dux* rebelled for seven years, until Count Hermegildo Gutiérrez delivered him defeated to Oviedo, where all his land was confiscated and redistributed.¹⁰¹ Silent lurks the Visigothic code, justifying royal reassertion of authority at a vulnerable moment.

Yet few successors of Alfonso III employed the same stratagem, until late in the tenth century. Ramiro II gave three *villas* of Gonzalo Muñoz, an aristocratic rebel, to San Cristóbal de Vega in 946, while Ordoño III donated a district to Bishop Rosendo which *suprini* had lost on account of execrable infidelity in 955, and Ramiro III made a testament to the Leonese see in 981 of property confiscated for *infidentiam* to the king.¹⁰² All these instances lack direct legal citations. The nadir of royal power, however, notwithstanding Sancho I and Ordoño IV, came in the reign of Vermudo II, who faced magnate insurgency and Umayyad incursions, and he is the king who cited this law the most often.¹⁰³ Sampiro wrote of Vermudo in his chronicle that *leges a Vambano principe conditas firmavit canones aperire iussit* (‘he confirmed the laws

⁹⁹ SDC.13; cf. SDC.16-7; Martínez Díez, ‘Instituciones’, pp. 134-6; Prieto Prieto, ‘Potestad’, pp. 530-33; E. González Díez, ‘Monarquía leonesa y conflictos de orden social (siglos X-XII)’, in *Monarquía*, ii, pp. 204-22.

¹⁰⁰ VDJ.1; cf. LV 2.1.8.

¹⁰¹ SDC.15; CEL.302; Alfonso, ‘Judicial Rhetoric’, pp. 58-63; cf. SDC.5, SDC.12; J.J. Sánchez Badiola, ‘Terminología vasallática en la documentación altomedieval leonesa (ss. IX-XI)’, in *Latín III*, ii, p. 688.

¹⁰² VEG.2; CEL.110; ACL.482.

¹⁰³ Ruiz Asencio, ‘Rebeliones’, in *LH*, i, pp. 233-4; J. Orlandís, ‘Huellas visigóticas en el derecho de la Alta Edad Media’, *AHDE*, 15 (1944), pp. 644-58; Martínez Sopena, ‘Reyes’, pp. 132-40; Sánchez-Albornoz, *Orígenes del feudalismo*, pp. 66-71.

established by King Wamba and ordered the canons disclosed'), and this picture of legal – and canonical – restoration fits the activity which we can perceive in his diplomas. Even the attribution of the laws to Wamba is interesting: he is the author of some late legislation on military matters, and naming him presupposes a fairly deep knowledge of the code.¹⁰⁴ The earliest explicit case dates to 994, when Vermudo gave Celanova a *villa* which Suario Gundemáriz had taken from it *extra mea iussione vel voluntate*, before rebelling and raising others against him; after God had restored the king, all the property of the rebel, as the *canones sancti et lex gotica* order and judge *de talibus*, was transferred to him to do with as he pleased.¹⁰⁵ A year later, Erus Fofiz fled royal judgement to camp with insurgents; Vermudo had his possessions seized under the *canonem et lex gotica* on those who evilly disobey the king, paraphrasing the introduction of the legislation itself. The joint citation of secular and canon law in these cases is worth noting as well, for the original Visigothic legal provision was reinforced at subsequent Church councils, and Vermudo is drawing from both complementary authorities.¹⁰⁶ He underlined what he was doing in a further donation to Celanova in 996 of property confiscated *per auctoritatem catolice legis decretum* from Osorio Díaz, who had allied with the Saracens against *gentem et patriam nostram* and been expelled: the confirmation observes that, while idiotic and ignorant men do not acknowledge the decrees of the laws, this rebel has lost all his possessions in immediate consequence of his actions.¹⁰⁷

Through the code, Vermudo enabled himself to reassert his authority in material terms, but also to regain legitimacy on a symbolic level, by consulting and publicizing its provisions. The king held a council in 998, denouncing sons of perdition who had allied with Muslims and temporarily overthrown him: *ut ceteris de hac opinione in exemplo fiat*, he disposed of all the

¹⁰⁴ *Sampiro*, c. 30; cf. A. Isla Frez, 'La monarquía leonesa según Sampiro', in M.A. Loring García (ed.), *Historia social, pensamiento historiográfico y Edad Media. Homenaje al Prof. Abilio Barbero de Aguilera* (Madrid, 1997), pp. 53-4; Rodríguez Fernández, 'Monarquía', pp. 356-67; Collins, 'Law and Charters', p. 509.

¹⁰⁵ CEL.221.

¹⁰⁶ CEL.223; Collins, 'Law and Charters', p. 503.

¹⁰⁷ CEL.229.

property of Gonzalo Vermúdez, a captured accomplice, following the *sacratissimum canonem et godicam legem* on rebels and their goods, as written in Book II and its titles, and donated it, interestingly, to *famulanti nostro* Sampiro, together with a *villa* taken *per legem sanctam* from a traitorous relative.¹⁰⁸ Such acts resonated. Osorio Iohanni, in a donation to Celanova in 1001, related how Erus Fofiz, as in the diploma above, had scorned the service owed the king by the *canones et liber iudicum*, and Vermudo, by legal authority and *canonica et iudicialis sententia*, had seized his property and given Osorio part of it.¹⁰⁹ In 1012, similarly, Alfonso V recounted how Count Ablabel and his wife Gunterodo had agitated against the king, going over to García Fernández of Castilla. But Vermudo seated himself before his court, and *facta est questio per omnem volumine legis*, the book was opened, as at Judgement Day; on those who are fugitives or insolent against prince, people, or *patria*, the book sentences that the goods of the nefarious transgressor should belong wholly to the king, to give away with permanent effect, extracting the law nearly verbatim. When Alfonso, son and successor, transferred this property to Munio Muñoz, by participating in the self-fashioning narrative of authority and legitimacy promoted by Vermudo, he gained the same advantage over his own rebellious aristocracy.¹¹⁰

In other cases of confiscation, Visigothic law is not explicitly cited, but seems to enable it as an implicit citation. In 990, prior to the above examples, Vermudo explained that he was in Galicia when Conanzo began to spread rumours of his death and raise a tumult around León; he returned and arrested the rebel, who promised by *placitum* to raise no further opposition, or else to forfeit his possessions. When Conanzo, *ex infidelitate*, resumed his crimes against the *populis*, all the property of the *nefarie transgressoris* belonged entirely to Vermudo by virtue of that charter, and he was free to give it to anyone.¹¹¹ This reflects not only the terms of treason law, but also the vocabulary, such as ‘nefarious transgressor’, which comes straight from it; the

¹⁰⁸ ACL.581; cf. Carriedo Tejedo, ‘Diploma’, pp. 72-7.

¹⁰⁹ CEL.246; cf. ACL.724.

¹¹⁰ OLD.90.

¹¹¹ ACL.541.

legislation frames presentation as well as action.¹¹² Many later diplomas report rebellions by, and confiscations from, Gonzalo Vermúdez, Suario Gundemáriz, and others comparably, quietly predicating the legitimacy of appropriation on the law.¹¹³ The history of the property thereby gains legal origins as it passes from rebel to restored king to loyal subject.

The two successors of Vermudo II faced equal unrest, and to meet the challenge, they followed his lead in exploiting the authority of Visigothic law.¹¹⁴ Alfonso V granted a donation in 1023, again to Sampiro, of property formerly owned by Eicta Fosatiz, who lost it for rising with Cit Gómez and Sancho García of Castilla; on account of this infidelity, the king had seized it as the *lex abtorigat* in Book II, and its titles, that nefarious criminals who deceive and oppose the prince, people, and *patria* should be wholly at his disposal, along with their possessions, in a summary drawing from the legislative language.¹¹⁵ When he did likewise in 1019, giving his *fidele* Pedro Flaínez property taken from his enemies Cotina Fernández and Fernando Peláez, he cited the *lex godicat* with particular precision, in Book II, Title I, Chapter VI, on those who abandon, deceive, or are insolent to the prince, people, or *patria*; despite the subsequent lengthy quotation, the first half of the text is corrupt, but the remainder, addressing the right of the king to confiscate and donate the property, is intact and intelligible, indeed clarified by the addition of a phrase on royal agency, so it cannot just be charter filler.¹¹⁶ Several other deeds of Alfonso implicitly invoke the law, such as when, in 1013, he gave Falcon Amatez possessions of Fortis, Patre Keiaz, and Vimara *presbiter*, whom he had discovered in the *iure* of his *infidelem* Munio Fernández, or Queen Velasquita seized land from Felix after he had incurred royal *ira* and fled the realm by Viking barque.¹¹⁷ The one case from the reign of Vermudo III takes the practice further: Oveco and his wife Adosinda refused to acknowledge the new king when he demanded

¹¹² LV 2.1.8.

¹¹³ ACA.230; SDC.62, SDC.66; CDA.8.

¹¹⁴ Martínez Sopena, 'Reyes', pp. 141-50; CDA, pp. 135-7; cf. Isla, 'Warfare', pp. 233-46.

¹¹⁵ ACL.802; cf. ACL.748.

¹¹⁶ OLD.124; P. Martínez Sopena, 'Reyes y nobles en León (ca. 860-1160)', in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 165-8, 192-6.

¹¹⁷ ACL.719; SVO.30.

the return of properties entrusted to them *ad operandum*, and secured themselves in the *castro* of Aguilar, raising Count Rodrigo Romáñez as *patronum*.¹¹⁸ Vermudo made a testament of the church of San Salvador in that *castro* to Bishop Pedro of Lugo, confirming a grant by his father, and cited Book V, Title II, Sentence II, on royal donations, which provides against overturning them without fault by the beneficiary, as well as the habitual Book II, Title I, Sentence VI, on traitors, by which all possessions of the nefarious transgressor should be wholly at the disposal of the prince.¹¹⁹ By citing legal authority to restore their position in both material and symbolic terms, the Asturian and Leonese kings were better able to confront their challengers.

Compensation for homicide, interestingly, often went to the king as well, rather than a relation or lord. In the case of Odoario Díaz, killed by men from *Matella*, he was the *suprino* of Ramiro II, but mostly no connection between king and victim is stated.¹²⁰ Visigothic law provides that, if the family decline to act, anyone may prosecute a homicide and receive the compensation.¹²¹ And Ramiro III in 975 recounted depriving Salbator and Mahamuthi of their property for having killed Abgizza by the right granted to him of seizing and disposing of it.¹²² Ramiro II gave away possessions confiscated from Patre and family in 943, who had committed homicide and many other evils and so been exiled *a patria*; this rare punishment suggests that the king had adopted the expedient of treating homicide as treason, for which it was the norm, to justify legally, as with rebels, seizure of property.¹²³ Alfonso V seems to have done likewise in 1016, when Fromarico Sendínez killed two men *in regionem nostrum* and then fled to Sancho García of Castilla; pardoned and entrusted with the *realengo* of León, he pillaged it, violating virgin daughters of *viris idoneis* (penalized harshly by adultery law), and killed two more men,

¹¹⁸ CDV.1.

¹¹⁹ LV 5.2.2.

¹²⁰ ACL.123, ACL.253; cf. ACL.567, ACL.605, ACL.788; SLM.120.

¹²¹ LV 6.5.14-5; King, pp. 259-64.

¹²² ACL.442.

¹²³ SAH.84; cf. LV 2.1.8.

before restoring his property to the king.¹²⁴ One victim was a royal dependant, so Alfonso could have acted as in 1022, when he exchanged a *villa* seized from Cipriano Vimaraci for killing Salla, *nostro servicial*; the king, as lord, was legally entitled to payment.¹²⁵

The lay aristocracy of León also employed the law as a tool of lordship, specifically to intervene in dispute settlements involving adultery, but whereas when kings made use of legal citation it restored power into royal hands, here it ultimately contributed to increasing tensions between kings and the counts.¹²⁶ Cida Aion made a charter to Count Munio Fernández and his wife Elvira in 994, yielding all her property except that of her husband, which belonged to her children: she had been caught in adultery with Pedro, *meo cumpatre et marido alieno*, and when they had gone *ad librum*, it judged that she should be enslaved, so she surrendered this in lieu of the penalty.¹²⁷ Visigothic law mandates that an adulterous wife, her lover, and their property be delivered to her husband for disposal, but it makes an exception for the property of legitimate children, which seems to be referenced here; only when treating those who may bring charges of adultery, however, does it provide that, if a royal agent, such as a count, is compelled to do so in default of the family, both offenders should be enslaved to him with their goods.¹²⁸ Munio Fernández therefore appears to have exploited this legal definition of adultery, as a crime with public ramifications, to justify intervening in an otherwise private dispute and exchanging the prescribed punishment for property. There is an awareness here of the potential of written law, and an imaginative extension of its rules – but also, seemingly, an acceptance of them.

¹²⁴ ACL.741; cf. LV 3.3.1.

¹²⁵ SDC.66.

¹²⁶ Martínez Sopena, 'Reyes', pp. 125-7; *idem*, 'Justicia', pp. 239-55; *idem*, *Tierra*, pp. 327-67; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 143-9, 181-5; CDA, pp. 147-51.

¹²⁷ ACL.561; Sánchez-Albornoz, "'Juicio'", pp. 287-91; J.M. Díaz de Bustamante, 'Más imágenes del día a día en el reino de León hace mil años', in *Monarquía*, ii, p. 185.

¹²⁸ LV 3.4.1, 3.4.3, 3.4.12-3; E. Osaba García, *El adulterio uxorio en la "Lex Visigothorum"* (Madrid, 1997).

The two counts based around Otero took especial advantage of Visigothic adultery law, capitalizing on a range of precepts on marriage and sexual relations.¹²⁹ In 1006, for instance, Iusta made a charter of all her property to Pedro Flaínez and his wife Bronildi, because she had committed *avulterio sine lege* with Martino, husband of her sister; this relationship enhances the gravity of the offence, since it was legally incestuous as well as adulterous, commanding a higher compensation.¹³⁰ Fernando not only engaged in adultery with another Iusta, wife of his brother, in 1020, but also put away his own wife without the marital *dos* or *arras* belonging to her by law, and accordingly ceded all his property to Pedro Flaínez and his wife Bronildi.¹³¹ In 1022, similarly, Fruela Muñoz accused Eneco, in company with his mother and brother, of an attempt to abduct Midona Vita, a *cubileira* of Fruela, after pursuing and capturing them *cum voce de rapto* or with the cry of abduction. Once Eneco had confessed, the parties made a *placitum* to go *ad lege*, returning in three days *cum lege de libro iudicum* to do as it orders: they found in Book III, Title III, Sentence II (this last is off by one), that if any freeman forcibly abduct a virgin or widow, and she be rescued prior to intercourse, he should yield half his property to her, but if not, marriage should be forbidden and he be delivered with all his property to her, sustaining 200 lashes and losing his liberty, nearly a verbatim extract of the law.¹³² And yet, in the settlement, Midona Vita expressed a desire not to be separated from Eneco as the *lex godiga* mandates, suggesting that the crime may not have been as narrated; instead, bound by the law, they both made a *placitum* to do lifetime service to Fruela Muñoz and his wife Amuna.¹³³ Conceivably the count had originally opposed a union, and, having caught them attempting to circumvent him, deployed the law as a prelude to setting it aside for

¹²⁹ M. González Jiménez, 'La moralidad en el reino de León (siglos X-XII)', in *Monarquía*, ii, pp. 289-98; Sánchez-Albornoz, *Regimen*, pp. 44-57; E. Álvarez Cora, 'Derecho sexual visigótico', *HID*, 24 (1997), pp. 1-52; A. Prieto Prieto, 'El conde Fruela Muñoz. Un asturiano del siglo XI', *AM*, 2 (1975), pp. 20-23, 30-34.

¹³⁰ OLD.71; cf. *LV* 3.5.5.

¹³¹ OLD.125; cf. *LV* 3.6.1.

¹³² OLD.150; cf. *LV* 3.3.1.

¹³³ OLD.151.

his own benefit. The same strategic use of legal citation as the opening gambit in bargaining for advantage can be seen in 1027, when Auria, *secundum lex non docet*, became pregnant after fornicating with her *primo congermano* or first cousin; brought before Fruela Muñoz and ordered to be whipped, *sicut lex continet*, her mother and sister intervened, offering him land for the penalty.¹³⁴ Incest is again flagged to establish the gravity of the offence, while lashing is the punishment prescribed by the prosecution law which enabled the count to act.

Other élites prosecuted adultery by these means, but less energetically than the counts. Bishop Fruela made a donation to Santiago de León in 1006 of possessions confiscated by the *lex et kanonum* from Gonzalo *frater*, who had become involved with a ‘daughter of perdition’ and fled the diocese after losing all his property; the law in question (with a supporting canon) charges bishops to punish adulterous clerics in their jurisdiction with confinement and penance, but a more material penalty seems to have been exacted.¹³⁵ In 1012, similarly, Daildo, his wife Teodilo, and their children agreed to work two *villas* for Celanova: *saiones* of Alfonso V and Count Rodrigo Ordóñez *calumniaverunt nos* at the monastery because *rausavimus* or raped the daughter of Gunderigo Dadilaz, and when they could not pay what *hordinabit nobis lex gotica*, presumably the same legislation as the other counts employed, the abbot had intervened to pay the *rausum* or penalty for them.¹³⁶ Often the legal citation is implicit, however, such as in 858, when Letasia confessed that *commiscui me in adulterio* with Ataulfo, a slave of Hermegildo: the words are peculiar to adultery law, whether concerning freeborn women and slaves as here or more generally, although these two only end up fined twofold, payable to the lord, for having stolen four cows and sixty cheeses from him.¹³⁷ A rare Castilian case of 979 saw Zite Pinniolez confess that, despite having a dowried and pledged wife, he had ‘mixed himself up in adultery’

¹³⁴ OLD.177.

¹³⁵ ACL.658; cf. LV 3.4.18; ACA.371.

¹³⁶ CEL.332.

¹³⁷ SLM.9; cf. LV 3.2.2, 3.4.8, 3.4.15; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, ‘Vida sexual y léxico marginal’, in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 563-70; Díaz de Bustamante, ‘Más imágenes’, pp. 180-81.

and fornication with Gota, then with Zitiella, his *nuera* or daughter-in-law, impregnating her with a son; the peculiar legal turn of phrase is used, and the two components of a legal marriage contract are flagged, establishing his liability for the crime, and he handed over all his property to Urraca, the lady of Covarrubias.¹³⁸ In 1028, indeed, Abita made a charter to Iusta, for ‘mixing herself up in adultery’ with Fronimio, *marido alieno* and *compadre de mi filios* – she was also *matrina* or godmother to his daughter; the settlement which the *omnes bonos* reached includes the inheritance of her children, perhaps because they were illegitimate given all the connections between the parties.¹³⁹ Neither Urraca nor Iusta has any stated standing in these cases, however, so presumably they were acting by the same ‘concerned citizen’ statute as the counts.

Visigothic law provided a framework, both explicitly and implicitly, for action against adultery by various third parties, and with this in mind we can find further cases pursued by the Leonese aristocracy. Auria *mulier* gave property to Count Munio Fernández and his wife Elvira in 1003 for the fornication which she had committed with Nuño, a married *textore* or weaver: no justification is offered – had the comital right to receive this compensation become so internalized?¹⁴⁰ In 1024, unspecified persons *levantarunt crimine* against Aurelio that he had ‘mixed himself up’ with the wife of Arkaio, but he was cleared by investigation, and because Fruela Muñoz had acted as his *adiutatore*, Aurelio gave him land *in ofercione*; the expertise of the count in prosecuting adultery served the defence here, yet still to his own profit.¹⁴¹ Estevano granted property to Pedro Flaínez and his wife Bronildi in 1028 for likewise ‘mixing himself up in adultery’ with Belita, wife of Belito; according to the document, granter and beneficiary were neighbours, so Estevano was certainly well within the jurisdiction of the count who brought the charges.¹⁴² When Fredino and his wife Leovina made a charter of their

¹³⁸ COV.11; cf. LV 3.1.3, 3.1.5, 3.1.9; SSO.23.

¹³⁹ ACL.846; cf. Martínez Sopena, ‘Justicia’, pp. 255-60.

¹⁴⁰ ACL.632; cf. ACL.671.

¹⁴¹ OLD.168; cf. OLD.133, OLD.166.

¹⁴² OLD.187; cf. OLD.38.

land to Count Flaíno Muñoz in 992, moreover, it was for their son Argemiro, who went in the *ora nocturna* to the house of Lecinia, a relative in the third grade, and took her virginity by force.¹⁴³ The legal principles acknowledged by this narrative are multiple, placing the count in a stronger bargaining position: nighttime crime meant a heftier fine, adultery in the parental home death, their relations made it incest, and her virginity doubled the penalty.¹⁴⁴

In 1012, two *potestates* of Nave de Albura came to Count Sancho García at Término to protest that Beila Ovecos of Palencia had arrived with two *merinos* and tried to exact *omicidium* or homicide fees. They objected that, customarily, the *villa* did not pay it or *fornicio* (adultery), nor did the royal *saio* or bailiff have right of entry. The count directed the two *potestates* to take oath *cum suo scripto quod habebant de suo foro*; after they did so in the church of Santa Ágata, he confirmed their *foro* before witnesses.¹⁴⁵ The *fuero* of Nave de Albura was therefore a written privilege of exemption from paying the count precisely the fines for homicide and adultery which lords habitually exacted through Visigothic law; the *saio* was also legally enjoined to administer royal justice solely where appointed. That year, when Beila Ovecos and his henchmen sought *omicidio* from Berbeya and Barrio, four villagers (including one of the *potestates*) similarly swore before Sancho García at Término that they were exempt from *homicidio*, *fornicio*, and *calda* or the ordeal of hot water prescribed by law, amongst other privileges.¹⁴⁶ The count confirmed, *sicut hic scriptum est*, citing an admittedly questionable charter of 955 which records Berbeya, Barrio, and San Zadornil testifying to their *fuero* before Fernán González.¹⁴⁷ If fines for adultery had become the stuff of exemptions, prosecution had become habitual practice.

¹⁴³ OLD.33; Díaz de Bustamante, 'Más imágenes', pp. 184-5.

¹⁴⁴ LV 3.3.1, 3.4.5, 3.5.1, 4.1.3, 7.2.16.

¹⁴⁵ SMC.144; M.A. Sánchez González de Herrero, 'El campesinado y sus rentas. El léxico', in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 520-24; Pastor, *Resistencias*, pp. 40-43.

¹⁴⁶ SMC.145.

¹⁴⁷ SMC.67; cf. Pastor Díaz de Garayo, *Castilla*, pp. 195-9; Casado de Otaola, 'Cultura escrita', pp. 54-5.

Compared with the lay élite, ecclesiastics exploited written law more episodically, and mainly in the west with its particularly dense documentary and legal culture. When Gontoi and his wife and family gave half their property to Vimara Kagitiz in 1022, it was because their son Alamiro had committed adultery with *nostra sobrina et sua congermana prima*, another cousin (and niece), breaking her chastity at their own home; the case settled, Vimara also undertook to defend them against future charges for the adultery.¹⁴⁸ Knowledge of the relevant legislation was clearly widespread geographically, but also deep: whatever the identity of Vimara (likely an agent for Celanova where the text survives), this ‘defence clause’ seems to expect that other third parties might initiate prosecution for adultery, taking advantage of the legal right to do so and thereby receive the fine, even if they might not all thickly contextualize it, as here, in legal categories to underline the gravity of the crime and ratchet up the settlement. In the background of the testament of Iulianus *presbiter* in 954 are two more cases of adultery implicitly invoking the law. While he was visiting Valdesaz, its abbot patronized a prostitute in León and got caught with her in public, consequently being forced to pay 200 *solidi* to the *pressores* and *potestates* of the city; when he was at the monastery of Froilo, its sisters ended up pregnant or sexually involved (described as adultery), and their *gentem* showed up, killing some and running the others off.¹⁴⁹ In the first case, Visigothic law prescribes 200 lashes for public prostitution, which fits the fine exacted from the abbot; in the second case, the family involvement is intriguing, since it is only in the absence of the family taking action that third parties could intervene in adultery. But in neither instance of ecclesiastical adultery was the prosecution itself ecclesiastical, and indeed, when Cisilu gave Ermiario and Semena half his property in 949, for the *culpa* of his daughter Baselesa who *penetravi [sic] adulterio* with the monk Nausti, we hear nothing further of Nausti; in 1008, meanwhile, Argerigo and Adosinda gave Evenando

¹⁴⁸ CEL.353; Díaz de Bustamante, ‘Más imágenes’, p. 184.

¹⁴⁹ ACL.278; cf. ACL.279.

presbiter half their property, who *fabulastis* on behalf of Adosinda for having apparently betrayed her husband in sin and owing him *mercem*, but this appears to be another example of ‘adultery advocacy’.¹⁵⁰ We find it solely at Celanova, such as when Gigulfo ceded it a fifth of his property in 989, seeking pardon for the sin of *contubernio* or cohabitation with his *conmatre*, and Tusto handed over half his own for adultery with his granddaughter, who had appealed to the monastery for action.¹⁵¹

The practice of prosecuting adultery with reference to written law was above all pursued by the laity, particularly the Leonese aristocratic networks of the Flaínez and Muñoz families. From the late tenth century onward, they were able, partly by these means, to assemble serious landholdings and become major players both locally and in the kingdom.¹⁵² Fruela Muñoz was amongst the most active in taking advantage of legislation as a tool of lordship, and there is a certain symmetry in the fact that his father Munio Fernández not only did the same, but also was one of the rebels against whom Alfonso V reasserted his authority through legal citation, following the example of his own father. Kings and counts both understood the potential of law to legitimize their actions, and thereby defend or expand their patrimonies: the same code was exploited pragmatically for divergent interests, constantly consulted and always accepted as a source, even the source, for the rules of the game. But how – and why? The beginnings of an answer emerge from a statistical corollary: the rate of legal citation and the incidence of the career scribe take off at the same time, in the 970s, and rise continuously in tandem thereafter. Consider that the majority of references to treason and adultery law come in the last quarter of the tenth century, running into the eleventh, and the most notable ‘professional’ writers can be seen at work; note the appearance of Sampiro as beneficiary of several royal confiscations, and

¹⁵⁰ PMH.58, PMH.202; *cf.* ACL.799; SAH.427.

¹⁵¹ CEL.205, CEL.315; *cf.* CEL.206, CEL.313; Díaz de Bustamante, ‘Más imágenes’, p. 182.

¹⁵² A. García Leal, ‘Los condes Fruela Muñoz y Pedro Flaínez: la formación de un patrimonio señorial’, *AEM*, 36/1 (2006), pp. 24-63, 71-103; C. Estepa Díez, ‘Poder y propiedad feudales en el período astur: las mandaciones de los Flaínez en la montaña leonesa’, in *Miscel·lània en homenatge al P. Agustí Altisent* (Tarragona, 1991), pp. 285-328.

the protagonism of the Flaínez and Muñoz, employers of Cidi, Citi, and the other Otero scribes, in the comital prosecutions. There is a compact here. As the scribal profession is consolidating, legal expertise is spreading; the law is deployed more densely and diversely, as the writers of the records of it are more often one of a small number of experts. Whatever the expertise of the shadowy judicial figures of the charters, the scribe was the lawyer of early medieval Iberia, and kings and counts were his clients.¹⁵³ Marketing his services, the notary promised a royal or comital employer tools to delegitimize rebels and seize their property or penalize adulterers in the public name, and these innovations in ‘literate lordship’ found ready acceptance in a society accustomed to a framework of written law.

iv. Silence

If scribes were also experts in the law, we need to rethink what form legal citation might take. We are comfortable with the notion that the depth of contact between monks and the Bible led them to ‘write Scripturally’, the Biblical text shaping their perceptions of and interactions with the world around them, so could scribes, after such regular engagement with written law, have come to ‘write legally’? They are our ‘literate interpreters’, figures whose internalization of a written framework for action shaped the behaviour of a community, for more charters than just those concerning treason and adultery have been framed by laws cited in silence, reflecting their passage into the language of customary practice. What was done and how it was done was legally constrained in matters of inheritance, property, procedures, and penalties. First amongst cases of inheritance is that many donors predicate pious donations of all their property on their lack of children, pointing in their perception of a need to justify doing so toward the legislation that solely the childless may freely dispose of all their possessions.¹⁵⁴ This awareness seems to

¹⁵³ cf. Collins, ‘Law and Charters’, pp. 506-7, *idem*, ‘Literacy’, pp. 129-31; Rodiño Caramés, pp. 38-43; Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 54-5, 236.

¹⁵⁴ *LV* 4.2.20.

have been particularly acute, as ever, in the west: Elarinus and Gundilo gave all their property to Samos in 931, because they had arrived at old age without children, while Ansur and Eieuva founded and endowed a church in Arouca in 951, since it had not been the will of God that they have children to inherit their property.¹⁵⁵ More than just ‘what one does’ seems to be happening here, since free disposition to any ecclesiastical institution, for those with children, was limited by law to a fifth of their property, and this restriction is silently cited as often.¹⁵⁶ Rodrigo and Elvira, married without children, agreed lest they die intestate to make a charter in 959, so that the one who outlived the other should inherit all their property, itself implicitly acknowledging that, legally, this would only happen without a charter if they had no relations nearer than the seventh degree; after both had died, according to a proviso, their property should go to Sobrado, but if they did have children, a fifth should be given to churches and the poor.¹⁵⁷ Donors simply had to work around this legislation: García Núñez made a testament of half his property to San Martín de Valdepueblo in 1013, or a fifth if he should have a son, and García and Velasco gave a fifth of their *villas* to Sahagún in 987, or else all if their children should die.¹⁵⁸

Visigothic law contains complex regulations for managing inheritance, and these also lie behind numerous documents. Children normally had priority in the order of succession, and in 909, descendants of the founders of San Pedro de Laroá claimed the right to dispose of it on the grounds that their parents had died intestate.¹⁵⁹ Elsewhere the law was used defensively. In 1006, for instance, Sahagún sold properties donated to it by Gunterode, which Vermudo II had seized after her husband died without children, but half of which she had regained by arguing that she acquired them with him; this is a successful appeal on the legal principle that husband and wife have equal claim over what they accumulate in their married life.¹⁶⁰ When Ramiro III

¹⁵⁵ SJS.15; PMH.63; *cf.* SJS.92; CEL.23; PMH.16, PMH.136; ACL.73; ACA.169; CEL.119.

¹⁵⁶ LV 4.5.1.

¹⁵⁷ SLM.86; *cf.* LV 4.2.11.

¹⁵⁸ ACL.718; SAH.335; *cf.* ACL.528, ACL.855; SJS.35; ACO.28.

¹⁵⁹ CEL.10 [I]; *cf.* LV 4.2.2.

¹⁶⁰ SAH.386; *cf.* LV 4.2.16.

appropriated the property of Sarracinus, however, who had been taken captive to Córdoba and left no relative to inherit it, the act was regarded as *indecenter*, and Vermudo II decided in 986 to donate it to Santiago on his behalf; the king is absent from the order of succession, as far as the (maximum) seventh degree.¹⁶¹ If there were children, they could only be disinherited when guilty of a crime, which accounts for the complaint lodged in 1029 by Fronili against her father, that he sought to make a charter to his wife of a third of his property and so exclude his daughter without fault on her part, although she lost her appeal; Abgamira swore that a certain Tota was not his son as he claimed, and so he was free to leave his property to Albelda in 978.¹⁶²

The most common silent legal citation, especially in the west, concerns the duration of tenure beyond which property ownership became incontestable: the thirty-year rule universal in early medieval Europe. Visigothic law, drawing from Roman law, rules that no case can be brought more than thirty years after its cause, effectively legitimizing possession at the expiry of this term: affirming her right of disposal, Ermesenda Díaz stated in a donation to Samos in 1011 that she and her husband had owned the property for over thirty years, while Gunterigo and Osorio, deacon and priest, agreed in 955 to divide their inheritance with Bishop Rosendo, because he had held *pars nostra* for over thirty years too.¹⁶³ In disputes, this claim was often made, such as when Velasco argued in 915 that Valdevimbre had possessed a dam and mill for thirty years until Monnio had diverted their water three months earlier; after witness testimony under oath, Monnio admitted his misconduct.¹⁶⁴ The rule and written evidence were mutually supportive, indeed, and Didacus *presbiter* asserted on behalf of San Martín Pinario in 985 that it had held two contested *livertos* and their ancestors *per tenpus et tricinos per escripturas et testamentos vetustus*, using the term *tricennium* specific to the law, and emerged victorious.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ SDC.46 [S], SDC.53 [I]; cf. ACL.788; LV 4.2.

¹⁶² LV 4.5.1; SAH.424; SMA.27; cf. LV 4.5.4.

¹⁶³ LV 10.2.3; SJS.77; CEL.113.

¹⁶⁴ ACL.34; cf. PMH.193.

¹⁶⁵ COR.95; cf. SLM.57.

Yet in 992, when Christoforus *presbiter* and his brother stole testaments of a church and claimed rightful ownership of it after holding them in theft for thirty years, they nonetheless lost, so this legal provision was not entirely on par with written evidence as an argument.¹⁶⁶

Disputants played number games with the thirty-year rule. Sobrado argued in 1001 that Lucido Quiriaci had snuck into the monastery and substituted *scripturas invalidas* for part of a *villa* only twenty years earlier, while witnesses for Castañeda testified in 927 that Evorico had invaded a *villa* and *piscaria*, but since the monastic *auctores* had *quartaverunt* (either divided or ‘chartered’) them within the previous thirty years, they had not lost their right to them; during further dispute in 952, the monastery alleged to have held them for 36 years, adding a decade to the time elapsed between the cases in order to push it beyond the legal limit.¹⁶⁷ When Lupella claimed Muzurri and others as his *servi* in 912, the reply was that his *casada* or dependants had been *ingenua* for over ninety years, tripling the period emphatically; they retained liberty even when sons of Lupella purported to have been served by them within thirty years, a striking case of the weaker party victorious, albeit under royal oversight.¹⁶⁸ Visigothic law sets a fifty-year window for appealing property division, and this was also a factor in disputes, such as in 1000, when Tarasia manumitted *liberti* of over fifty years, after relatives made a *scripturam falsitatis* to seize some of them, or in 999, when Lovesindo Abenazar said that the men of *Sautello* were not dependants of Guimarães but had held their own property for fifty years; he was defeated by written evidence which the monastery produced, and indeed, when Guimarães and Ordonio Sentariz both brought charters to a dispute in 1014, the monastic document of fifty years earlier prevailed.¹⁶⁹ The two rules even appear in one case: the bishop of Santiago replied to a claim by the bishop of Lugo for some *plebe* that they had been granted by Ordoño III to Sobrado for

¹⁶⁶ SLM.111.

¹⁶⁷ SLM.119; CAS.1, CAS.3; L. Anta Lorenzo, ‘El Monasterio de San Martín de Castañeda en el siglo X. En torno a los orígenes y la formación de la propiedad dominical’, *SZ*, 3 (1996), pp. 31-52.

¹⁶⁸ SDC.23.

¹⁶⁹ *LV* 10.2.1; SLM.118; PMH.183, PMH.225; cf. SDC.60.

the past thirty years, while witnesses swore to know nothing to the contrary, firsthand or from their *prioribus* going back fifty years.¹⁷⁰ Gontigio *presbiter* even defended his ownership of a church against Sagulfus *presbiter* in 991 by means of documentation and claiming to have held it without disturbance for eighty years, the sum of the two statutes of limitations.¹⁷¹ In all these cases, there may well be no Visigothic text at all, only as elsewhere in Europe a shared Roman legal inheritance, but written rules have been internalized to frame action.

Charters also implicitly cite Visigothic law on the marriage contract. Letitia observed in a testament to Abellar in 927 that her parents had united her to her husband in the right order, seemingly recognizing a correct way to do so, and when Donazano asserted in a charter of 1001 that he and his wife Leodesinda had been *cumjunctis* for many years *per dotalis ordinis*, he was pointing to legislation which defines this right order.¹⁷² By law betrothal and marriage required a morning gift and a pledge: in 1019, using the precise legal terminology, Sendina donated houses to Santillana which her husband had given to her as *mea dote vel in meas arras*, while Eldesenda related in 962 how she had married Zulaiman without *dote* or *arras*, and he had *damnabit* her property, but since Godesteo Menéndez and Ledegundia had ordered it restored she now gave them a portion.¹⁷³ Not only the Visigothic formulary, but also the code sets the *dos* at a tenth of the goods of the husband, as well as ten boys, ten girls, and twenty horses, and all these terms appear in the *dotis titulum* of Sisnando to his wife Eldontia in 887 and of Oliti to his wife Adosinda in 946; in the first case, the twenty dependants are even named, so there is more than merely formulaic rhetoric here.¹⁷⁴ If Visigothic law supplied the terms of marital legitimacy, it also regulated divorce: Gontrode reported in 1013 that her husband dismissed her to religious life in order to remarry, and she exchanged a *villa* for one which he had given her

¹⁷⁰ SLM.109; Prieto Morera, 'Proceso', pp. 476-8; cf. SMP.2.

¹⁷¹ PMH.163.

¹⁷² ACL.73; PMH.185; cf. LV 3.1-2; P. Merêa, 'O dote nos documentos dos séculos IX-XII', in *idem*, *Estudos de Direito Hispânico Medieval* (2 vols., Coimbra, 1952-3), i, pp. 59-77.

¹⁷³ SDM.23; ACL.355; cf. LV 3.1.3, 3.1.5.

¹⁷⁴ SLM.17; PMH.56; Martínez Díez, 'Instituciones', pp. 104-7; cf. CEL.24.

pro nuptiis, since divorce was allowed if the woman joined a monastery, but she retained what she had received in marriage.¹⁷⁵ The testament of Christoforo and Gunterodo to Ardón in 1012 provides similarly that if the wife should outlive the husband and remain *in continencia*, she may continue to hold all the property involved, but if she should remarry, only her portion, exactly as under marital law.¹⁷⁶

On procedure more broadly, the agreement reached by Sahagún and Abellar in 975 to share the building of a dam on the River Porma evenly is strikingly compatible with Visigothic legislation limiting diversion of rivers to half the flow per party: this could be coincidental, but alternatively it could represent absorption of a general principle of halves from the law.¹⁷⁷ More solidly, judges in 972 chose fifteen witnesses produced by Gudesteo Muniz on behalf of Arouca over ten brought by Adaulfu because the fifteen were many and better; *pluriores* and *meliores* come from a law on evidentiary procedure when the status of a slave is at issue, exactly as here, and the decision reached reflects its guidelines.¹⁷⁸ The title of *condiciones sacramentorum* for the text of the terms of the oath sworn by witnesses also reflects terminology in Visigothic law, used for the oath sworn by converted Jews and kept on record in the episcopal archives.¹⁷⁹ The Visigothic formulary, of course, contains a model, but the examples preserved or referenced in charters from across early medieval Iberia (and beyond), while similar amongst themselves, fit neither template exactly, featuring elements, such as invoking the four Gospels, common to both.¹⁸⁰ Even if they were formulaic, this need not preclude contact with law: the code called for the judge to take oaths from parties, even using the term *condiciones* for the written records of them, and in this sense, the vocabulary of dispute settlement had legal origins.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁵ SJS.78; *cf.* LV 3.6.2.

¹⁷⁶ ACL.706; *cf.* LV 4.2.14.

¹⁷⁷ ACL.437; *cf.* LV 8.4.29.

¹⁷⁸ ARO.2; *cf.* LV 5.7.8; PMH.216.

¹⁷⁹ LV 12.3.15, 12.3.28.

¹⁸⁰ *cf.* FV 39.

¹⁸¹ LV 2.1.23, 2.1.25. Preserved: ACL.34, ACL.192; CAS.1; ACO.25; SMP.2; SMV.10-11; CDA.15. Referenced: ACL.669; OLD.31; SLM.109; CEL.260; PMH.183, PMH.225.

The legal principle of a tariff for physical injury is similarly reflected in charters without explicit citation. While Todemiro admitted in 964 that, on the road from Sahagún to Melgar, he stabbed Albaro *fratre* in the arm, causing it to wither, and in compensation made a testament of land to the monastery, more often the penalty is first calculated monetarily, as by law, before its conversion into property.¹⁸² In 991, for example, Fredino and his wife Leobina gave Flaíno Muñoz and his wife Iusta various goods for the *plagam* (wound), valued at ten *solidi*, done by their son Hermegildo to Ssegudo, and in 1008, another Fredino sold Pedro Flaínez and his wife Bronildi a *villa* for the *livores* or bruises, judged at 100 *solidi*, which he made on Vicenti, who also paid the count for the injuries inflicted by him; both terms are drawn from the legislation, although in both cases the penalty goes not to the injured party, as prescribed, but the count.¹⁸³ Algaestre likewise gave land to Fruela Muñoz and his wife Amuna in 1012, because he had kept María in her home and *lancavit* or struck her, leaving bruises valued at thirty *solidi*, and indeed, forcible confinement features in the law on valuation; Lupi confessed in 963 to causing *cedes* (damages) worth thirty *solidi* at the house of Helyas and Sabildi, *presbiter* and *seror*, and also to setting it on fire, valued at sixty *solidi*, potentially calculated under arson law.¹⁸⁴

Destruction of property has comparable legislation, and in a dispute involving Sahagún in 978, the monastic *mandator* argued on behalf of a *tenente frater* that he had held a mountain possession *in suos scriptos* for over thirty years before Magito ploughed it presumptuously, the term *presumptive* present in pertinent legislation against cutting trees and claiming land within the boundaries of other property.¹⁸⁵ When Abbot Salito founded and endowed Hiniestra in 947, indeed, a clause was added by Fernán González that anyone who cut trees on its estates should be fined, and if at night put *ad carcerem ad partem comitis*, reflecting the harsher legal penalties

¹⁸² SAH.218; LV 6.4.3.

¹⁸³ OLD.31, OLD.75-6; cf. OLD.107; SLM.72.

¹⁸⁴ OLD.163; ACL.360; cf. LV 8.2.1.

¹⁸⁵ RCV.3; cf. LV 8.3.1, 10.3.4.

for night-time crime.¹⁸⁶ In 1022, similarly, Donum and others compensated Pedro Flaínez for felling trees on his mountain, as well as for creating a clearing and shifting the *arcas petrinias* or boundary stones, damage valued at 300 *solidi* and specifically addressed by laws on illegal cultivation and disrupting property landmarks.¹⁸⁷ But think about the testament of Fredesindo and family to Eslonza from 950: it includes *bustos* or pastureland (normally containing stables for animals), and on its dorso two laws on injury to or death of livestock in the charge of another have been written out entirely, implying that they regulate ownership of such property.¹⁸⁸ While *bustos* may seem straightforward, they clearly had some legal resonance; the testament has no explicit citation, nor any readily obvious implicit citation, but someone (the hand is different) read relevant law in it, and copied that onto the reverse. We need to be imaginatively sensitive to just how legal a charter might have seemed, just how many legal connections, with all their implications, those who wrote or heard charters might have made. These *bustos* were potential sites of litigation in just the terms envisioned by law: Vegilio and his wife Gunterodo delivered a vineyard to Fruela Vimarédiz and his wife Adosinda in 995, for the sheep, geese, and pigs injured while entrusted by Fruela to Vegilio.¹⁸⁹ Other cases deal more generally with reparation for damage to property, but one in 1022 may reference a particular provision against damaging gardens, and another in 1008 record the legal punishment of destruction by fire.¹⁹⁰

Charters speak legally because their writers do, and thereby recycled norms originating in written form into society more generally. Silent citation is an advanced stage in the process whereby conceiving of transactions and disputes, and making the decisions involved in them, had come to be shaped by law, such that reference to it became habitual practice. When charters cite ‘custom’, therefore, it refers not to an ancient authority alternative to the written world, but

¹⁸⁶ SMC.46; *cf.* LV 7.2.16, 7.2.23.

¹⁸⁷ OLD.149; *cf.* LV 10.1.13, 10.3.2; OLD.121.

¹⁸⁸ SPE.24; *cf.* LV 5.5.1-2.

¹⁸⁹ OLD.40.

¹⁹⁰ OLD.128; CEL.311; *cf.* LV 7.2.17, 8.2.1, 8.3.2; PMH.179; CEL.80; *cf.* LV 10.1.11 [?].

simply to the recurrence of various pragmatic arrangements, including documentary processes and local privileges.¹⁹¹ The basic sense of *consuetudo* and its synonyms is any established and accepted practice, and when applied specifically to documents it affirms that literacy itself had become customary: Silus Lucidi *confessor* recalled in 960 how Abbess Elaguntia had founded a monastery and confirmed a testament of endowment to it, acting *ut mos fidelium extat*, while Didacus and his wife Ildoncia named Gunteroda as the prior owner of a property in 959, which they had acquired, *sicut mos esse solet*, by making each other charters of exchange.¹⁹²

Custom is relevant here because it could mean legislation as well, and this usage, far from representing an alternative source of rules and regulations or the corruption of Visigothic law, testifies to the internalization of written legal norms and their absorption into the language of habitual conduct.¹⁹³ According to an *agnitio* of San Pedro de Rocas from 1007, its founder Gemonius discovered the site when searching for the customary *venatum* or hunting for the *nobiliores*, but the confirmation of the original foundation charter of Alfonso III by his successors was also deemed customary, under the *lex gotica* and *gotorum libri*, citing the law that sons should confirm documents of their fathers.¹⁹⁴ Custom in other cases is a silent legal citation, such as the twofold penalty laid down, *qualiter est consuetudo*, in the sanction clause of a Castilian sale from 950, or the division of water of the Torío into equal halves, as is customary, in 925; both practices may have become normal, but they derive from legislation.¹⁹⁵ The same applies explicitly to canon law, when Rapinatus and his wife Celedonia admitted in

¹⁹¹ SLM.84, SLM.101; CEL.85; SDC.58; SDC.60; SMC.67; CEL.215; CEL.52; PMH.138; cf. C. Humfress, 'Law and Custom under Rome', in A. Rio (ed.), *Law, Custom, and Justice in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2011), pp. 23-47; W. Brown, 'The Use of Norms in Disputes in Early Medieval Bavaria', *Viator*, 30 (1999), pp. 15-40.

¹⁹² SLM.87; PMH.77; Kosto, 'Documentary Practices', pp. 259-60; cf. PMH.61, PMH.240.

¹⁹³ P. Miceli, 'El derecho consuetudinario en Castilla. Una crítica a la matriz romántica de las interpretaciones sobre la costumbre', *Hispania*, 63/213 (2003), pp. 9-27; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 41-2; Martínez Díez, 'Fueros', pp. 286-8; J. Alvarado Planas, 'El problema de la naturaleza germánica del derecho español altomedieval', in *VII Semana*, pp. 121-47; Casado de Otaola, 'Escribir y leer', pp. 141-8; C. Petit, 'Consuetudo y mos en la Lex Visigothorum', *AHDE*, 54 (1984), pp. 209-52.

¹⁹⁴ SPR.1; cf. LV 2.5.4.

¹⁹⁵ SPC.69; SAH.33; cf. SDC.43; PMH.76; Pastor, *Resistencias*, pp. 97-100.

977 that they had drunkenly broken down the *portas ecclesie* of a *decania* of Sahagún and murdered a *frater*, prompting an agent of Ramiro III to seize all their property, *ut consuetudo est secundum quod veritas docet per canonica sententia*, perhaps a silent citation of homicide law too.¹⁹⁶ Theodonandus *archipresbiter* narrated similarly in 902 how prior priests of San Esteban de Calvor had, amongst other crimes, failed to make a pact as is the custom of all monks and clerics and which *instituta est canonum* and *sanctorum norma docet apostolorum*, even quoting Scripture to found this ‘pactual tradition’ on another written authority; the *mores monasticos* reportedly governing the contemplative life of Abbot Manila in 1002 may refer to the same, if not to a monastic rule.¹⁹⁷ Custom becoming law is the sign of law becoming custom: whether or not all, or any, silent citations would have been recognized generally, legislation had come to frame transactions and disputes to the point that it no longer needed, or possibly even involved, conscious invocation. Visigothic law was the right way; many probably never realized the degree to which they lived in the world of its text.

Alfonso V issued the *Fuero de León* in 1017, confirming, supplementing, and revising the laws of the Visigoths. Consider the significance: all his predecessors had retained the laws of their predecessors in order to gain the legitimacy which their observance conferred, but he aimed at a legislative reassertion of royal power, mediated through the continued theoretical and practical relevance of the code, speaking the familiar language of power.¹⁹⁸ And yet it was the scribe who spoke this language the most fluently, however familiar to society as a whole. The source of the expertise lying behind the rhetorical, pragmatic, silent, and legislative citation

¹⁹⁶ SAH.287; cf. SAH.183 [S/F].

¹⁹⁷ SJS.10; CEL.263.

¹⁹⁸ ACO.41; *Fuero*, pp. 117-39, 155-72; Martínez Díez, ‘Fueros’, pp. 296-308; A. García y García, ‘Concilios y sínodos en el ordenamiento jurídico del reino de León’, in *RL*, i, pp. 385-6; J.M. Pérez-Prendes y Muñoz de Arracó, ‘La potestad legislativa en el reino de León’, in *RL*, i, pp. 502-17, 527-45; Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal, ‘Derecho’, pp. 236-74; Prieto Prieto, ‘Potestad’, pp. 552-8; F. López Alsina, ‘Reyes y obispos en el reino de León’, in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 95-8; cf. Rodríguez Fernández, ‘Monarquía’, pp. 385-92; *idem*, *Los fueros del reino de León* (2 vols., León, 1981), ii, no. 2, pp. 14-23.

of the Visigothic law in charters is the same figure responsible for their creation – and their dissemination. Coincident with the stabilization in the personnel of writing, or the consolidation of the scribal profession, in the late tenth century, therefore, was the greater use of written law by kings and aristocrats, amidst a documentary tradition which had always featured regular reflection of legal principles. Royal diplomas of the late tenth century onward are more notable than before for their deployment of the law to justify seizure of property from rebels and homicides, while aristocratic charters from the same period employ the text similarly to legitimize profitable interference in the prosecution of adultery: as scribes became not only technicians but also advisors, offering expertise on written authorities, and as employers came to recognize the potential at their disposal, both passed a milestone in the progress of power.¹⁹⁹ The historiography urges us to believe that writing is power, and the writers the powerful, but pause and think: each time that a scribe read out a charter citing the law, explicitly or implicitly, legal knowledge was diffused more broadly – past, current, and future users of documentation had a better idea of the written norms at their disposal, a better idea of what to ask of the scribes whom they hired. And with a network of scribes operating at every level of society, from royal court to rural village, there was always not just provision but competition as well. Although the west is where the densest legal culture can be found, it is in the charters now collected at León and Otero that we encounter the densest concentrations of identifiable scribes, and the most legal citation directly benefitting their employers.²⁰⁰ Kings and aristocrats had need of scribes for their skills, but they had much to offer in return; the presence of alternatives would have translated into competition for patronage and limited the power of any given scribe. But in

¹⁹⁹ Casado de Otaola, 'Cultura escrita', pp. 46-7, 53-5; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 211-28; Davies, 'Lordship', pp. 23-6; J.M. Mínguez, 'Justicia y poder en el marco de la feudalización de la sociedad leonesa', in *Settimane XLIV*, i, pp. 491-548; *idem*, 'Pervivencia y transformaciones de la concepción y práctica del poder en el reino de León (siglos X y XI)', *SHHM*, 25 (2007), pp. 15-65; M. Pérez, 'Rebelles, infideles, traditores. Insumisión política y poder aristocrático en el reino de León', *HID*, 38 (2011), pp. 361-82.

²⁰⁰ cf. E. Portela Silva, 'Galicia y la monarquía leonesa', in *RL*, vii, pp. 12-41; V.Á. Álvarez Palenzuela, 'La nobleza del reino de León en la Alta Edad Media', in *ibid.*, pp. 208-39; Estepa Díez, *Estructura*, pp. 240-54.

scribes marketing their services, we can perceive how the Visigothic law came to be more than the written framework of social practice, and supplied the words for the powerful to articulate their authority.

If the documentary practice of the laity centred on observation and exploitation of the Visigothic law code, ecclesiastical habits revolved around the Bible, canon law, and monastic rules. Scriptural citation was the great legitimizer, providing the words and images to explain donations and defend transactions in recognizable terms of salvation history, and in doing so it offered a theology of the text, sanctifying the written record. Canon law was the handbook for clerical life, ordering the person as well as property, yet its specifics are seldom in evidence; counterintuitively in a world of clerical scribes, the canons occupied the background of general norms, for the most part supplementing the application of secular law. Monastic rules, in turn, were the rulebooks, but it was that quality of ruling, rather than their contents, which mattered. Ecclesiastical documentary practice, above all, meant living by written models and standards, even identifying as and embodying written rules. What significance did this have for the wider world of the laity? By delineating the mental framework of the clerical scribe, we can begin to imagine what he brought to those for whom he wrote. The presence of a text, the precise details of a text, neither counted for anywhere near as much as the fact of a text. Scribes emerged from textual communities, they lived by textual terms, and the documentation which they produced transformed communities into a society defined by written norms. The network of texts within which the charters are situated is a reflection of and a model for the scribal mind.

i. Scriptures

The Bible itself is the most recurrent element of the network of texts encompassing the charters of early medieval Iberia. Despite or perhaps because of its ubiquity, this has attracted

little comment beyond the introductory.¹ Scriptural citation may be found in 622 (16%) of the total corpus of charters, from the earliest survivals of the eighth century onward; in the Leonese period, when the sample size is sufficient for reliable figures, the incidence fluctuates within a narrow range of 10% to 20% and tends to stability.² This resembles the pattern for charters citing other charters, and underscores the singularity of legal citation becoming more common over time. Scripture is cited slightly more often in the west, slightly less in the east; at the archival level, it is much more frequent at Samos, Santiago, Oviedo, Leire, and San Juan, much less at Otero, San Vicente, Albelda, Cardeña, and San Millán. The first group of archives all have notorious problems of authenticity, and indeed Scriptural citation is more common amongst suspicious, interpolated, and falsified documents; the practice is accordingly at its most regular in single-sheet copies, those most prone to forgery. Otero stands out, in contrast, for the lowest incidence of citing Scripture, and the collection, mostly authentic originals, is principally a lay archive, pointing to a crucial correlation: the rate is greatest for royal and comital diplomas, in their typically more elaborate rhetorical composition, and approximately the overall figure for ecclesiastical charters, but it is virtually zero for records of lay transactions. Scriptural citation is therefore a feature of ecclesiastical documentary practice, in which laymen participated only insofar as they engaged with the clergy in business transacted in written form; it was not typical of transactions amongst the laity, even though they were documented by clerical scribes. There follows a greater frequency in donations, for which the Bible supplied the linguistic armature; it is cited most in pious gifts, especially if taking effect *post mortem*. We often find Scripture in royal confirmations and monastic pacts, but seldom in sales, the lay transaction.

Editors of charters have not consistently identified or even marked Scriptural citations. I have done so myself for the entire corpus, to the degree possible: contemporary scribes had

¹ e.g. J.I. Fernández de Viana y Vieites, 'Aproximación a las citas bíblicas en los documentos gallegos medievales', in *Jubilatio. Homenaje de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia a los profesores D. Manuel Lucas Álvarez y D. Angel Rodríguez González* (2 vols., Santiago de Compostela, 1987), i, pp. 229-37.

² See figs. 55-7.

199 passages of the Bible at their disposal, 112 of them from the Old Testament, notably the Psalms, and 87 from the New Testament, primarily the Gospels and most of all Matthew.³ The centrality of the Psalter to education and the liturgy and the rarity of the complete Biblical text compared with the four Evangelists are factors in this selection, and the Psalms will have been accessed as often through breviaries, antiphonals, and other liturgical books which favour quoting them as through the Psalter itself.⁴ The citation of Scripture, as a component of the legitimizing rhetoric of the charter, has two functions: to ground the motivation for the transaction in authoritative Scriptural text, either in the inspiration asserted in the preamble or the salvation sought in the exposition, and to provide for the condemnation of any who violated it through invocation of exemplary punishments. As with the law, common citations may be formulaic, but however retrieved, from models or memory, they drew from the authority of the Bible, and to be effective, they must have been made comprehensible to listeners. This combining of charters and Scripture ultimately had the effect of sanctifying the written record itself, and use of Biblical images of judgement by the book in the sanction clause only intensified the tendency. The outcome was an understanding of sin as a personal charter, the documentary evidence which determined salvation, and this mentality, as much the Roman cultural inheritance, explains the respect for the text in early medieval Iberian society.

The first function of Scriptural citation is to frame the reason for the transaction, most often in the preamble, where it can be contextual or more specifically inspirational, and feature literal or adapted quotation.⁵ General references invoke the Bible as a concept and ascribe the impetus for an action to the gift of divine law, and the divine law which inspired donors was

³ See fig. 58; cf. Fernández de Viana y Vieites, 'Aproximación', pp. 235-7; ACL, i, pp. 409-10; LPC, pp. 969-70.

⁴ Casado de Otaola, 'Escribir y leer', pp. 123-8; V.E. Rodríguez Martín, 'Los salmos bíblicos como enseñanza en el *Manual de Dhuoda* (s. IX)', in *Latín III*, ii, pp. 447-56; Riché, *Education*, pp. 463-5; P.-M. Bogaert, 'The Latin Bible, c. 600 to c. 900', in *Bible*, pp. 69-92.

⁵ A. García y García, 'Contenidos canónico-teológicos de los diplomas leoneses', in *RL*, vi, pp. 13-62; Laffón Álvarez, pp. 157-72; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 88-91; L. Agúndez San Miguel, 'Memoria y cultura en la documentación del monasterio de Sahagún: la respuesta de las fórmulas inútiles (904-1230)', *AEM*, 40/2 (2010), pp. 871-4.

Biblical text. When Osorio Díaz made a gift of property to Sahagún in 986, the charter cited as one of its boundaries *inde per Sancta Cruce minos LX stadios sicut lex docet*; subtracting sixty stades is meaningless here in practical terms, but represents, according to the Gospel of Luke, the distance from Jerusalem to Emmaus, as if to say ‘and take off sixty stades for divine law’.⁶ The lessons of the Apostolic *lex omnis et beatus*, or the *legem santam* as preached by the clergy, are the Scriptural framework underlying the acts of donation and testament, invoked in general terms (‘the Bible says...’).⁷ The charter of Aurisindus to Santiago de León in 1011 identifies its inspiration as hearing the oracles of divine Scripture, a recurrent phrase which declares the source of the language of motivation to be Biblical text; in this sense, such general references are textual citations.⁸ When Galindo Aznárez I gave property to Siresa in 833, he said at the outset that *divina admonet Domini scriptura*, while a monastic pact of 818 proceeds by the edict of the Apostles; making an inventory, Abbot Offiloni and companions *sacrum meminimus evangelium* in 872.⁹ As with divine law, there is a periodic equivalence between documentation and Scripture, reflecting this link: the property donated by Fruela *presbiter* and two clerics to a monastery of San Juan in 787 is placed *sub scripture sancte*.¹⁰

Scriptural citation contributes the language for conceptualizing, expressing, and indeed legitimizing the inspiration for acts of giving. The range of passages cited is exceedingly wide, but a few recur so regularly that they should be understood as the base to which the rest were added, in more or less common combinations varying by region and institution, or on occasion even customized uniquely for one text. The first of these basic citations is of I Chronicles 29:14, ‘Everything comes from you and we have given you only what comes from your hand’, at once revealing the potentially indirect means by which scribes could become familiar with Biblical

⁶ SAH.331; *cf.* Luke 24:13.

⁷ SJS.10; ACA.252; *cf.* SJS.3.

⁸ ACL.698; ACM.7; *cf.* ACL.445, ACL.512, ACL.617.

⁹ ACH.3; FLO.27; SJS.8; *cf.* SMV.11; SJS.19, SJS.93.

¹⁰ SLM.1; *cf.* SJS.80, SJS.S9.

language: in the Vulgate, the verse opens *tua sunt omnia*, whereas it begins *tua sunt enim omnia* in the documentation, a slight difference reflecting the text of the *Breviarium Gothicum* in the Visigothic-Mozarabic liturgy.¹¹ Contemporary scribes all seem to have been ecclesiastics, and a liturgical point of contact with Scripture at one remove or by proxy is logical, indicating how an authoritative text need not actually be present to structure behaviour and expression.¹² This citation occurs on its own across early medieval Iberia, especially at Samos, but also León and Sahagún: when Francius *diaconus* founded and endowed a church in 834, for instance, he cited the passage as his motivation to serve the Gospel and Prophetic dogma, just as when Vermudo and Gudinus, two priests, donated half a *villa* to Valdevimbre in 937, they recorded how they had heard the voice of the Lord and referenced a paraphrased version of the text.¹³

Cognate passages from both the Old and New Testaments could be added to this citation in order to broaden or intensify the stated inspiration. Charters from Sahagún do so especially, but not exclusively, complementing it with text reproducing or reflecting Numbers, the Psalms, Luke, and Hebrews on offering to the Lord, praising God, and reciprocal giving and receiving, with the monastic scriptorium showing a predilection for the Psalter in this context.¹⁴ The usage of I Chronicles 29 is not restricted to one passage, however, for the whole chapter concerns the building and endowment of the Temple by David, which provided the textual model for early medieval Iberian donation. A testament of 1013 to the monks of Parameno, for instance, cites the Scripture of the Lord, ‘Lord our God, all this abundance that we have provided for building you a temple for your Holy Name comes from your hand, and all of it belongs to you’ (verse 16), while Sarracina, a religious, making a gift in 987, invoked verse 18, ‘Keep these desires and thoughts in the hearts of your people forever, and keep their hearts loyal to you’, accessed

¹¹ *Breviarium*, ‘Cantica Mozarabica’, no. lxiv, p. lxxxvii.

¹² cf. Stock, *Implications*, pp. 88-92.

¹³ FLO.41; ACL.115; cf. e.g. ACL.93; SAH.39; ACA.87; ACO.42; SJS.35-6; PMH.169.

¹⁴ SLM.84, cf. Numbers 15:3; SAH.128, cf. Psalms 50:10-12; SAH.228, cf. Psalms 84:4; SAH.298, cf. Psalms 137:8; ACL.236, cf. Luke 12:33-4, Hebrews 11:13.

again via the breviary text rather than directly in the Bible itself.¹⁵ This is most in evidence in Leonese charters, particularly from Abellar, which are framed by all three passages in various combinations; here scribes evidently had a working knowledge of the liturgical text, and knew from prior charters to use it in donations.¹⁶ There are no examples in the east, and fewer from the west, combining these verses with other Scriptural passages in a distinct tradition.¹⁷

The second basic citation is Psalm 76:11, ‘Make vows to the Lord your God and fulfill them’, and although ubiquitous it is characteristic of charters from the west. Imiloni Hamita, following the advice of the Psalmist, quoted the text verbatim in a testament granted to Sahagún in 961, and this verse is used as standalone justification for donation more than any other, especially at Samos and Lorvão.¹⁸ The superstructure of passages added onto it is vast but reducible to a schema of recurrent pairings with rarer supplements. We find Proverbs 3:9, ‘Honor the Lord with your wealth’, combined with it in two charters from Sahagún and another from Sobrado, to which a verse of Deuteronomy and the familiar I Chronicles 29:14 are further additions.¹⁹ The first and second basic citations, indeed, were often joined together, markedly in preambles at Sahagún and Astorga.²⁰ In the examples from Sahagún, this coupling could in turn be combined with Proverbs 3:9, clearly a ‘secondary citation’, and one or more additional passages.²¹ Across the documentation, alternatively, they could be paired with assorted verses from the Old and New Testaments, including I Chronicles 29:18, another secondary citation, and complex clusters of excerpts from the Psalms, Isaiah, and Ezekiel on sin and death; both patterns occur in León as well as the west in that distribution of local usages in non-contiguous

¹⁵ ACL.712, ACL.520; *cf.* *Breviarium*, ‘Cantica Mozarabica’, no. lxiv, p. lxxxvii; ACL.526, ACL.852 [I Chronicles 29:16]; ACL.835 [I Chronicles 29:18].

¹⁶ ACL.341, ACL.469, ACL.487 [I Chronicles 29:14, 18]; ACL.515 [I Chronicles 29:16, 18].

¹⁷ SLM.101, *cf.* I Chronicles 29:11, Proverbs 15:8, Luke 11:41; SDC.56, *cf.* I Chronicles 29:11-2, Jeremiah 10:6; PMH.99, *cf.* I Chronicles 29:14-5; ACL.621, *cf.* I Chronicles 29:15.

¹⁸ SAH.190; *cf. e.g.* ACL.491; COV.1; SMV.24; SJP.30; COR.101; SDC.22; SJS.23; SLM.1; CEL.3; PMH.1.

¹⁹ SAH.130; SAH.192, *cf.* Deuteronomy 16:16; SLM.71.

²⁰ *e.g.* SAH.144; ACA.135.

²¹ SAH.165, *cf.* Psalms 49:7-8; SAH.164, *cf.* Deuteronomy 16:16, Psalms 50:12; SAH.114, *cf.* Sirach 35:11, I Thessalonians 4:14.

areas resulting from the circulation of scribes and their models.²² These secondary citations are also typically the gateway to less common passages, and Psalm 76:11 is rarely referenced with the latter but not the former. A donation by Bishop Froilán to Santiago de León in 1006 paraphrases Deuteronomy and Micah on giving thanks and offerings to the Lord, before running the Psalm together with the parallel text of another, ‘Sacrifice thank offerings to God, fulfil your vows to the Most High’ (50:14); the habit is most common in Leonese charters, and could reflect the organization of scribal memory, linking thematically cognate verses.²³

Scriptural citation may therefore be visualized hierarchically. At the top, basic citations provide the common language of donation; joined at times amongst themselves, these are then connected to an intermediate rank of secondary citations, acting as way-stations to the bottom level of progressively rarer ‘tertiary citations’. This hierarchy also fits the complexity of scribal practice: the three strata of recurrence stand for the stages of universal, regional, and individual in the interaction between standardization and the scribe. Whereas all writers of charters would have been familiar with the basic citations, they divided according to local practice as to secondary citations, and each had their own tertiary citations according to personal choice and the particularities of each career; as a model for how such a large set of citations could be managed in practice, it also captures how a communal stock of borrowed expression played off against regional and individual variation to create a language of giving by written inspiration and motivation. The last basic citation confirms this point. Luke 6:38, ‘Give and it will be given to you’, is the verse most obviously relevant to pious donation, and is found on its own in León and Portugal, such as in the preamble to a gift by Lazaro *presbiter* to a monastery of Algañefe

²² SAH.219, *cf.* Psalms 89:28; SDC.43, *cf.* Sirach 1:4; COR.94, *cf.* Jeremiah 13:16; SAH.381, *cf.* Psalms 115:17-8, Isaiah 1:18, Ezekiel 18:32; PMH.222, *cf.* Genesis 3:15, Job 7:6, Psalms 90:4, Wisdom 7:6; CEL.199, *cf.* I Chronicles 29:15; SAH.261, *cf.* I Chronicles 29:15, Psalms 115:17-8, Isaiah 1:18; PMH.152, *cf.* I Chronicles 29:15, 18; ACA.11, SPM.2, PMH.138, *cf.* I Chronicles 29:18; PMH.200, *cf.* Hebrews 11:13.

²³ ACL.658, *cf.* Deuteronomy 26:11, Micah 6:6; SJS.21, *cf.* Genesis 1:26; SDC.67, *cf.* Exodus 35:29, Psalms 50:14, II Timothy 2:22; CEL.326, *cf.* Matthew 16:24.

in 1005, introduced by the words *monet enim Dominus dicens*.²⁴ Yet the practice is not shared in neighbouring regions, as if straightforwardly emanating outward from one point of origin or model; shared local habit consists instead in making the same selection of Scriptural passages at distinct and diverse sites, whether through coincidence or by the happenstance of scribes and models circulating, and organizing this shared textual resource for use in similar ways.

Local practices at odds with straightforward diffusion can be seen in the combinations of Luke 6:38 with other Biblical texts. At the disparate houses of Sahagún, Samos, Celanova, and Lorvão, it is frequently paired with I Chronicles 29:14, and so in a donation of Visclafredus *sacerdos et abba* from 904, these references are attributed respectively to the Lord and David *dicentes*, quoting Luke verbatim but reproducing the liturgical version of Chronicles, while in a testament from Repparatus and Trasvinda to Bishop Rosendo in 936, the donors *recte cum propheta clamemus*, here paraphrasing Luke but citing Chronicles directly from the Vulgate.²⁵ Comparable geographical disparity applies to pairing the two citations with I Chronicles 29:18, which occurs only at Astorga, Castañeda, and Celanova: a donation from Gutinus *frater* to San Salvador de Calvos in 1021 attributes the third to *dicens Prophetam* erroneously, since it comes from an historical rather than a prophetic book, but perhaps the term meant the Old Testament in general.²⁶ Regions have particularities: at Celanova, the first and second basic citations are combined with other New Testament verses, while at León, the first is cited together with others in I Chronicles 29, and once with Matthew 7:7, ‘Ask and it will be given to you; seek and you will find; knock and the door will be opened to you’.²⁷ There are like combinations of the first and third (run into Psalm 50:14) with other secondary citations at Astorga and León.²⁸

²⁴ SPE.31; *cf.* ACL.405, ACL.720; VEG.1; ACA.145; PMH.5.

²⁵ SJS.S1; CEL.52; *cf. e.g.* SAH.22; ACA.84; SJS.71; CEL.65; PMH.8; ACM.1.

²⁶ CEL.350; *cf.* ACA.32, ACA.35, ACA.121; CAS.7.

²⁷ CEL.304, *cf.* Matthew 10:37; CEL.18, *cf.* Revelation 11:15; ACL.535, ACL.594, ACL.775, *cf.* I Chronicles 29:16, 18; ACL.489, *cf.* Matthew 7:7.

²⁸ ACL.539, ACL.545, ACL.689, ACL.697, *cf.* Psalms 50:14; ACL.554, *cf.* Psalms 50:14, I Chronicles 29:16; ACA.171, *cf.* Matthew 7:7.

Across the documentation, Luke 6:38 can be found with other Gospel texts, but also in more bespoke form at Coimbra in a dispute settlement *pro a servitio* dating to 1025. On various *mancipas* being made *liberas et ingenuas*, the charter cites this and similar texts on generosity, but also the topical Isaiah 58:6, ‘Loose the chains of injustice and untie the cords of the yoke, to set the oppressed free and break every yoke’, a more particular motive for a more particular donation.²⁹ The verse is also paired with Luke 18:22, ‘Sell everything you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me’, but this is more often cited in isolation, in León and Portugal; a testament by Adosinda *ancilla Christi* to Guimarães in 961 has the donor designate herself as *compunctam divina ammonicione et firmati ex promissione qua dicit* before quoting the text.³⁰ Luke as a whole is cited with noteworthy density at Santiago and San Juan.³¹ In keeping with this shared yet individual practice, the three basic citations are combined only once, in a testament of two religious, Cartamirus and Vidirilli, to Samos in 958: *sigillatim per ordinem recitata*, the donors had come to know the Scriptural words.³²

Such is the pattern. The Gospel of Matthew is by far the most densely cited book after the Psalms, and numerous verses on faith and devotion underpin preambles or expositions, on their own, in sundry combinations, or paired with cognate passages from Luke.³³ Donation, as an act of worldly self-denial, could be explained and justified by Christian exhortations such as Matthew 16:24, ‘Whoever wants to be my disciple must deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me’, which founders of a monastery in the Liébana invoked in their pact of 918; elsewhere it occurs in both isolation and combination, as do related verses of this Gospel.³⁴

²⁹ PMH.258, *cf.* Psalms 146:4, Isaiah 58:6, Matthew 5:7; SAH.77, *cf.* Matthew 7:7; SJS.39, *cf.* Mark 10:43-4.

³⁰ PMH.82, *cf.* Luke 18:22; ACL.256; SPM.3; ACL.696, *cf.* Luke 6:38, 18:22.

³¹ SJP.48, *cf.* Luke 19:46; SDC.45, *cf.* Luke 11:41, Proverbs 15:8; SJP.53, *cf.* Luke 16:9, Psalms 116:12.

³² SJS.25.

³³ ACL.627, *cf.* Matthew 5:12; ACL.651, *cf.* Matthew 6:21, 24:42; OLD.21, *cf.* Matthew 10:37; SSO.17, *cf.* Matthew 15:37; PMH.76, *cf.* Matthew 22:14; CEL.69, CEL.190, CEL.197, *cf.* Matthew 25:40; SJS.75, *cf.* Matthew 26:29; CEL.349, *cf.* Matthew 7:7, 10:9, 10:37-38, Luke 6:38; CEL.196, *cf.* Matthew 10:32, Luke 14:33; SMV.7, *cf.* Matthew 10:37, 16:24, Luke 18:22.

³⁴ STL.24, *cf.* Matthew 16:24; *cf.* ACO.7; CEL.57, *cf.* Matthew 16:24, Philippians 3:18; STL.34, *cf.* Matthew 19:29; STL.7, *cf.* Matthew 19:29, Sirach 3:33.

The transience of life as motivation for generosity is another frequent theme of charters, in the warning of Matthew 24:42, ‘Therefore keep watch, because you do not know on what day your Lord will come’, most often complemented with passages on generosity and its rewards.³⁵ At the opposite end of the spectrum, however, are the many Scriptural verses cited only once or a few times, which reflect the potential for individuality in documentary composition as well as an evidently considerable dissemination of the Biblical text. Some are immediately relevant to the transaction, such as Deuteronomy 12:6 on offerings, sacrifices, tithes, and gifts, quoted *tali auditu et sermocinatione prophetica* in a donation to San Vincenzo de Pombeiro of 964.³⁶ Others less so: when Hermegildo *diachonus* adapted the exchange between God and Moses in Exodus 3:14-15 (‘I am who I am’) for the preamble to his nomination of testamentary executors in 936, he was grounding the act in not a Biblical parallel but Scriptural language of authority.³⁷ The pairing of rare verses is common in Leonese charters, and some enjoyed brief vogues in certain scriptoria, such as Ezekiel 33:11 and John 12:35 on good and evil, as *lex canit et dicit*, in three donations, by different scribes, to Santos Justo y Pastor between 983 and 990.³⁸

Both the text and the selection of Biblical passages can be a guide to the sources through which they were known. When Bishop Fortis restored and endowed San Dictino de Astorga in 925, the charter cited Genesis 4:7, ‘If you do what is right, will you not be accepted? But if you do not do what is right, sin is crouching at your door’, matching the wording not of the Vulgate but the *Vetus Latina Hispana*, its predecessor in Iberia.³⁹ More indirectly, a number of monastic pacts and donations in the centre and east quote groups of verses, mainly from the Gospels and Acts, which tally with those in the *Regula Monastica Communis* of Fructuosus of Braga, one

³⁵ ACL.333, *cf.* Matthew 24:42; ACL.413, *cf.* Matthew 24:42, Psalm 49:10; ACL.276, *cf.* Matthew 24:42, Luke 18:22; SJS.69, *cf.* Matthew 24:42, 25:11-2, 25:34-36, John 11:26.

³⁶ SVP.2, *cf.* Deuteronomy 12:6; SAH.285, *cf.* Deuteronomy 16:16; SAH.245, *cf.* Psalm 137:8; CEL.318, *cf.* Sirach 1:4; SAH.330-31, SAH.407, *cf.* Isaiah 1:18; CEL.76, *cf.* Isaiah 58:6; ACA.10, SJS.10, *cf.* Acts 4:32; PMH.56, *cf.* Genesis 2:18.

³⁷ ACL.109, *cf.* Exodus 3:14-15; ACL.280, *cf.* Proverbs 25:2; ACO.1, *cf.* Isaiah 58:6; ACL.75, *cf.* Zachariah 5:7; ACM.6, *cf.* Romans 13:12-13.

³⁸ ACL.490, ACL.493, ACL.536.

³⁹ ACA.28, *cf.* Genesis 4:7.

of the foundational texts of monasticism in the Peninsula, and its attached template agreement; these evidently served as models, and citing the ‘Scriptural selection’ of Fructuosus combined the authorities of a text and a name.⁴⁰ Yet some citation is so manifold and bespoke that it must have involved firsthand consultation of a Bible. This is conspicuously the case at Celanova, the Savile Row of its age: in 942, the endowment charter of Bishop Rosendo cited at least 25 verses in the preamble, building on the base of the Fructuosan rule to range much more widely in the Old and New Testaments.⁴¹ Other major donations by figures of high status, including relatives of the founder, to say nothing of the testament of Rosendo himself, offer comparable displays; such contexts called for another order of Scriptural citation, probably to perform this status as much as explicate the act.⁴² But class is not everything: the sole comparison from elsewhere is an obscure donation by Eldoara and children to the church of Tudela in 864, which cites nine verses of Scripture for contextualization, most of them heavily paraphrased as if recalled from memory.⁴³ The individual and the incidental contributed to the rhetoric of the text.

Scriptural citation at the end of the exposition or in the confirmation, in contrast, more commonly expresses hope for salvation in reward for the act of donation, and in this sense is where the charter comes closest to describing a sort of gift-exchange with God. From the first cases, such as the testament of Alfonso II from 812, absolution of sin before divine judgement,

⁴⁰ ACL.824 [S/I?], *cf.* John 10:30, 14:9, Acts 7:49, Luke 18:22; SAH.257, SAH.402, SDM.9, *cf.* John 10:30, 14:9, Acts 7:49, Luke 18:22, Matthew 16:24; SDM.1, *cf.* John 10:30, 14:9, Acts 7:49, Luke 14:26, 18:22, Matthew 10:37, 16:24, Mark 10:29-30; SPA.8, SPA.21, *cf.* John 10:30, 14:9, Matthew 10:37, 16:24, 19:28, Mark 10:28; SDM.10, *cf.* Psalm 66:12, Lamentations 3:27, I Corinthians 10:24, Matthew 7:14, 16:24, 19:17.

⁴¹ CEL.72, *cf.* John 1:1, 5:7, 10:30, 14:9, I Corinthians 13:12, Deuteronomy 4:24, 33:16, I Timothy 1:14, Colossians 2:14, Luke 2:7, 16:9, 18:22, Philippians 2:8, Revelation 14:4, Job 7:20, 16:7, 25:5-6, Psalm 44:23-4, 121:4, 143:2, 144:2, Zephaniah 1:15, Isaiah 34:9, Ezekiel 33:11, Matthew 10:32-33; García de Cortázar and Agúndez San Miguel, pp. 257-62.

⁴² CEL.268, *cf.* John 10:30, 14:9, Acts 7:49, Luke 12:49, 14:26, 18:22, Matthew 10:37, 16:24, 19:27-9, Sirach 3:33, Psalm 37:27; CEL.53, *cf.* Psalm 73:28, 76:1-2, 11, 77:11, 141:2, I Chronicles 29:14, Matthew 10:37, 16:17, 24, 25:31-46, Genesis 28:17; CEL.185, *cf.* Luke 6:38, Matthew 5:3, 10:32, 19:29, 25:40, Job 7:20, I Corinthians 6:10, Mark 10:44; CEL.242, *cf.* Psalm 19:9, Sirach 1:16, Proverbs 1:7, 9:10, 19:17, Luke 18:22, Matthew 19:29, Mark 10:29-30; CEL.376, *cf.* Genesis 1:22, 26, 2:18, 23, 34:9, Jeremiah 29:6; Díaz y Díaz, ‘Testamento’, pp. 72-84.

⁴³ SMV.3, *cf.* Psalm 50:5, 105:4, Isaiah 56:1, Tobias 13:8, Luke 18:22, I Timothy 6:18, John 13:35, 15:14, Matthew 25:35; Davies, *Acts*, pp. 106-9.

eternal life, and attainment of the Kingdom of Heaven are recurrent themes.⁴⁴ Biblical passages appearing here typically concern trusting oneself to God, as in charters from León and Lorrvão alluding to II Corinthians 10:18, 'For it is not the one who commends himself who is approved, but the one whom the Lord commends'.⁴⁵ Looking to future reward or punishment, repenting of evil, and embracing the Christian promise, all these attitudes figure in the Scriptural citations encountered; a donation by Bishop Pelayo to Celanova in memory of his father the *dux* Rodrigo in 982 quotes Philippians 1:21, 'For to me, to live is Christ and to die is gain'.⁴⁶ And Judgement Day loomed: anxiety as to individual verdicts is apparent in the regular and diverse mention of it, especially in the centre. Osorio Díaz was particularly graphic when he made a donation to Sahagún in 986 in order to ensure his reward on the day when the Lord judges the world through fire, while the charters of Santo Toribio, immediately after introducing the names of the donors, routinely and explicitly reference fear of God and of Judgement Day as motivating factors.⁴⁷

Sanction clauses spoke to the same anxiety, threatening potential violators of the terms of transactions with condemnation, punishment, or obliteration at the last examination, most of all in charters from León and Sahagún.⁴⁸ When Zaton gave himself to Abbot Severus of Abellar in 943 to be led before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, he was echoing a prayer for salvation used in confirmations, but also in sanctions threatening damnation: a favourite formula at San Martín de Turieno vowed that the violator would appear before this tribunal with the donor.⁴⁹ Drawing on the parable of the sheep and the goats, confirmations often describe salvation as standing on the right side of the Son of Man, whereas sanctions frequently define condemnation as sharing

⁴⁴ ACO.2 [I/F]; *cf.* SDC.48, SAH.342, SAH.345.

⁴⁵ ACL.576, PMH.194, *cf.* II Corinthians 10:18; *cf.* ACL.427, *cf.* II Corinthians 10:18, Acts 14:23; SJS.54, ADC.2, *cf.* II Corinthians 10:18, James 5:16.

⁴⁶ CEL.190, *cf.* Philippians 1:21; CEL.263, *cf.* Micah 7:11-3, Ephesians 2:11-22, Acts 5:29, I Corinthians 7:20; SJS.87, *cf.* Ezekiel 3:19, 18:32, I Chronicles 29:14-5.

⁴⁷ SAH.330; STL.44; *cf. e.g.* STL.50; ACL.701; SAH.29; SPE.26; SLM.50; COV.7.

⁴⁸ *e.g.* ACL.24; SAH.175-6; SPE.9; SPM.1; SDM.2; SPC.24.

⁴⁹ ACL.177; STL.51-5; *cf. e.g.* SAH.336; STL.5; ACL.873; CEL.120.

the lot of the reprobate on his left, both recurrent usages at Sahagún.⁵⁰ But granters everywhere hope to be found worthy of hearing the great, sweet, or (at Astorga) mellifluous voice speaking the text of Matthew 25:34, ‘Then the King will say to those on his right, “Come, you who are blessed by my Father; take your inheritance, the kingdom prepared for you since the creation of the world’.⁵¹ When the *infante* Ramiro granted a donation to Valdevimbre in 918, however, he vowed that any violator would be recognized and receive according to his works on that day when all will hear this verse.⁵² Deprivation of its comforting words also features in a handful of Leonese and Galician sanctions, and some charters from Samos complement it with another Gospel injunction to store up treasure not on earth but in heaven.⁵³ Nunnu Nunniz and his wife Vida went a step further in their testament to San Cebrián de Noceda of 1005, asking that any who infringe it should, instead of Matthew 25:34, hear a terrible voice uttering Matthew 25:41, ‘Then he will say to those on his left, “Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels’, and this verse is cited on its own in documents from both the west and east.⁵⁴ The end of time, as written in Scripture, offered a powerful framework to justify as well as defend charters: as they were read out, with their Biblical citations, all who listened also learned the words which they could expect to hear again in that future.

The Bible is rich in cautionary tales, and for this reason it is the key textual resource for the sanction clause.⁵⁵ The prototypical traitor was Judas Iscariot, and his presence here is nearly universal: to take one archive, his fate for betraying Christ or the Lord figures in seventeen of 33 charters of Eslonza.⁵⁶ Yet the ubiquity of references to Judas, and their general quality, also

⁵⁰ e.g. SAH.130, SAH.132; cf. COR.96; ACL.75; SAH.164-5; SDC.54; García y García, ‘Contenidos’, p. 99. See Matthew 25:31-46.

⁵¹ e.g. ACL.543; ACA.111; SDM.8, STL.76; SJS.54; CEL.190; cf. Matthew 25:34.

⁵² ACL.47.

⁵³ ACA.24; SDC.67; COR.110; cf. SJS.86, SJS.91, SJS.96, cf. Matthew 6:19-20, 25:34, I Chronicles 29:14-5.

⁵⁴ ACA.131; cf. Matthew 25:34, 41; ACA.241. SLM.126; COR.54; SJP.5.

⁵⁵ García y García, ‘Contenidos’, pp. 63-84; Mattoso, ‘Sanctio’, pp. 407-22; Agúndez San Miguel, ‘Memoria’, pp. 880-87; cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 61-9, 235-6; A. Gómez Rabal, ‘Lengua especializada en documentos latinos catalanes de la Alta Edad Media: una amenaza bíblica’, in *Latín IV*, pp. 553-63.

⁵⁶ SPE.3, SPE.5, SPE.8-12, SPE.16, SPE.19, SPE.22-3, SPE.25-7, SPE.29, SPE.33.

situate their textual origins at some remove; as with vague invocations of the Last Judgement, it is a Scriptural image which has become internalized. Many other Biblical warnings, however, are invoked more specifically, figures less familiar whose fates are documented in the ultimate written record, and can help to safeguard its mundane manifestations. The most often cited are Dathan and Abiram, who were swallowed up alive along with their associates and possessions when the ground beneath them split apart and the earth opened its mouth: this fate is threatened in sanction clauses across early medieval Iberia, as well as in the *condiciones sacramentorum* sworn on the authenticity of certain testaments to Guimarães in 1014.⁵⁷ The practice is common to the early medieval west, suggesting a shared late Roman origin; certainly the citations seem formulaic, varying little and likely copied from prior charters. Variations are limited to adding Korah, associate of Dathan and Abiram, linking them to Judgement Day, or citing them obliquely – threatening absorption alive by the land but naming no names.⁵⁸

Another Scriptural sanction is the threat of *anathema maranatha* in I Corinthians 16:22, ‘If anyone does not love the Lord, let that person be cursed’, common to Iberia and especially at Samos.⁵⁹ If it be objected that the content of Biblical citations, particularly this one with its fossilized Aramaic vocabulary, must have passed most hearers by as mumbo jumbo, characters and concepts without meaning, parties to charters had an interest in seeing that its mechanisms of deterrence worked, and here an effort was made in the text to clarify it. At Astorga and in Portugal, the *anathema maranatha* was followed up with *id est duplici damnatione damnatus* or ‘damned by a double damnation’, theologically blunt but adequate to get the point across; other charters from León, Astorga, and Celanova favoured *duplici perditione dampnatus* or

⁵⁷ Numbers 16:31-2; cf. Numbers 26:9-10, Deuteronomy 11:6, Psalm 106:17. e.g. ACL.27; SAH.22; OLD.21; ACA.11; SPM.2; ACO.2 [I/F]; SVO.20; SDM.6; STL.5; SPC.11; ADC.2; SPA.2; SSO.17; SMV.4; SJP.56; SSL.9; COR.29; SDC.24; SJS.65; SLM.30; CEL.2-3; CDA.15; PMH.5.

⁵⁸ ACL.83; SAH.418; F.-M. Beltrán Torreira, ‘Algunas reflexiones en torno a las figuras de Coré, Datán y Abirón en las fuentes hispano-visigodas’, *Helmantica*, 40/121-123 (1989), pp. 183-94; J. Beneyto Pérez, ‘Sobre las Fórmulas Visigodas. “Judas, Datán y Abirón”’, *BRAH*, 101 (1932), pp. 191-7.

⁵⁹ e.g. ACL.176; ACA.8; SPM.7-13; SID.8-9; CAS.7; OLD.20; VDJ.5; SSC.1; SPC.45; SDS.2; ACP.2; SJS.8; CEL.18; CDA.vii; COR.94; PMH.9; García y García, ‘Contenidos’, pp. 93-5.

‘a double perdition’, and elsewhere in León *confusio dupla* or ‘confusion’.⁶⁰ House styles jostle with individual variations to clarify the words: Sobrado, for instance, opted for the distinctive *abhominatio vel perdictio in adventum domini* in the donations of Bishop Sisnando, but equated the curse to Matthew 25:41 in a testament of Gutier Munionis from 1023.⁶¹ Scriptural citations explained through one another is a sure sign of a framing network of texts, and one Portuguese charter of 1021 identifies *anathema maranatha* as 72 maledictions, an unattested definition but a number with resonance, in Luke 10:1, ‘After this the Lord appointed 72 others and sent them two by two ahead of him to every town and place where he was about to go’.⁶²

These cases are broadly shared across Iberia, in contrast to the markedly regional use of a third Scriptural sanction, Psalm 128:5-6, ‘May the Lord bless you from Zion; may you see the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life. May you live to see your children’s children – peace be on Israel’. From the late tenth century, many Leonese charters, but few from Galicia, warn potential violators that they stand not to see what good things there are in Jerusalem, nor the peace in Israel; the testament of Alfonso II in 812 is exceptional in praying that the king see them.⁶³ In a similar vein is II Kings 5:27, “Naaman’s leprosy will cling to you and to your descendants forever.” Then Gehazi went from Elisha’s presence and his skin was leprous – it had become as white as snow’. In the early tenth century, the sanctions of numerous Leonese texts, and a few in the east, threaten sharing the fate of the leper Gehazi.⁶⁴ Scriptural sanctions come and go, here and there: in León in the early eleventh century, a favourite text, especially of the scribe Fulgentius *presbiter*, was Job 24:18, ‘Yet they are foam on the surface of the water; their portion of the land is cursed, so that no one goes to the vineyards’.⁶⁵ First at Arlanza

⁶⁰ ACA.11, *cf. e.g.* ACA.32; PMH.178. ACL.329; *cf. e.g.* ACA.45; CAS.4; CEL.350. ACL.574, *cf. e.g.* SPM.2; ACA.121; SPE.6, SPE.9.

⁶¹ SLM.82, *cf.* SLM.88, SLM.97-8. SLM.126. See also PMH.28; ACO.41.

⁶² PMH.249.

⁶³ *e.g.* ACL.415; SDC.54; COR.110; CEL.349; VEG.3; SPE.3; OLD.30; ACO.2 [I/F]; García y García, ‘Contenidos’, pp. 99-100.

⁶⁴ *e.g.* ACL.5-6; ACA.24; SPM.7-12; CAS.2; SPC.11-2; SPA.3-4; SDM.20; SSC.1.

⁶⁵ ACL.701, ACL.733, ACL.737, ACL.747, ACL.754, ACL.770, ACL.815, ACL.830, ACL.847.

and Cardeña in the early tenth century, then at Coimbra, Lervão, and Guimarães in the mid-tenth to the early eleventh, a popular choice was Job 3:8, ‘May those who curse days curse that day, those who are ready to rouse Leviathan’, inviting violators to join him in the abyss.⁶⁶

Also like fashions, the choices are not always expected. Sodom and Gomorrah, the most obvious case of Scriptural vengeance, are in the sanctions of few authentic charters, diffuse in space and time.⁶⁷ The rather less noted Gospel parable of the tree which bears no fruit shares a similarly random distribution, while the sudden deaths of wrongdoers Ananias and Sapphira are invoked in just two charters from San Pedro de Siresa and one in León, and the drowning of Pharaoh in the Red Sea in only a pair of donations to Abellar.⁶⁸ If there is a rule, it is variation, and originality lies in mixing and matching available options. There are far fewer bespoke sanctions than preambles: the standout is a testament to Cardeña from 963 with at least ten Scriptural citations (most of them unique), which scarcely seems substantial enough to warrant it.⁶⁹ Other examples, citing cautionary figures such as Nathanael, Jeroboam, and Jonathan, boogymen like Simon Magus and the Antichrist, or meaningful numbers such as the Twelve Apostles, Twelve Prophets, and Four Evangelists, occur rarely, and only in the east.⁷⁰ Few cases, overall, quote atypical passages: the donation of Abbess Fernanda to Samos in 1011, for instance, raises the spectre of being informed, as in the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25:12, “‘Truly I tell you, I don’t know you’”.⁷¹ The efficacy of the sanction clause derived precisely from its reliance on more familiar and recognizable threats.

⁶⁶ SPA.2, SPA.5-6; SPC.42. PMH.68, PMH.100, PMH.138, PMH.191, PMH.241.

⁶⁷ Genesis 19:24-5; *cf.* ACL.554, ACL.887; SSO.17; SMC.64, SMC.67; PMH.5.

⁶⁸ García y García, ‘Contenidos’, pp. 101-2; Matthew 3:10, 7:19, 21:19, *cf.* Mark 11:14, Luke 3:9; *cf.* OLD.30; CDV.3; COR.96; ACO.42. Acts 5:5, 10; *cf.* ACH.7, ACH.9; ACL.109. Exodus 14:27-8, *cf.* Exodus 15:1-21, Psalm 136:13-5; *cf.* ACL.618, ACL.821.

⁶⁹ SPC.110, *cf.* I Samuel 4:4-18, 22:9-23, Psalm 52:1-7, Genesis 4:15, Jeremiah 22:19, Deuteronomy 11:6, 28:29, Joshua 6:20, 8:24-5, 10:28-39, 11:14, Ecclesiastes 12:6, Exodus 14:26, Isaiah 14:5.

⁷⁰ SPA.22; SMC.67; SJP.13, SJP.32, SJP.34. See also SAH.400; PMH.201; AME.1; García y García, ‘Contenidos’, pp. 84-92.

⁷¹ SJS.75; *cf.* CEL.1, *cf.* Deuteronomy 28:20; SPA.11.

Particular interest attaches to the citation of the Book of Moses and the Book of Life in sanctions, for appealing to the authority of the written word as attested in the Bible to defend the integrity of the written word as instanced in charters.⁷² When Gundisalva made a donation to Abellar in 998, she asked that all maledictions recorded in the Book of Moses befall any who violated it, clearly alluding to the comprehensive catalogue essayed in Deuteronomy, and this formulation, with little variation, is amply attested, especially at Samos.⁷³ But the curse of the Psalmist, ‘May they be blotted out of the Book of Life and not be listed with the righteous’, is the more popular imprecation, distilling the admonitory power of a recurrent Scriptural image, the written record of our sins.⁷⁴ In Leonese charters written by Fulgentius in the early eleventh century especially (but not exclusively), violators are threatened with deletion of their names or erasure of their memories from the Book of Life and not being recorded with the just; Bishop Pedro, endowing a church of Santa Eulalia in 995, even prayed to be *conscriptus* in it.⁷⁵ Appealing to the authority of books via the authority of the Book is the origin of the sanctified charter, the Scriptural contribution to the literate framework of social practice, for sin manifests in turn as a written record expressed in the language of charters.⁷⁶ At León, Astorga, Celanova, and Portugal, donors acted *pro abolenda delictorum nostrorum cirografa*, or in hope of erasing the chirograph of their sins, to gain admittance into the heavenly realm of the living.⁷⁷ If scribes knew their Scripture as often through the liturgy and prior charters as from the text itself, they nevertheless wove passages of it together in complex combinations creating local theologies of

⁷² García y García, ‘Contenidos’, pp. 100-101, 108-9.

⁷³ ACL.580, *cf.* Deuteronomy 27:9-26, 28:15-68; ACL.548, ACL.550; ACA.10; SSC.1; COR.110; COR.94, COR.96; CEL.187, CEL.349; SJS.10, SJS.25, SJS.30, SJS.33-5, SJS.37, SJS.44, SJS.48, SJS.75, SJS.78, SJS.86, SJS.91, SJS.96, SJS.S2, SJS.S9.

⁷⁴ Psalm 69:28; *cf.* Exodus 32:32-3, Psalm 56:8, 139:16, Isaiah 4:3, Daniel 7:10, 12:1, Malachi 3:16, Luke 10:20, Philippians 4:3, Hebrews 12:23, Revelation 3:5, 13:8, 17:8, 20:12, 15, 21:27.

⁷⁵ COR.110; *cf. e.g.* ACL.300; SAH.404; ACA.111; ACO.28; SPA.2; SMC.137; SDC.61, SDC.68; COR.132; STL.76; SMA.3; AME.1.

⁷⁶ Casado de Otaola, ‘Escribir y leer’, pp. 128, 123-6; García y García, ‘Contenidos’, pp. 119-28; *cf.* C. Rapp, ‘Holy Texts, Holy Men, and Holy Scribes: Aspects of Scriptural Holiness in Late Antiquity’, in Klingshirn and Safran (eds.), pp. 194-222.

⁷⁷ CEL.90; ACL.413; *cf.* ACL.425, ACL.543, ACL.770, ACL.723; ACA.111, ACA.252; CEL.236; PMH.201.

donation and retribution; predicating pious gifts and punishments on Scriptural example made the documentation itself a selective transmitter of the Bible and its norms.⁷⁸ The result of citing Scripture in charters was the passage of the Scriptural authority of the written record into a developed theology of the sanctified charter as one with the final and ultimate text.

ii. Canons

Scripture is complemented by canon law as a further source of religious regulation for social practice. Here the text in use was the *Hispana*, the seventh-century assemblage of Church councils of the Visigothic period, which like the *Lex Visigothorum* formed part of the cultural inheritance of early medieval Iberia; after the Arab conquest, indeed, the Council of Coyanza in 1055 was the first held in the Christian kingdoms to leave written acts.⁷⁹ Citation of canon law differs in two aspects from citing charters, secular law, or the Bible. First it is less common, but not because the *Hispana* addresses issues of property likely to crop up in charters less than the *Lex Visigothorum*; it is full of rulings on managing the endowments of religious institutions, yet its penalties are expressed in spiritual sanctions (if not as simple prohibition), limiting its use in accumulating property by confiscation. Secondly, canonical citation almost exclusively takes the form of implicit and general allusion, instead of direct and explicit quotation: although all the charters are the work of religious scribes, it is difficult to pin down what, if any, passage they had in mind when citing their own body of regulation. The practice has received a cursory treatment in the historiography, confined to surveys of canon law in the sanction clause.⁸⁰ Only the canonical origin of the *sagrera* or area of ecclesiastical jurisdiction around certain monastic and church foundations in early medieval Catalonia has been studied in detail.⁸¹

⁷⁸ García y García, 'Contenidos', pp. 110-13.

⁷⁹ García y García, 'Concilios', pp. 356-60; *idem*, 'Legislación de los concilios y sínodos del reino leonés', in *RL*, ii, pp. 10-20, 30-34; Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal, 'Derecho', pp. 363-80; *Fuero*, pp. 141-52, 173-83; *Legislación*, pp. 73-86.

⁸⁰ García y García, 'Contenidos', pp. 92-102, 110-13; Mattoso, 'Sanctio', pp. 408-10, 422-8.

⁸¹ V. Farías, R. Martí, and A. Catafau, *Les Sagreres a la Catalunya medieval* (Girona, 2007), pp. 17-35.

Canonical citation occurs in 120 (3%) of the total corpus of charters, performing a range of functions broadly comparable to legal citation, including provision of norms for donations, definition of property rights in foundations, and authorization of action in disputes; there is also considerable overlap with referencing the Visigothic law, present in 57 (48%) of this subset of documents.⁸² The earliest citation of canon law comes in an interpolated text of 745, but during the Leonese period, when the numbers are large enough to yield reliable trends, the incidence is stable at a rate of under 5%, showing none of the tendency of legal citation to overall increase. There is the same regional pattern of distribution, however, as in all other types of textual reference, but exaggerated: most frequent in the west, particularly at Celanova, Samos, Santiago, and in Portugal, and much less common in the centre and east, with no instances at Cardeña and Otero, and few at Sahagún and San Millán. Like Scriptural citation, canonical citation correlates with inauthenticity (and transmission by single-sheet copy), as a recurrent element of later rhetorical enhancement of charters; this accords with higher rates at Samos and Santiago, and lower rates at Cardeña and Otero. The case of Otero, indeed, points toward a crucial correlation with type of personnel involved: canon law is most common in royal diplomas, specifically those granted to members of the clergy, and amongst ecclesiastical charters the incidence is greatest in those concerning clerics alone. The total lack of canonical citation in lay charters (the bulk of the Otero material), and the ordinarily more elaborate comital diplomas, could not be a more striking contrast; citing canon law, like Scripture, is a distinctively ecclesiastical documentary practice, with which the laity came into contact only insofar as they engaged in transactions with the clergy. Canonical citation occurs more often in complex charters characteristically involving clerics and kings: donations, especially those recording circumstantial or contextual detail or taking effect *post mortem*, and confirmations, dispute settlements, and monastic pacts, where it had clear relevance. Virtually never is it

⁸² See figs. 59-61.

encountered in sales, the typical lay transaction, and this section consequently treats a second ecclesiastical contribution to the use of charters.

Comparison with secular law is instructive: not only is the canonical significantly lower than the legal citation rate, but the range of passages cited is much narrower as well. Editors of charters have made little attempt to identify citations of canon law. While I have corrected for this by doing so myself, the list which I append is more of an index of possibilities, because most such references are decidedly – and intentionally – general.⁸³ The overall situation seems to be of a clergy conservative in use of canons, perhaps reflecting a less receptive audience for them, in contrast to a laity whose engagement with Visigothic law was dynamic. When canon law is cited to provide norms of practice, therefore, it is more in the vein of ‘living canonically’ than by a canon and uniformly in the context of monasticism. When Baltarius *presbiter* donated all his property to San Miguel de Piñeira in 951, for example, he addressed those who will pursue the monastic life there *per regulam et canonicam sententiam secundum iussa patrum priorum*, and the brothers of Samos are periodically said to persevere in the *normam sanctorum canonum*.⁸⁴ Living canonically was binding: Abbot Salamirus left San Andrés de Congosto to his heirs *in timore canonicarum*, just as Iquilo visited the monastery of Santa Baia and verified all to be in order there, *sicut canonum docet*, before donating to it.⁸⁵ Endowments and transfers of monastic foundations enjoin future occupants to live by the canons, to remain *per regula canonica* as in a Portuguese charter of 994.⁸⁶ When Bishop Maurus of León commended the churches between the Eo and the Masma to a certain Betotti sometime in the late ninth century, directing the *plebs* to comply faithfully in all things *prout canonicam docet sententiam*, one wonders if he had a more specific norm in mind, conciliar legislation on taxation of Galician

⁸³ See fig. 62; *cf.* ACL, i, p. 410.

⁸⁴ SJS.23; SJS.35, SJS.86, SJS.96; *cf.* SJS.87; CEL.199.

⁸⁵ CEL.261; ACM.6.

⁸⁶ PMH.169; *cf.* FLO.41; PMH.28; SPM.4.

churches.⁸⁷ And while another donation by Abbot Endulfo to Guntosalbo *ad kanonum vel ad usuris* could refer more specifically to canons on ecclesiastical usury, the point is that the general form of canonical citation in confirmation is a flourish *pro forma*, the general *pro auctoritate canonum* wrapping up an *agnitione* in favour of Samos from 966.⁸⁸

This regulation of religious communities by canon law, even if notional, can further be seen in sanction clauses, threatening potential violators with the *canonice sentencie* or *kanonica sententia*.⁸⁹ On rare occasions, these specify spiritual punishments within ecclesiastical remit, such as penance or anathema.⁹⁰ But altogether more common is the hybrid represented in two charters from Celanova, which pronounce that, *per canonicam et godigam sententiam*, any who infringe them must pay *quod lex imperaverit*, or repay what they have stolen *ut eis lex canonica ordinaberint*.⁹¹ They run together canon and secular law, grafting the tangible penalties of the latter onto the rhetorical authority of the former.⁹² The twofold and threefold fines known from Visigothic law accordingly reappear in this context: the sanction to a donation by Fredenando Nuniz to San Miguel de León in 1021 mandates that the *disruptor aut intemerator* recompense double the *villa* involved according to the *sacrum canonem et lex godice*, as well as paying two gold talents to whom the *speculatorem legem* has awarded them.⁹³ Consider the testament of Vermudo II to San Pelayo de Oviedo in 996, which provides a twofold penalty *sicut lex codicet disnuciat et kanonica censura confirmat*.⁹⁴ Insofar as the *Hispana* contains any such legislation, it is a passing application of a secular penalty to the scenario of bishops who name relatives or favourites to positions of authority over religious institutions from which they steal property.⁹⁵

⁸⁷ ACL.16; cf. VII Toledo 4.

⁸⁸ SDM.19; cf. Elvira 20, Tarragona 3, II Braga 62. COR.73; cf. CDA.15; ACL.798; ACA.10; SDM.3; PMH.222; SMV.11.

⁸⁹ SDC.14; ACM.2.

⁹⁰ SJS.87; CEL.3.

⁹¹ CEL.171, CEL.91; cf. SVO.1 [I].

⁹² cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 53-4; Humfress, 'Judging by the Book', pp. 155-8.

⁹³ ACL.781; cf. STL.20; CEL.185.

⁹⁴ SPO.1.

⁹⁵ X Toledo 3; cf. ACO.32, ACA.214, citing only canon law.

The sole case of explicit and specific citation of canon law is in the sanction to the substantial donation by Abbot Vermudo to Samos of 1009, but is vexingly fragmented and obscure: against his own haughty and reprobate *familia*, seemingly, the donor pronounces *sicut Liber Goticus ... in canone Libro Toletano a capite LXI, LXXVII sententia ... ipsa ... Martini*.⁹⁶ The last points us toward the Second Council of Braga, held by Bishop Martin, which is also one of only two to have issued so many canons, but no *sententia* under either number at any council corresponds with the charter.⁹⁷ Whatever the correct reference, the uniqueness of this case speaks to the supporting role of canon law, secondary to secular law, in providing sanction.

The standard context for canonical citation is when establishing the property rights of monasteries and churches, and yet here it reveals a curious transitional state between Visigothic and future conciliar legislation. As in Catalonia, the *dextros ecclesiae* or privileges enjoyed by a religious institution over the surrounding area originate in X Toledo 10, ‘On those who seek refuge at a church’, which specifies a perimeter of thirty *passus* around its doors within which a fugitive may have sanctuary; the premise is echoed in the *Lex Visigothorum*, but without any precise figure.⁹⁸ When Visclafredus *sacerdos et abba* endowed a monastery of Rosende in 904 with its church, appurtenances, and 72 *dextros* around it, *sicut lex et veritas docet*, we see this principle in practice – both the number and the unit of measurement used, however, differ from the source text.⁹⁹ A Portuguese charter of 882 employs the term *pasales*, related to *passus*, and cites both *kanonica sententia* and *lex*, yet here the grant is of 12 *pasales* for burial of bodies and 72 for support of the brothers and the poor; this total of 84 is also echoed in two testaments from the west which use the word *dextros* instead.¹⁰⁰ When Ordoño I granted a monastery to Bishop Fronimio of León in 860, he included canonical *dextros* of unspecified number for

⁹⁶ SJS.69.

⁹⁷ II Braga 61, 77; cf. Elvira 61, 77.

⁹⁸ X Toledo 10; cf. LV 9.3.1, 4.

⁹⁹ SJS.S1.

¹⁰⁰ PMH.9; SJS.10; PMH.233.

burying bodies and supporting brothers; in a generation, these *dextros* had become standardized at 12, 72, or 84.¹⁰¹ Looking ahead, in 1055, the Council of Coyanza confirmed the *dextros ecclesiae*, with reference to Visigothic law, but at 31 *passus*, and the next year, the Council of Compostela guaranteed 72 *dextros* around every church to be free from lay interference.¹⁰² Early medieval Iberia is somewhere in between Visigothic source and high medieval revision: charters continued citing this canon on property rights, with all its attendant rhetorical authority, even as the substance of it was evolving in practice.

No other case of referencing canon law in this context has even that close a relationship. Charters from León and Celanova cite the *lex gotica* and *sanctorum canones* on the fifth of free disposition, while another from Galicia invokes the *canonica sententia* on the tenth required in dowry, but these are provisions of secular law to which the canonical citation contributes only rhetorical support.¹⁰³ Mention of canon law and episcopal tithes is confined to suspect charters; the *Hispana* solely awards thirds to bishops.¹⁰⁴ The restoration charter of San Esteban de Calvor in 902 criticizes its former custodians for not, as *instituta est canonum*, making a monastic pact amongst themselves, while three cases from Sobrado, Celanova, and Samos ground communal ownership of property and disciplinary submission to the abbot in that which *canonica docet sententia*.¹⁰⁵ Canon law does treat these issues in passing, but only to confirm the provisions of monastic rules which are also cited by the charters; the canons merely offer support.¹⁰⁶

Canon law is more directly, if still rarely, employed to authorize action with respect to property. Bishop Ovecco of León, in his testament to San Cipriano del Condado and Santiago de León from 948, is almost unique for quoting III Toledo 4, ‘a bishop may convert one of the

¹⁰¹ ACL.2; cf. PMH.5.

¹⁰² *Coyanza*, c. 12 (also thirty); *Compostela*, c. 3/1; García y García, ‘Legislación’, pp. 23-30, 42-50; Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal, ‘Derecho’, pp. 367-71, 375-80.

¹⁰³ CEL.190; cf. ACL.681. SCR.1.

¹⁰⁴ CEL.10 [I]; FLO.6 [I].

¹⁰⁵ SJS.10. SLM.11; CEL.4; SJS.11; cf. STL.24.

¹⁰⁶ III Toledo 4; IV Toledo 51.

churches in his diocese into a monastery', and, *kanonica instituta sententie doctum*, donating a church of Santa María for that purpose.¹⁰⁷ The *Hispana* articulates at length the contours of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, ruling on ordination of metropolitans and bishops and delimiting their authority.¹⁰⁸ But when these canons are cited, it is incidentally, to affirm the existence of dioceses and the fact of episcopal appointments in charters from Santiago, or to contextualize holding a synod seeking *sanctas canonicarum sententias* in a dispute involving Celanova in 1002.¹⁰⁹ Exceptional is the testament of Bishop Rosendo in 977: *euangelica eruditio instructus necnon et canonum decreta compulsus*, he named Abbot Manila his successor and made a disposition of its property, as IX Toledo 1-2 exhorted him to do as the founder.¹¹⁰

There is a closer relationship between canonical citation and content in the maintenance of ecclesiastical property. After the death of a bishop, both canon and secular law require that his successor make an inventory of the property of his church (albeit the former only if he died intestate), lest any of it be lost.¹¹¹ We therefore read how Bishop Somna of Orense *perquireret* the endowment of his see *ut sacros precipuet canones* in 900, finding it all laid waste, but this text turns out to be a much later forgery.¹¹² The same applies to a dispute over the testament of Melic *presbiter*, which claims to quote canon law while shamelessly reversing its force, to the effect that, if any religious die intestate, his property should be divided amongst his nearest relatives rather than preserved for his church.¹¹³ The *Hispana* repeatedly railed against alienation of ecclesiastical property, with extensive support from Visigothic law, and we find these precepts in practice in authentic documents.¹¹⁴ In 1002, for instance, Bishop Fruela

¹⁰⁷ ACL.201.

¹⁰⁸ e.g. I Toledo 12; Tarragona 5; I Braga 6; II Braga 1-10; Narbonne 10; IV Toledo 19; Mérida 4, 6, 8, 11; XII Toledo 3, 6, 8.

¹⁰⁹ SDC.38; cf. SDC.67. CEL.263.

¹¹⁰ CEL.185.

¹¹¹ Tarragona 12; Lérida 16; Valencia 2-3; IX Toledo 9; LV 5.1.2.

¹¹² OUR.2 [F].

¹¹³ SAH.183 [F].

¹¹⁴ II Toledo 4; Lérida 3; II Braga 14-17; III Toledo 3, 19; II Seville 10; IV Toledo 23; VI Toledo 5, 15; IX Toledo 1, 3-6; XIII Toledo 7; III Zaragoza 3; XVI Toledo 5; LV 5.1.

donated to Santa María de León not only *villas* which he had acquired *per auctoritatem canonicam*, but also properties pilfered by a duke *ignorans sacros canones et lex gotica* and subsequently restored by Vermudo II *sicut sacros canones adtestantur*.¹¹⁵ In 853, similarly, Ordoño I restored lands alienated from Samos since the death of Abbot Argericus, *pro eo quod sic docent sancti canones*, while Ordoño II, in an exchange with Santiago in 920, made sure that, *secundum canonum decreta*, it was like for like.¹¹⁶ Another fixation of the *Hispana* is the sacrament of penance as a last rite, subject of continual canonical pronouncement.¹¹⁷ This may explain the case of Senta, who took confession when ill *pro ad morte*; recovering unexpectedly, he joined the clerical order, *per doctrina patrum et normam sanctam*, only to be scammed out of his property. A royal council finally ruled that, *per veram scientiam canonica et lex gotica*, any charter made unwillingly or invalidly has no force, drawing on both secular and canon law to restore it to him.¹¹⁸ Ecclesiastical property was under no circumstances to be lost.

This combining of legal authorities is further attested in cases of adultery and treason. Clerical chastity and adultery were constant concerns of the canons, especially bishops, priests, and deacons fathering children after ordination, with the potential implications for property.¹¹⁹ When Gundisalvo *frater*, deceived by the Enemy, had mixed himself up with a woman in 1006, therefore, Bishop Fruela seized all his property, as the *lex et kanonum* authorized, and donated it to Santiago de León, while the monk fled the diocese.¹²⁰ Canon law supplies spiritual sanction against the act, as VIII Toledo 5, amongst others, charges the bishop to investigate such crimes in his diocese, but secular law states the material penalty, and so is cited in complement. When

¹¹⁵ ACL.629.

¹¹⁶ SJS.4; SDC.31; cf. ACA.173; CEL.1.

¹¹⁷ I Toledo 2; Gerona 9; I Barcelona 6-8; II Braga 82; IV Toledo 54-55; VI Toledo 7-8; XI Toledo 12; XII Toledo 2; XIII Toledo 10.

¹¹⁸ SJS.S9.

¹¹⁹ Chastity: I Toledo 1; IX Toledo 10; cf. Elvira 33; I Toledo 3-6; Tarragona 9; Lérida 5-6, 15; Gerona 6-8; II Toledo 3; II Braga 27, 30-32, 43-44; III Toledo 5; I Seville 3; Toledo 1; Huesca; II Barcelona 4; Egara; II Seville 4; IV Toledo 20, 42-44; VIII Toledo 4-6; III Braga 4. Adultery: e.g. Elvira 7-10, 12-18, 30-31, 47, 63-70, 78; I Toledo 16-17, 19; II Braga 26, 28, 76, 79-80; III Toledo 10; XII Toledo 8.

¹²⁰ ACL.658; cf. ACA.371.

Ramiro II restored Samos in 932, however, after recording the expulsion of prostitutes and the unchaste, he declared it unjust that children born iniquitously of the clergy, *quos condemnat canonum*, should have any stake in the endowment, but should serve it forever instead: a clear citation of canon law, if in a suspicious document.¹²¹ Treason is another theme of the *Hispana*, reflecting the peculiar compact of support by Church for crown begun at III Toledo, sealed at IV Toledo, and renewed at every major council thereafter.¹²² Several charters from Celanova bear witness to Vermudo II seizing property from rebels in accordance with the *canones sancti et lex gotica*, yet whereas Visigothic law is cited, at times specifically, for concrete specifics of punishment, the canons invoked here, perhaps significantly in the plural, are simply reminders that treason is ‘uncanonical’ as well as ‘against the law’.¹²³ Alfonso V also cited both sources in a confiscation recorded in 1017, and interestingly once titled himself *rector per canonum* in 1009.¹²⁴ In such contexts, canonical citation is really a pointer to secular law. In 977, after a drunken home invasion and homicide at a deaconry, Gutinus Zelemi, by royal order, laid hold of all the property of the married perpetrators, *ut consuetudo est secundum quod veritas docet per canonica sententia*.¹²⁵ Canon law confines itself to what ‘rectors’ should do to prevent their subordinates from committing this crime; the ‘end citation’ is Visigothic homicide law, which justifies confiscation, perhaps called canonical because of the clerical context.¹²⁶

As with silent citation of secular law, certain charters and transactions have been shaped by a background presence of the canons. This is most demonstrable for the *dextros ecclesiae*: when Agione *frater* endowed São Martinho de Aldoar with *dextrus* of twelve *passus* for burial of bodies and support of the brothers in 944, he combined canonical vocabulary (*passus*) with

¹²¹ SJS.16 [S?].

¹²² IV Toledo 75; V Toledo 2-5, 7-8; VI Toledo 12, 17-18; VIII Toledo 2; X Toledo 2; XIII Toledo 1-2; XV Toledo; XVI Toledo 10.

¹²³ CEL.221, CEL.223, CEL.246.

¹²⁴ ACL.748, ACL.677.

¹²⁵ SAH.287.

¹²⁶ XI Toledo 7; cf. II Braga 78.

the term (*dextrus*) and measure (twelve) which subsequent practice had standardized, just as Andreas *clericus* set *dextros* of 72 *passos* for Santiago de Toldaos in 849.¹²⁷ Alfonso III granted a church to Santiago in 893 with 84 *dextris* in all directions, adding these two habitual figures together; references to 82 *pasos* or 60 *passales* could be arithmetical errors or subtraction instead of addition.¹²⁸ The point is that, although no canon is cited here, a practice originating in text has been internalized. Charters from Eslonza, Samos, Celanova, and Coimbra which mention *dextros* or *dextros ecclesie* without further description have no content or force absent an awareness of this source text: someone had to know it, or at least know that it could be checked.¹²⁹ A discreet canonical presence can similarly be detected in a donation by Alfonso III to Santiago in 869 of a church needing restoration because negligent monks had *illicite* alienated its lands, and the preamble to a charter of 988 which at length justifies selling part of the endowment of Eslonza by narrating the damage caused by a Saracen sack.¹³⁰ In both cases the canonical inalienability of ecclesiastical property hovers just out of sight, but its effect on the transactions, the *illicite* and the narrative, betrays its almost presence.

By the same silent canons, ecclesiastical adulterers could also expect to have the bishop seize their property, and this befell Cazeme *monago* in 980 for fornicating with a daughter of Albaliti, as well as the parents of Bitilo in 952 for handing her over *ad adulterio* to Vidramiro *praepositus*.¹³¹ Abbot Saul may have turned Santa María de Loyo into a brothel, but in none of these instances of punishing clerical adultery does canon law figure explicitly, only implicitly in the evident normalization and internalization of canonical provisions.¹³² Not that these were always obeyed: Taiellus *diaconus* commended his son Revelionem to Riciulfo *presbiter* in 889, but labelling him *quem in peccato meo abui* suggests an awareness of having contravened the

¹²⁷ PMH.54; SJS.3; cf. SJS.5, SJS.21; PMH.8, PMH.63.

¹²⁸ SDC.14; PMH.44; SAH.331 [?]; cf. SJS.72.

¹²⁹ SJS.61; PMH.13; cf. SPE.1-2; CEL.7.

¹³⁰ SDC.6; SAH.340; cf. SAH.386.

¹³¹ ACL.479C; CEL.96 [cf. CEL.125]; cf. CEL.313.

¹³² CEL.29 [I]; Díaz de Bustamante, 'Más imágenes', pp. 182-3; cf. SJS.14; PMH.76.

canons by fathering him.¹³³ Yet silent citation, overall, is hard to find: one or two more possible examples of asserting ecclesiastical hierarchy, but no excommunication, surprisingly given its extensive treatment in canon law as the ultimate spiritual sanction.¹³⁴ When a charter of 1021 threatens the violator with being cursed unto the seventh generation, it is reflecting no canonical *sententia* – if anything, Visigothic law, which defines the seventh degree of relationship as the maximum legally recognizable.¹³⁵ There is a difference of scale as well as function here: canon law, cited explicitly or implicitly, was secondary and supplementary to secular law.

iii. Rules

Monastic rules are the third and last ecclesiastical contribution to the network of texts, and citing them has a broader conceptual significance even as its function is narrower. ‘Regular citation’ invokes one of several *regulae* to establish the written means by which communal life was regulated, and by extension to identify the community itself. The practice has been studied insofar as it documents the progressive substitution during the early Middle Ages of the *corpus regularum*, the set of indigenously Iberian monastic rules inherited from the Visigoths, by the *Rule* of Saint Benedict, imported from without the Peninsula.¹³⁶ Yet whether charters cite the *regula sancta*, the collective term used for any or all of the monastic rules of Leander of Seville, Isidore of Seville, and Fructuosus of Braga, or their replacement the *regula Sancti Benedicti*, the appeal to written regulation is the same, irrespective of content; just as important a dynamic is constancy, in the identification of religious communities with their manuals of practice. The monastic rule became synonymous with the monastery itself, the written with the real, and the

¹³³ ACO.11.

¹³⁴ ACA.192; SJS.27.

¹³⁵ PMH.249; cf. LV 4.1.7; CDA.8.

¹³⁶ A. Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la Península Ibérica* (3 vols., León, 1973), ii, pp. 491-768, iii, app. I.A, pp. 513-61; F.J. Fernández Conde, *La religiosidad medieval en España, I. Alta Edad Media (s. VII-X)* (Oviedo, 2000), pp. 297-346; cf. C.J. Bishko, *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300* (London, 1984), §I-IV; I. Velázquez Soriano, ‘Reflexiones en torno a la formación de un *Corpus Regularum* de época visigoda’, *AC*, 23 (2006), pp. 531-67; J. Freire Camaniel, ‘El Liber Regularum y el Codex regularum del monacato prebenedictino’, in *Homenaje*, pp. 350-58.

origin of this equivalence lies in the peculiar institution of ‘pactual’ monasticism, as outlined in the Fructuosan rule and derivative texts: the relationship between abbot and monks should be founded on and maintained by an agreement specifying their reciprocal obligations.¹³⁷ From contracts to communities is the passage which regular citation ultimately represents, and in this we can find the model for a ‘textual society’, defined by its observation of written rules.

Regular citation occurs in 220 (6%) of the total corpus of charters, more frequently than canonical but less often than Scriptural citation.¹³⁸ The earliest – of the *regula sancta* – appears in a pact establishing the community of San Miguel de Pedroso in 759, and the incidence spikes sharply in the reign of Alfonso III and its aftermath, when numerous monasteries and churches were founded amidst the expansion of the realm.¹³⁹ The rate is fundamentally steady thereafter, as with Scriptural and canonical citation; unlike legal citation, there is no rising trend, nor any outward indication of the Benedictine rule being introduced. The practice is more common in the west and east than in the centre: this corresponds to where the balance of the monastic archives are located, except for Cardena where it is almost unattested.¹⁴⁰ The correlation between regular citation and interpolation or falsification rests on flawed foundations, since editors have often taken invocation of the *Rule* of Saint Benedict at what is perceived to be too early a date as evidence of inauthenticity, running the risk of circularity.¹⁴¹ In the constant medieval updating of texts, which sits uncomfortably with diplomatic analysis, anachronistic insertion of the Benedictine rule is also reasonable to expect, and regular citation is more frequent in copies than originals, especially single-sheet copies, the most prone to tampering. Rules, unsurprisingly, are absent from charters involving the laity alone, another distinctive feature of ecclesiastical documentary practice which also affected those interacting with the

¹³⁷ Linage Conde, *Orígenes*, i, pp. 291-344; cf. Bishko, *Monastic History*, §1; I. Herwegen, *Das Pactum des hl. Fructuosus von Braga* (Stuttgart, 1907).

¹³⁸ See figs. 63-5; cf. García y García, ‘Legislación’, pp. 20-23.

¹³⁹ SMC.1; cf. Martínez Díez, ‘Monasterio’, pp. 27-8.

¹⁴⁰ Pastor Díaz de Garayo, ‘Testimonios’, pp. 365-9.

¹⁴¹ Sanz Fuentes, ‘Lenguaje’, pp. 126-9, 148-52; cf. Linage Conde, *Orígenes*, ii, pp. 559-600.

clergy. They are more consistently present in complex donations, as well as in confirmations and pacts. Regular citation was a form of self-identification which set the clergy apart from the laity, yet as they engaged with each other, it modelled living by contract to wider society.

Of the 220 charters citing monastic rules, some 138 (63%) reference the *regula sancta* while 82 (37%) refer to the *Rule* of Saint Benedict. Contrary to models proposing a progressive ‘Benedictinization’ of early medieval Iberia, the rates of citation have no clear trends over time with respect to each other.¹⁴² Beginning with the ‘holy rule’, the mode and meaning of invoking it varies by region and institution. At Abellar, donations identify the recipients as the monastery and its brothers living *sub regula sancta*, indicating how communal life was regulated, and this is especially the case when the donor was entering that community; we can even see Abellar, in an *exaratio* of 1009, instituting the *recola sancta* in a subject *cella*.¹⁴³ The ‘holy rule’ was a monastic constitution: the monks of Santos Justo y Pastor lived the holy life under it, and other monasteries were *sub sancta regule norma* or *sub recula patrum*.¹⁴⁴ Donations to Sahagún were addressed to those under its abbot and the *regiminis regule sancte*, while monks in Astorga lived *sub regulari monastica* and the bishop, or in houses *ad regularem iugum sibiecti* and *regularia iussa complentes*.¹⁴⁵ When Osorio Gutiérrez occupied a monastery of Santa Lucía in 952, the *lex non continet nec sancta regida docet* his action.¹⁴⁶ Alongside an equivalence between charters and rules, therefore, as in the *regulae testamenti* made to San Dictino in 986, the granting of a gift to a ‘monastery and rule’ of San Cipriano in 985 signals another merging, of institutions with their regulations.¹⁴⁷ If monastic property was held by those living *comuniter vel regulariter*, as in a testament of 870 from Santillana, and the monastic life meant meditating

¹⁴² See figs. 66-7.

¹⁴³ ACL.288, ACL.677; cf. ACL.329, ACL.341, ACL.515.

¹⁴⁴ ACL.432, ACL.295, ACL.674; cf. ACL.109; STL.29.

¹⁴⁵ SAH.255; ACA.214, ACA.45; cf. SAH.30.

¹⁴⁶ ACA.71; cf. FLO.41.

¹⁴⁷ ACA.180; cf. ACA.10; STL.45. ACA.155.

on the *regulam monasterii*, in the words of a rare ecclesiastical document of 988 from Otero, it is fitting that a house regulated by a *regula* should be a ‘rule’ itself.¹⁴⁸

In the east, regular citation is omnipresent at Valpuesta, where the clearest identification of monastery and rule is made. Bishop Diego made a gift of his property in 929, in accordance with the *regula monasterii*, while Tellu *presbiter* joined the *tota collatione qui ibi sunt in ipsa regula* in 952, and his son Munnio *presbiter* confirmed the *regula* which his father had signed in 971.¹⁴⁹ But a shift from citation to identification is most apparent in a charter of 973, whereby Alfonso made a *pacto regule* to the *regula* of Valpuesta and everyone in that *regula* confirmed it.¹⁵⁰ This is nothing less than substantiation of the textual community: signing a pact according to a rule when entering a monastery, monks came to think of themselves and that monastery as a rule. In two *condiciones sacramentorum*, indeed, we perceive the *regula* as both object and agent: witnesses swore that Analso *presbiter* had been given land from the rule of Valpuesta in 911, while others took an oath for the same rule in 919, and Fenesterius *presbiter* confessed to having given his *atrium* to the abbot *vel ad regula sancta*.¹⁵¹ This explains and is explained by the *regulantes* or ‘rule-followers’ of Valpuesta purchasing property in 975.¹⁵² The full range of ‘regular terminology’ is used across the east, with local variation, but most densely here. When gifts to Buezo de Bureba note that the text was transferred to the rule and put in the archives of its church, the rule has gained communal, personal, and even physical attributes.¹⁵³

In the west, regular citation is represented especially well at Celanova. The foundational charter of 936 called for the establishment of a house *sub regulari tramite*, while the testament of Bishop Rosendo in 977 narrated its endowment with everything needed *ad normam regulari*, appointing Abbot Manila *sub regulari iugo*; throughout its history, citing the rule is a feature

¹⁴⁸ SDM.1; OLD.29; cf. SDM.2; OLD.170.

¹⁴⁹ SMV.11, SMV.31, SMV.42; cf. SMV.35, SMV.40, SMV.46.

¹⁵⁰ SMV.43; cf. SMV.33, SMV.39, SMV.48.

¹⁵¹ SMV.8, SMV.10.

¹⁵² SMV.44; cf. SMV.12.

¹⁵³ SMV.20, SMV.24-5; cf. SMV.9, SMV.15; SMA.15-6, SMA.20; SSO.2; SPC.22; COV.6.

of its identity and the identity of its subject institutions.¹⁵⁴ The same applies to the brothers of Samos, who lived *sub regulari norma*, of Sobrado, who *regulariter* pursued the *regulari vita*, and of Portuguese monasteries, who served under the *regule institutionis eius* and *confesionis normam*.¹⁵⁵ The eastern conflation of house and *regula* is absent here except for a donation by Fruela II to the *sancte regule* of Santiago in 924.¹⁵⁶ But monastic life nonetheless meant living by written rules: when Ordoño II visited Portugal in 922, he sent for the bishop Gomadus, who had retired to the monastery of Crestuma, but he would not *exivit de confessione* or re-enter the world, *secundum regula docet*, so the king came by ship to honour him in person.¹⁵⁷

Yet these references to rules are distinguished by a lack of specificity, potentially citing any of the texts comprising the monastic *corpus regularum* since they identify themselves no further. Citation of the *Rule* of Saint Benedict differs, pointing to a single text. The earliest inarguably authentic reference to it is by Alfonso III in an original diploma of 905, confirming the brothers of Abellar in possession of the monastery and its appurtenances, *secundum regula beati Benedicti precipit*.¹⁵⁸ From the late tenth century, one can trace the diffusion of the *Rule* in León through citations of institutions and their inmates living under or according to it: San Andrés de Pardomino and Santa María de León in 985, Santiago de León in 995, San Cipriano de Valdesaz in 1000, San Vicente de León in 1011, and San Miguel de León in 1012.¹⁵⁹ By far the most references come from Sahagún, but these have been interpreted incoherently. Without evident reason, Antonio Linage Conde judges a testament of Scemena in 985 to the monastery and its servants of God, *qui regulam Benedicti patris meditabant*, the first genuine mention of

¹⁵⁴ CEL.53, CEL.185; cf. CEL.52, CEL.69, CEL.126, CEL.190, CEL.197, CEL.199, CEL.263, CEL.318, CEL.360; CDA.7. CEL.3, CEL.95, CEL.196, CEL.292.

¹⁵⁵ SJS.36; SLM.98; PMH.138; cf. e.g. SJS.48; SLM.82; PMH.28.

¹⁵⁶ SDC.34.

¹⁵⁷ PMH.25.

¹⁵⁸ ACL.18; A. Linage Conde, 'Los caminares de la Benedictinización', in *RL*, ix, pp. 44-8, 61-7; cf. A. do Espírito Santo, 'Los benedictinos en el reino de León', in *Monarquía*, i, pp. 713-6.

¹⁵⁹ ACL.506. ACL.507; cf. ACL.770. ACL.568; cf. ACL.592, ACL.617, ACL.658, ACL.698, ACL.803. ACL.594; cf. ACL.775. ACL.697; cf. ACL.723. ACL.709; cf. ACL.777.

the *Rule* here, and therefore the dozen subsequent citations authentic.¹⁶⁰ As editor, José María Mínguez inconsistently considers the twelve prior citations false by this criterion, yet in some cases, such as a charter of 959, the property involved is too exiguous and the donors too well attested for forgery to be credible.¹⁶¹ This argument is both circular and poorly applied.

Assuming a linear replacement of one monastic rule by another is in any event a flawed model. The *corpus regularum*, as the name indicates, was a set of rules: we should expect the Benedictine rule to be added into the mix, not to displace it, and look for reasons of personal choice, audience consideration, or monastic fashion why one or the other was invoked. Bishop Ranulfus of Astorga restored San Pedro de Montes, founded by Fructuosus himself, in 896, and reconfirmed observance of the Fructuosan *regula sancte*, even as he appointed Abbot Gennadius under the *regula beati Benedicti*.¹⁶² In 1006, similarly, a donation was made to the brothers of Sahagún under the *Rule* of Saint Benedict, but they later met, *secundum quod sancta regula docet*, to debate alienating it; the former had come to stand for their identity, the latter for their practice.¹⁶³ Regular citation of the Benedictine rule occurs throughout the charters, but many of the examples are problematic: above all, the cycle of patently forged diplomas from San Millán, San Juan, and Leire recounting how Sancho III imported Cluniac monks to introduce the *Rule* of Saint Benedict into his realm and restore the cooling ardour of divine work in its monasteries, disguises a more complex reality of multiple rules on the ground.¹⁶⁴ An original charter from Eslonza dating to 929, however, documents the founding of a house in which to lead the monastic life, *secundum docet sancti Benedicti regulam*.¹⁶⁵ This is not only

¹⁶⁰ SAH.328; cf. SAH.330-31, SAH.333, SAH.345, SAH.380-81, SAH.386, SAH.407-8, SAH.414, SAH.422, SAH.429.

¹⁶¹ SAH.162 [cf. SAH.94, SAH.164, SAH.266]; cf. SAH.8 [F], SAH.123 (950?) [I], SAH.150 [I], SAH.215, SAH.220, SAH.259 [F], SAH.261-2, SAH.299, SAH.321.

¹⁶² SPM.4; ADA.1 [F].

¹⁶³ SAH.386.

¹⁶⁴ SMC.193 [F]; SJP.47 [I]; SSL.17-8 [I], SSL.20 [F]; cf. SJP.48.

¹⁶⁵ SPE.9.

salutary warning against any date being too early for such regular citation, but also an example of how citation of the Benedictine rule was interchangeable with the other rules.¹⁶⁶

The difference is that the *regula sancta* has a contractual element which the *Rule* does not, and this is what underlies the passage from contracts to communities. Fructuosus of Braga began his *Regula monastica communis* with the stern admonition that no one found a monastery without consulting the congregation and being approved by the bishop, according to the canons and rule (references which are not substantiated); he then described who should be elected abbot and accepted as monks and set out their mutual obligations, the disposition of their property, and the punishments applicable for infractions. Lest any of this, mistakenly, be considered optional, a model pact circulated with it, binding both abbot and brothers to these conditions, which they all had to subscribe; a similar one did with the anonymous *Consensoria monachorum*.¹⁶⁷ The monastery, in other words, was a written contractual community, as the surviving pacts confirm, all with the requisite features of reciprocal responsibility and shared ownership of property. One of the earliest, made in the Liébana in 818, can stand for the rest: the main text, citing the *regula monasterii*, lays out the penalties for fraternal misbehaviour, as well as redress for abbatial misconduct, while in a series of donations appended to the *pacto*, each member of the new house transfers himself to it along with his property.¹⁶⁸

Monastic pacts thereby establish the real and textual community. They are particularly prevalent in the Liébana, and emphasize the authority of the abbot over his monks, citing vague Scriptural and canonical support, to reprove infractions through the harshest measures, *lectam regulam* or having read the rule, and to retain the property of those rejoining secular life, if not forcibly restore them to the monastery.¹⁶⁹ Examples elsewhere are scarcely less authoritarian:

¹⁶⁶ cf. e.g. SID.1-2; ACA.11; SRE.1; ACO.40; CAS.11; SPA.2-4; SPC.43; SDS.1. SMA.21; SMC.186.

¹⁶⁷ RC, cc. 1-5, 18, 20, *Pactum* (refusal of penance is punished by 72 lashes); CM, cc. 1, 4, 8-9; S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 23-4, 147-51.

¹⁶⁸ FLO.27.

¹⁶⁹ STL.56; cf. STL.1, STL.6, STL.24; SDM.10; SAH.79.

the five priests who bound themselves to the *locellum* of Fonte Aurea around 973 did so under an *imperator* abbot, characterizing the relationship as of father to son.¹⁷⁰ For every neutral pact, such as several at Cardeña specifying a sort of collective self-correction led by an abbot who reads and listens to the *maioribus*, there is another insistent that the power, like the property, lay with the institution; when Sonna and his wife Munnina agreed by pact to enter San Cosme y San Damián for a year in 865, it was on condition that, should they transgress the authority of the abbot, they would hand over a field and related lands permanently.¹⁷¹ In the west, similar agreements are to be encountered at Celanova and Samos especially: Bishop Rosendo followed through on one in 955, enlisting the support of Ramiro II to restore Aseredus to the monastery whence he had fled at diabolical urging, just as other authorities re-established regular order in Samos from time to time when pacts were felt to be lacking.¹⁷² The monks, after all, had signed up, affixed their *scriptura vel signa*, their *scripturam vel significati*, and not solely at moments of foundation or donation: the *gasalianes* or ‘house-dwellers’ of Orbañanos renewed their pact, agreed under Abbot Guisandus in 870, with his successor Bishop Diego in 900.¹⁷³ The monastic pact is the product of a world of contracts, and when monks ventured out from their contractual communities to serve as scribes, they brought their ‘pactual mentality’ along with them, feeding it back into a society already accustomed to doing business in written form.

Charters citing the Bible, canon law, and monastic rules are the sounds of ecclesiastics speaking amongst themselves in their own peculiar language, even when the words are put in the mouths of those members of the laity who engaged in transactions with them. As agents or assistants to business done and documented within the framework of other charters, Visigothic

¹⁷⁰ SAH.1171.

¹⁷¹ SMC.1; SPC.14, SPC.95, SPC.167; SMV.4, SMV.25; *cf.* ACL.479; SAH.257; ACO.7; SPA.8-9; SMC.86.

¹⁷² CEL.111; *cf. e.g.* CEL.1-2, CEL.4; SJS.8, SJS.10-11, SJS.19-20, SJS.87, SJS.S1-2; SLM.11; PMH.76; SCR.1.

¹⁷³ CEL.1-2; SMV.5/77; *cf.* SLM.80.

law, Scripture, canons, and rules, the clergy played a formative role in enabling early medieval Iberia to function, in their own image, as a textual society. The Bible provided the legitimizing rhetoric of the charter, a rich array of language, example, and allusion to contextualize the act and ensure its endurance; Scripturally infused, the written record was sanctified, the repository of our sin and salvation. But if clerical scribes thereby promoted documentation to an elevated plane of universal yet personal Christian history, they applied their own types of legitimization and identification to ecclesiastical charters. Canon law was a source of norms, but less specific than general ones; the clergy valued the rhetoric of living canonically, and normalized actions both near to and far from the canonical text through this notion. Monastic rules were likewise a source of identity, but in the fact of the rule rather than its particularity; monks lived regularly. In all these cases, most citations need not have involved any firsthand contact with the Bible, canon law, or monastic rules: liturgy, memory, charters would for the most part have sufficed. In all these cases, however, was a consciousness of the texts behind the text, the importance of acting Scripturally, canonically, regularly. Lay documentary practice was framed by Visigothic law, but the mentality of textual framing was at the very least promoted by the clerical scribes who doubled as the legal experts. The textual communities from which they emerged defined themselves by contracts: the documentary world which they facilitated came to define itself by texts – a textual society, governing and governed with reference to the written.

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IMAGINARY LIBRARIES

The written was the world of early medieval Iberia. If the skills of literacy were scarcely prevalent, the degree of textuality was remarkably extensive, in the authority conferred on text and the arrangements made to use it. The Roman inheritance is manifest, in documentary and legal culture, engendering 'literate expectations' which define the period; the continuity across conquest by Visigoths and Arabs, and the weakness of states in the north of the Peninsula, must lay to rest the traditional coupling of literacy with politics which underlies the paradigm of the Middle Ages. No high medieval notariate, no modern mass literacy, but a society framed by texts. Between the eighth and eleventh centuries, as estates expanded to surmount locality and enter communities which had made do with memory, engagement with documentation was incentivized, particularly for the laity. Organization to do so followed, only at one remove: the person of the scribe, who wrote the charter and recorded all those involved in and present at it, before recycling the text back into the community by public reading. The scribe mediated the document, and as his occupation consolidated, he became more fully a literate interpreter. And the charter, once created, lived an active afterlife of dynamic circulation, enabled by multiple and accessible archives, particularly in the hands of the clergy. Written evidence, after all, was the surest defence in case of dispute; charters were self-promoting in their mutual citation as well as practical efficacy. But they also diffused legal knowledge: as each rhetorical, pragmatic, silent, and legislative reference of written law was read out by the scribe, how to capitalize on its provisions became better known, and kings and counts seized the potential. For the clergy, meanwhile, the Bible, canon law, and monastic rules were the texts behind the texts; as they interacted with the laity, they set the charter in the history of salvation, and modelled textuality to society, as their monasteries became the microcosms of its written framework.

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One outcome of this investigation is therefore to draw a distinction between the extent of literacy as the personal ability to read and write and the extent of literacy as textuality or the sociocultural significance of text. While the former may have been negligible amongst the laity, the latter was profound and developing. What enables this distinction is the crucial intermediary role of scribes as creators and transmitters of the written word, which makes their contemporary lack of recognition, their stubborn anonymity, all the more notable. In some sense but service providers, meeting points of ecclesiastical and lay societies far from separate or opposed, they were also the structure by which kings, counts, ecclesiastics, and the laity organized themselves to make such use of charters, and the channel through which they accessed so many other texts structuring their actions and thoughts in turn. Expecting to employ the written word but lacking the skills to do so individually, early medieval Iberian society arranged itself around the figure of the scribe to compensate, a cooperative relationship to access and disseminate the text from which new collectivities ultimately arose. At the same time, via the scribe and charter, society and its arrangements came increasingly to be influenced by norms originating from texts. The charter is an intertextuality, but take the numbers in total: 1332 (34%) of the corpus of charters cite one or more of charters, law, Scripture, canons, or rules.¹ Textual citation as a whole occurs in 20% to 50% of the charters, broadly steady in the range of 30% to 40% but with an appreciable rise from the 970s as a function of legal citation. Up to half the time one engaged with a charter, in other words, one engaged through it with other texts. And while, west to east, textual citation becomes less common, the practice is present everywhere. Most frequent in royal and comital diplomas, it is consistently a factor in ecclesiastical and lay charters as well. Characteristic of complex transactions, it is routine in documenting donations and miscellaneous affairs. Stuff of tampering and forgery, it is yet present at a scarcely lower rate in authentic original charters. Citing other texts is no mirage, nor the preserve of any region, order, or business. This is why

¹ See figs. 68-70.

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literacy has no ‘consequences’, but plays out through social arrangements: by means of almost invisible agents, a full range of actors made text a fundamental frame of reference.

Two questions arise from this overview. The greater density of documentary and textual culture in the west calls for comment, and points to some difference of deep structure with the centre and east. The region is distinct in another respect too: from as early as it is documented, before its incorporation into the Asturian kingdom, Galicia already has wealthy and powerful magnates, and kings sought their cooperation in expanding the realm.² There is no counterpart in the centre, much less in the east, to the families which founded Sobrado and Celanova in the first half of the tenth century, and this may speak to a greater concentration of landholding on a larger scale at an earlier date in the west – to a more densely proprietorial society which gave rise to a more densely documentary and textual culture. The fact that the west and centre, even so, shared this culture could also explain why Galicia remained a part of the Leonese kingdom despite distance and aristocratic dynamism, whereas Castilla (with Navarra) was increasingly apart until its sudden ascent to hegemony in the eleventh century. The network of texts, in other words, may be part of what gave the kingdom of León its coherence in spite of its virtual lack of a centre. But a related problem is the access to the sources of this network: how were scribes able to consult the Visigothic code, Scripture, canon law, and monastic rules, the first three in particular large and unwieldy texts? And above all the law in León, where it was such a basic component of royal and aristocratic power? At first glance, the charters offer little help. Citation of books is nowhere near so general as citation of texts.³ Some 173 (4%) of the charters mention books, most often between 850 and 930, the great age of religious foundation; the incidence is perceptibly lower thereafter. The citations are unevenly distributed: much more common in the west, especially at Samos, and also at Oviedo and Santillana in the centre and Valpuesta in the

² R. Portass, ‘All Quiet on the Western Front? Royal Politics in Galicia from c. 800 to c. 950’, *EME*, 21/3 (2013), pp. 283-306.

³ See figs. 71-3.

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east, mainly in ecclesiastical charters. Books predominate in complex transactions, donations, and monastic pacts, but are also in a few outlying sales; they feature in interpolated and false charters, and in single-sheet copies, but neither property is a major factor. Numerically, 'literary citation' is an implausible foundation for the constant recourse of charters to other texts.

Most historiographical attention paid to books has aimed to recreate libraries of notable persons and places or to trace the effects of the supposed 'Mozarabic migration' on literature.⁴ Finding 'fixed libraries' in the treasuries of monasteries and churches is easy: they are normally studied in charters of endowment from the perspective of their beneficiaries, but these charters are also witness to the books, liturgical and literary, which their royal, episcopal, ecclesiastical, and lay granters could access, evidence of collections before or behind those of the monasteries and churches.⁵ Despite the makings of libraries at all levels of society, however, the texts which constitute the written framework of charters are rarely found. Only four copies of the Visigothic law survive from early medieval Iberia, excluding Catalonia: the most famous are the Codex Albeldensis of 975 and Codex Aemilianensis of 994, and they all seem to have been produced in La Rioja or the Pyrenees.⁶ Yet this distribution does not map onto the regional pattern of legal citation, since law is cited least in the east. Three Galician charters cite copies of it: Beatus

⁴ M.C. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa* (León, 1983), pp. 149-246; *idem*, *Asturias en el siglo VIII. La cultura literaria* (Oviedo, 2001), pp. 19-30; *idem*, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval* (2nd ed., Logroño, 1991), pp. 53-276; *idem*, *Manuscritos del sur de la Península. Ensayo de distribución regional* (Seville, 1995), pp. 63-91, 137-79; V. García Lobo, 'Calígrafos, códices y bibliotecas en el reino de León', in *Monarquía*, ii, pp. 19-44; J. Yarza Luaces, "'Scriptoria" y manuscritos iluminados en los reinos hispanos occidentales en el entorno del año mil', in *VII Congreso*, pp. 65-88; J. Pérez de Urbel, 'Cardeña y sus escribas durante la primera mitad del siglo X', in *Bivium. Homenaje a Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz* (Madrid, 1983), pp. 217-37; B.A. Shailor, 'The Scriptorium of San Pedro de Cardena', *BJRL*, 61/2 (1979), pp. 444-73; Collins, *Caliphs*, pp. 107-9; J.M. Ruiz Asencio, 'Escribas y bibliotecas altomedievales hispanos', in J.I. de la Iglesia Duarte (ed.), *La enseñanza en la edad media. X Semana de Estudios Medievales* (Logroño, 2000), pp. 151-74; Zimmermann, *Écrire*, i, pp. 467-618.

⁵ C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Notas sobre los libros leídos en el reino de León hace mil años', repr. in *idem*, *Miscelánea de estudios históricos* (León, 1970), pp. 273-91; Linage Conde, 'Caminares', pp. 103-22; E. Sáez, 'Inventario de bibliotecas medievales en el Tumbo de Celanova', *LCD*, 155 (1943), pp. 563-8; M.R. García Álvarez, 'Los libros en la documentación gallega de la Alta Edad Media', *CEG*, 20 (1965), pp. 292-329; M. Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes. Arte español de los siglos IX a XI. Edición facsímil* (Granada, 1998), pp. 345-53; cf. J. Pérez de Urbel and A. González y Ruiz-Zorrilla, *Liber Commicus. Edición crítica* (2 vols., Madrid, 1950-55), i, pp. xiii-xxxii; Á. Fábrega Grau, *Pasionario Hispánico (siglos VII-XI)* (2 vols., Barcelona, 1953-5), i, pp. 9-15; cf. Collins, 'Literacy', pp. 125-7.

⁶ See MC.48-9, MC.193, MC.247; cf. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La Lex Visigothorum y sus manuscritos: un ensayo de reinterpretación', *AHDE*, 46 (1976), pp. 163-202; Gibert, 'Enseñanza del derecho', pp. 39-40.

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presbiter gave a *libro iudicum*, amongst many other books, to San Salvador in Arnoya in 889, Celanova was endowed by its aristocratic founder with *libros psalterio I et gothicum I* in 938, and Sisnandus *presbiter* gave a *librum gothicum* to Santa María de Barbadelo in 967, hinting at a hinterland to what is preserved.⁷ But again, what about León and the law?

The same paradox is appreciable, if less acute, for the other texts. Just six copies of the canons survive: three are from La Rioja, including the same two famous codices, and the other three come from Sahagún, Celanova, and an unknown site.⁸ Charters from the west and centre cite a further nine copies, including the same donations by Beatus in 889 and Sisnandus in 967, and the restoration of San Antolín in 1026 by Abbot Diego, who gave it a *canonicum* amongst other *libros ecclesiasticos*.⁹ Manifestly a greater distribution, yet discordant with the exiguous rate of canonical citation compared with legal citation: evidence for books is misaligned with the reference made to them. In contrast, there are six copies of the *corpus regularum* and eight of the *Rule* of Saint Benedict, all in the commentary of Smaragdus or comparable treatments. Both series of manuscripts begin in the ninth century (which should retire the notion that some regular citations are too early) and come largely from the east, where monasteries and rules are most closely identified; a codex from Cardeña even contains both the Iberian and Benedictine rules, just as they coexisted in practice.¹⁰ When Mumadona Dias endowed Guimarães in 959, she included two *regulas* and a copy of the monastic rules of Pachomius, Ambrose, Benedict, Isidore, Fructuosus, and Leander, plus another *libellum* of Benedict, Isidore, and Fructuosus, while Bishop Cixila gave Abellar the *regularum septem in uno corpore* in 927.¹¹

⁷ CEL.7, CEL.57; SJS.31; cf. ACL.75 for a book *de litteris iuris*; Díaz y Díaz, 'Lex', pp. 178-82; Gibert, 'Enseñanza del derecho', pp. 32-6; Casado de Otaola, 'Cultura escrita', pp. 53-4; Prieto Prieto, 'Potestad', p. 544; Collins, 'Law and Charters', pp. 509-10, *idem*, 'Literacy', pp. 126, 129.

⁸ See MC.48-51, MC.139, MC.157.

⁹ CEL.7; SJS.31, SJS.87; cf. PMH.76; SJS.19; ACA.12; SAH.30, SAH.32; ACL.76.

¹⁰ See MC.108. Corpus: MC.42, MC.55, MC.91, MC.154, MC.200. RSB: MC.142, MC.175, MC.186, MC.203, MC.221, MC.281, MC.338.

¹¹ PMH.76; ACL.75; cf. ACL.42, ACL.412; SJS.S2; CEL.95; SLM.82; SAH.269.

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But the survival of the Bible suggests that we may be approaching this problem from the wrong direction. Nine copies have been preserved, in both the Vulgate and the Vetus Latina texts, concentrated in the east.¹² In charters, however, Scripture in its entirety is difficult to see: when Munna granted a testament to Lorvão in the 950s, *cum una biblioteca*, did she mean a library or the Library?¹³ The term appears amongst other books in the endowments of Celanova and Guimarães, probably therefore denoting the Bible, but nowhere else.¹⁴ Yet there are nine surviving copies of the Psalter, all when identifiable from Castilla and La Rioja.¹⁵ Charters cite verses of the Psalms more than any other Biblical book, and make recurrent and widespread reference to manuscripts of it: a *psalterium perfectum* or complete Psalter given by Sisnandus *presbiter* to Santa María de Barbadelo in 967, two books of Psalms by Emeritus *presbiter* to a monastery of San Cosme y San Damián in 875, even three by Fernando Flaínez and Geloira to San Martín de Benevívere in 1020.¹⁶ When Bishop Genadio endowed his foundations in 915, he included a Psalter for each, regarding it as a basic part of the monastic library.¹⁷ The example of the Psalms counsels against assuming that our sources could only have circulated as wholes, and selections from the Bible account for another ten Scriptural codices, spanning east to west in provenance and ranging from single books of the Old or New Testament to the Epistles or a complete text from the Psalms onward.¹⁸ Thinking of these manuscripts as incomplete misses the point: copies of the Pentateuch, Ezekiel, Job, Ruth, and Chronicles appear in the charters, and Rosendo planned to supplement his gift of Ezekiel and the Epistles to a monastery of San Vicente in 867 with Job and the Psalms, should he live to transcribe them.¹⁹ The Bible is long,

¹² See MC.30, MC.33 [?], MC.80, MC.96-7, MC.138, MC.146 [?], MC.215 [?], MC.281.

¹³ PMH.100; cf. SAH.39; ACL.76.

¹⁴ CEL.72; PMH.76.

¹⁵ See MC.24, MC.45, MC.115, MC.126, MC.205-6, MC.270, MC.341, MC.340.

¹⁶ SJS.31; SMV.6; SMB.1. One: ACO.11; CEL.7, CEL.57, CEL.95; SMV.7; SJS.10, SJS.19, SJS.21, SJS.71; COR.19; ACL.42, ACL.220, ACL.412; SAH.29-30, SAH.32, SAH.114; SPC.37; SLM.73, SLM.82, COR.110; SMC.70; SJS.5; PMH.248. Perfect: ACL.611; SJS.87. Two: ACL.75, ACL.777; SDM.4; SAH.352; CEL.326. Two perfect: SJS.69.

¹⁷ ACA.12; cf. SJS.S2.

¹⁸ See MC.41, MC.56, MC.105, MC.123, MC.132, MC.181, MC.225, MC.235, MC.294, MC.308.

¹⁹ COR.4 [I]; cf. SJS.10; ACA.12; ACL.75; CEL.72.

and more easily managed in parts. But then so are the others, particularly the law and canons. The mismatch of citations and codices tells us that the presence of whole copies of texts cannot have been necessary for access to their contents. If Scripture circulated in partial forms, what of these others? We need a flexible alternative to whole books in fixed libraries.

Just as we had to let go of the singularity of text to understand its full significance, we also have to rethink libraries in light of the afterlife of charters: careful retention, but constant circulation as well.²⁰ Both institutional and personal libraries can be spotted in motion. When the heirs of Indura *presbiter* and Amores donated their church of San Emiliano to Sahagún in 925, they itemized the accompanying library, which included liturgical texts, a *canonicum*, and a Psalter; in 1021, similarly, when Unisco and her son Oseredo gave the monastery of Leça to Vacariça, they recorded its books, namely a *regula*, Psalter, and *passionum de Sancti Asciscli usque Sancto Sebastiano*, an incomplete Visigothic passionary.²¹ Books – even *libros nimis habundanter* – changed hands with their institutional homes, just like charters. When Taiellus *diaconus* donated San Esteban de Elaba to Riciulfo *presbiter* in 889, he included both liturgical *libros* and *omnes libros ecclesiasticos sive testamenta ecclesie* with it, while Velasco Monnioz and family, donating a series of *villas* to San Salvador de Boñar in 996, intriguingly listed seven liturgical texts amongst their other appurtenances.²² In some cases this may be formulaic usage, but it would not be a formula were the transfer of books not absolutely routine.²³

We can trace personal as well as institutional and *villa* libraries on the move. In 917, an abbot donated property, a monastery, and a pair of churches to Felicia Monnoia *conversa* and the sisters of Santiago de León, with three books, *antiphonario psalterio et regula*, seemingly a standard complement for any religious institution, but in 970, the long-lived lady, now abbess,

²⁰ Petrucci, 'Literacy', pp. 101-2; cf. Casado de Otaola, 'Escribir y leer', pp. 128-37; C. Bertelli, 'The Production and Distribution of Books in Late Antiquity', in R. Hodges and W. Bowden (eds.), *The Sixth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 41-60.

²¹ SAH.32; PMH.248; cf. SJS.5, SJS.31; CEL.7; SPC.37; SMC.70; PMH.152.

²² SLM.80; ACO.11; SAH.352; cf. CEL.196.

²³ e.g. SDM.12, SDM.13 [I], SDM.18.

made a testament of the same properties to that house, including the familiar *antiphonario uno psalterio uno et regula*.²⁴ The books were her library, held for 53 years. Abbot Offiloni and his companions, restoring Samos of 872, inventoried the *libros speciales et ecclesiasticos* which they had brought from Córdoba alongside the others which they had found there, while the nine liturgical and spiritual texts given to Piasca by Theoda and Aragonti in 930 seem to have been inherited from their father Aldroittus; he may already have donated them to the monastery, but if so the family retained the right of disposal, and confirmed them here.²⁵ Families took care of their books, and so, when Fafila *confessor* endowed San Vicente on the Miño in 952, he gave *libros pernomatos* of his own, in addition to five liturgical texts which had formerly belonged to his brother Ildebreto; in 1018, similarly, Frissila Annaya donated himself to Santillana, body and soul, together with property, including *libros*, inherited from his parents, and indeed entry into monasteries is a common context for glimpsing personal libraries on the move.²⁶

The most telling cases of moving libraries are the rare charters in which books are the object of transaction. The property donated by Cagido and other priests to São João de Ver in 773 (or 902) was to be used *pro volumine librorum in locis illius ad ecclesie deservendum* or for the volume of books belonging to that church, implying that possessions could be translated into literary acquisitions.²⁷ In a charter of 796, certain religious partly donated and partly sold property in Villeña to Episcopario and his *gasalianes* or ‘house-dwellers’ for the price of an ox and a cow with calf, each worth a *solidus* and a *tremis*, and three books, namely an antiphonal worth three *solidi*, an orational worth two *solidi*, and a *comicu* worth two *solidi* – the books were specifically confirmed and enumerated in the sanction clause.²⁸ In 929, similarly, Araspio, his wife, and children sold their property in Pando to Severus *presbiter* and his *regulantes* or

²⁴ ACL.42, ACL.412.

²⁵ SJS.8; SAH.39; *cf.* SJS.19; SAH.29-30 [?].

²⁶ CEL.95; SDM.22; *cf.* SMC.63; COV.12; SPC.180; SPA.22.

²⁷ PMH.1; *cf.* PMH.234.

²⁸ STL.2.

‘rule-followers’ for a price of two antiphonals and one ordinal, valued at six *solidi*: presumably the books were for Munioni *presbiter*, one of the children, bought with family land.²⁹ What matters here is the market existing for literary material, that text could serve as currency. Those who needed to stock a library could do so for a price: books were for sale.

When the great monastic founder Bishop Genadio drafted his will in 915, he created a charter without parallel in early medieval Iberia, establishing a circulating library.³⁰ The bishop begins by endowing his foundations – San Pedro de Montes, San Andrés de Montes, Santiago de Peñalba, and an oratory of Santo Tomás – with a similar, if not identical, range of liturgical books. The first uniquely receives a *canonicum*, the last only a *psalterium*: indeed, the Psalter is the only text common to all four houses, the indispensable component of the religious library. Genadio then observes that man does not live on bread alone, but on the word proceeding from the mouth of God, and therefore provides that *caeteros libros quam divinos*, or his *bibliotecam totam*, should belong in common to all the brothers in these four foundations, to share amongst themselves continually and never alienate; the substantial collection includes Scriptural texts, hagiography, theology, Isidorean treatises, and many other books. He adds in a codicil that any further oratories built in the mountains should participate in these *specialibus libris*, and so the first lending library of the Bierzo was born. Although the testament is unique in its specificity, it may be confirmed by a charter of Samos which lists not only its own *libros eglesiastes* and *libros spirituales*, but also those held in two dependent houses, of San Cristóbal and San Juan, and perhaps a truncated third.³¹ The same is implicit for two donations of books to churches of San Pedro and San Vicente, put in the hands or under the regime of Bishop Rosendo, seemingly dependants of Celanova – monastic networks doubled as networks of libraries.³²

²⁹ SMV.12; *cf.* SMC.57; SDM.41 [?].

³⁰ ACA.12; Linage Conde, ‘Caminares’, pp. 53-7.

³¹ SJS.S2; *cf.* SJS.71.

³² CEL.27 [I], CEL.95; ACA.74.

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More informally and partially, books could circulate in extracts copied out on any spare parchment to hand. Finally, the law and León: Fredesindo *confrater*, with his heirs, brothers, nephews, and *fratres*, made a donation to the monastery of Eslonza in 950 of some *bustos* or pastureland, demarcated for his ancestors by the son of Alfonso III, in order to retire a debt of nine *modii* of wheat. Ordinary, but transcribed on the dorso is the full text of two Visigothic laws, concerning the care of animals on loan.³³ Transaction and legislation seem related, as we have considered; the laws are written in a hand and script distinct from the charter, however, indicating a different context or another agent. Whatever the circumstances, the implication is that a scribe jotted down laws which he considered relevant to Eslonza and its affairs. Nothing could do more to clarify the problem of literary circulation: moving libraries, informal libraries, these were the means of access. On the dorso of another charter of 1007, a judicial sale to Pedro Flaínez and his wife, are 25 lines in one column from the *Liber Commicus*, a standard liturgical book, and the discoverer of them remarked with puzzlement on the absence of the usual signs of preparation present in a codex copy.³⁴ Precisely the point: this and other partial texts need to be reassessed, not as fragments but informal copies, not quite books but the channels to them. Just as widespread and diverse use of the written word in a context of limited personal literacy was founded on the person of the scribe, so also was the constant interaction of text with text amidst a scarcity of books enabled by the capillary dissemination of their contents.

The textual society of early medieval Iberia was built on the foundations of a textual economy, a network of texts in circulation, a written framework for social practice which was always, albeit not always directly, accessible to its practitioners. The citations of other charters,

³³ SPE.24; LV 5.5.1-2; cf. Y. García López, *Estudios críticos y literarios de la "Lex Wisigothorum"* (Alcalá de Henares, 1996), pp. 17-33; *idem*, 'La tradición del Liber Iudiciorum: una revisión', in *Antigüedad*, pp. 383-405.

³⁴ OLD.73; cf. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'De manuscritos visigóticos. Nuevos fragmentos en León', *AL*, 53 (1973), pp. 77-85.

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Visigothic law, the Bible, canon law, and monastic rules constitute the imaginary libraries held in the minds of the scribes. So how did they collect them? First by direct access: in the stationary libraries of monasteries and churches, property of the royal, episcopal, ecclesiastical, and lay patrons of scribes. If there were none to hand, it would not be long, for such libraries circulated constantly, changing hands with institutions and individuals as endowments, appurtenances, or the objects of transactions, given incidentally or shared by design within overarching monastic structures. Scribes may also simply have remembered them from some exposure, like the verses of Scripture clearly cited through that same liturgy which is omnipresent in the inventories of libraries. Should all this still seem inadequate, recall how they mastered their craft: by copying charters. Charters citing other texts were conserved, consulted, copied, and circulated as long as they were needed; contact with a codex of the source itself could be as rare as once in every few generations and yet suffice. Scribes passed on knowledge to other scribes, charters served as models to offer further guidance, and informal copies supplemented both as necessary, when memory and mimesis failed. As scribes reached out to find the network of texts always within their grasp, they stocked their imaginary libraries; to seize the potential for advantage was the responsibility of their employers, but the textual economy provided the opportunity.

Early medieval Iberia was bonded by text, but not text as we know it. For most readers and listeners, the part was the whole: fragments were the framework. We need to rethink what knowing a text constituted. For some, the fact of charters, law, Scripture, canons, or rules was enough to guide behaviour, and this level of textuality is no less important for being superficial, since the written still shaped the world. For others, scattered passages and sentences originating in texts, seen or heard perhaps as rarely as once but transcribed or remembered, were the reality of the larger work. This is the textuality of imperfect knowledge: access to books undoubtedly conferred advantage, yielding a larger cache of words of power, but it was not straightforwardly a limiting factor so long as texts lived in extracts, citations, and memories. We confront early

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medieval books as wholes and interpret them as such, but for the majority of their users, they were only the fragments in use. What could the charter have sounded like read aloud? All the layers of quoted and paraphrased language, late Roman and Visigothic sources amidst spellings and words of contemporary invention, must have emphasized the state of its intertextuality and reminded the audience of the complexity of the network which animated its lifecycle. Only one text could be complete: 'Do not think in your spirit or say in your heart that you do not know and do not see that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High. Now you know that all your oppression whereby you oppress is written down every day until the day of your judgement'.³⁵ When the charter prays for the charter of sin to be erased in salvation, it offers false hope; this final text will still be perfect at the end of time.

³⁵ I Enoch 98:7-8.

APPENDIX

GAZETTEER

The Centre: Asturias, Cantabria, and León

The **cathedral archive of Oviedo** represents, from 812, the episcopal see of the capital of the Asturian kingdom, and it has attracted much critical attention as a result. Many of its most celebrated documents are problematic, if not outright forgeries; the great forger Bishop Pelayo discarded or rewrote much in the early twelfth century.¹ The early medieval holdings include a set of parchments, notably the charter of Fakilo from 803, one of the earliest originals to survive; the diploma of Alfonso II is a curious tenth-century copy, written on the first half of a manuscript of eight folios, apparently part of an aborted compilation.² There are also two cartularies, the more important of which is the *Liber Testamentorum*, a codex of 113 folios and 84 charters, primarily donations, from 812 to 1118; it was written around the latter date by two hands in Visigothic script and adorned with miniatures of the royal donors. Bishop Pelayo was responsible for its genesis, and sought preeminence for his see through documentation, hence the copyists transcribed their sources with little fidelity, altering most texts in language, form, and content.³ The second Oviedo cartulary is the deluxe *Regla Colorada*, a manuscript of 158 folios written in a Gothic bookhand around 1384 by Juan Rubio, a cleric; all but one of its nine

¹ ACO, pp. vii-viii; DRA, pp. 98-101; P. Floriano Llorente, 'Crítica documental. Los documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo', in *Homenaje a Juan Uría Rúa* (2 vols., Oviedo, 1997), i, pp. 69-80; J.A. Valdés Gallego, 'La donación otorgada por Alfonso III a San Salvador de Oviedo en el año 908', *BRIEA*, 51/150 (1997), pp. 243-55; H. Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden, 896-1046* (3 vols., Vienna, 1984-9), i, no. 6, pp. 13-5.

² M.J. Sanz Fuentes, 'El documento de Fakilo (803): estudio y edición', in *Estudios*, i, p. 32; E.E. Rodríguez Díaz, 'Notas codicológicas sobre el llamado *Testamento del Rey Casto*', *AM*, 8 (1995-7), pp. 71-8; A. García Leal, 'La documentación medieval de Asturias: reseña crítica de las colecciones documentales y códices hasta el presente editados', in *I Congreso de Estudios Asturianos* (5 vols., Oviedo, 2007), ii, pp. 119-35.

³ J.A. Valdés Gallego, *El Liber Testamentorum Ovetensis: estudio filológico y edición* (Oviedo, 2000), pp. 29-56, 435-42; F.J. Fernández Conde, *El Libro de los Testamentos de la Catedral de Oviedo* (Rome, 1971), pp. 81-8, 373-6.

early medieval texts are forgeries.⁴ The collection amounts to 45 charters from 803 to 1020, but most of it is a veil drawn by Bishop Pelayo over the early history of Asturias.⁵

San Vicente de Oviedo seems to pre-date the cathedral by at least a generation, but its foundational charter of 781 survives in a twelfth-century interpolated copy. When Alfonso II rebuilt the episcopal church in 812, the monastery was incorporated into its walls: tenth-century charters refer to it as *ante altares* of San Salvador, and it did not consistently have an abbot of its own, implying a dependence akin to San Paio de Antealtares on Compostela. The archive is modest: with no cartulary, its early medieval holdings are thirty parchments now held at San Pelayo de Oviedo, preserving thirty charters ranging in date from 781 to 1028.⁶ Yet the balance of these are originals, making the collection of greater value than the more renowned, as well as problematic, cathedral archive, to which it can serve as a critical counterweight.⁷

Santo Toribio de Liébana offers the main documentation for Cantabria, incorporating the archives of many smaller institutions otherwise unknown. Traditionally founded by Bishop Toribio of Astorga in the fifth century, nothing sure is known of its origins; it first appears in the early ninth century, denominated San Martín de Turieno, and remains so into the eleventh. In the mid-tenth century, under Abbot Opila, the monastery subsumed many of its neighbours and their archives, including San Salvador de Villeña, formerly the major abbey of the region. The collection also includes charters of the parents of Opila, the local élites Bagaudano and his wife Faquilona, which he inherited with the ample patrimony recorded in them and left in turn to his monastery, forming its aristocratic prehistory.⁸ The nucleus of the archive is at Madrid,

⁴ E.E. Rodríguez Díaz, *El libro de la Regla Colorada de la Catedral de Oviedo: estudio y edición* (Oviedo, 1995), pp. 3-6, 83-5, 145-51, 272-3.

⁵ See fig. 74.

⁶ SVO, pp. 8-13; L. Serrano, *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo (781-1200)* (Madrid, 1929), pp. vii-xiii, 13-5; Sanz Fuentes, 'Lenguaje', pp. 126-8, 151-2; García Leal, 'Documentación', pp. 135-43.

⁷ See fig. 75.

⁸ STL, pp. ix-xxi; J. Montenegro Valentín, *Santa María de Piasca: estudio de un territorio a través de un centro monástico (857-1252)* (Valladolid, 1993), pp. 21-34; J. Gautier-Dalché, 'Le domaine du monastère de Santo Toribio de Liébana: formation, structure et modes d'exploitation', *AEM*, 2 (1965), pp. 65-6; Pontieri, 'Familia', pp. 119-32.

but many parchments and codices were left behind, including a portion of the cartulary of Santo Toribio. This codex consists of 76 folios and 237 charters from 790 to 1316, written in a Gothic bookhand: commissioned around the latter year by the prior to aid reorganizing the monastery, its copyist had poor Latin and made many erroneous transcriptions, especially of dates, but just one early medieval original survives as a control.⁹ The collection includes 82 charters dating from 790 to 1028, and divides neatly into three successive blocs, reflecting the documentation of Villeña, of Bagaudano and Faquilona and family, and finally of Turieno itself.¹⁰

Santillana del Mar was the next largest Cantabrian monastery, but it is first attested in 962 and was properly established only with the pact signed by Abbot Indulfo and fifty brothers in 980. The early medieval archive has two components: eight parchments held at the former abbey and in the diocesan archive, and the *Libro de Regla*, a cartulary of 64 folios, two of them lost, with 94 documents from 870 to 1202. This codex was written in a Gothic bookhand of the first half of the thirteenth century, reproducing the monograms and signs of scribes, but some twenty documents are incomplete and a third incorrectly dated or undated, complicating their use.¹¹ The collection consists of 41 charters dating between 870 and 1031, and contrasts with Santo Toribio, tracing with singular focus the endowment of this monastic patrimony.¹²

The **cathedral of León** was refounded after the conquest of the city by Ordoño I, and it became, on the death of Alfonso III, the episcopal see of the capital of the Leonese kingdom. The early medieval archive accounts for nearly a quarter of the total corpus of charters, in part because it escaped dissolution, but also because it incorporates the collections of monasteries in the diocese absorbed into its patrimony during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The holdings are comprised of about 330 parchments, almost all original, including the diploma

⁹ STL, pp. xxii, xxvi-xxix, xxxviii-xli; *Cantabria*, pp. 14-24, 34-44; Montenegro Valentín, *Piasca*, pp. 24-6.

¹⁰ See fig. 76.

¹¹ C. Díez Herrera, 'La Abadía de Santa Juliana en las Asturias de Santillana (943-1450)', in SDM, pp. 15-23; SDM, pp. 71-3; *Cantabria*, pp. 189-209.

¹² See fig. 77.

of Silo from 775, perhaps the earliest surviving original but a later entrant into the archive; the next oldest is a diploma of Ordoño I from 860.¹³ The second element is the *Tumbo de León*, a cartulary of 474 folios containing 1007 charters, written in Caroline minuscule by Juan Pérez, a canon; the last original entry dates to 1124, indicating compilation under Bishop Diego before 1130. The *Tumbo* is arranged by institutional provenance, the see and sixteen monasteries; this may reflect archival organization, facilitating division of rents between the bishop and chapter, which held the monastic lands as prebends. When the Council of Burgos officially replaced the Mozarabic with the Roman liturgy in 1080, and the Council of León substituted Caroline for Visigothic script in 1090, the net result was that, gradually, early medieval originals ceased to be legible, making copies necessary. And amidst the unrest of the reigns of Urraca and Alfonso VII, councils at León and Santiago in 1114 mandated churches to vindicate all stolen property and testaments, conditions generating a golden age of cartularies as well as of opportunity for forgery. Yet comparison with the 64 charters surviving as both originals and *Tumbo* copies reveals that most observable tampering is (historically) minor, confined to updating of language and omission of signs; the copyist on occasion modified the number or condition of confirmers and witnesses, elaborated boundaries, or simply misread the date, but largely he was faithful to his sources, and even traced monograms, helping to differentiate amongst like names.¹⁴

The cathedral archive consists of 895 charters dating from 767 to 1031, but contains many smaller collections.¹⁵ The monastery of Abellar, founded sometime before 905, accounts for a fifth of the total, while another tenth come from Rozuela and Cillanueva, both dedicated to Santos Justo y Pastor and often mistaken, including by the *Tumbo* scribe, for one institution

¹³ ACL, i, pp. xxi-xxv, lxxx-lxxxii, ii, pp. x-xi, iii, pp. ix-xv; G.S. Quijano, *Documentación de la Catedral de León (siglos IX-X)* (Salamanca, 1981), pp. 9-10, 29-30; A. García Leal, *El diploma del rey Silo* (Coruña, 2007), pp. 31-70, 227-38.

¹⁴ J.M. Fernández Catón, 'El "Tumbo Legionense". Notas sobre su origen, redacción, estructura, contenido y utilización', in *Latín IV*, pp. 422-34; J.A. Fernández Flórez, 'La huella de los copistas en los cartularios leoneses', in *Orígenes*, i, pp. 171-5, 191-210; ACL, i, pp. xxv-xxix, lxv-lxvii, lxxx-lxxxii, iii, pp. ix-xi, xxviii-xxix; Quijano, *Documentación*, pp. 20, 26, 32.

¹⁵ See fig. 78.

uniting two houses; their dates of foundation are also unknown, but Cillanueva is first attested *circa* 914 and Rozuela in 932, and their overlapping documentation includes the most famous list of cheeses ever written, an early example of proto-Romance. The see of Santa María itself contributes just 6% of its holdings, the same as Santiago de León, an urban monastery founded by 917.¹⁶ But more than a tenth of the charters share one of 32 members of the laity as recipient, demonstrating the simple fact of early medieval lay archives. Almost a fifth have singly attested parties with no guide to provenance, so unless religious institutions were also local depositories and stored these documents, the properties recorded must have come into the possession of the see at some point, an early stage in the consolidation of originally multiple archives.¹⁷

The monastery of **Sahagún** may be of Visigothic origin, but Alfonso III seems to have restored it during his reconquest of the Cea, and a grant which he made to it in 904 is its first reliable attestation.¹⁸ This is the largest single Leonese archive, reflecting the peerless wealth of the house in the tenth century; it survives remarkably intact, now at Madrid, and is comprised of over 150 parchments and a cartulary. Almost three-quarters of the former are originals, while the remaining copies date from the mid- to late tenth as well as the twelfth centuries, potentially early medieval versions of transactions only provisionally recorded at the time (or not at all). The parchments also include a set of originals from the monastery of Piasca in the Liébana, a tenth-century foundation absorbed into Sahagún by 1109.¹⁹ The cartulary known as the *Becerro*

¹⁶ Carbajo Serrano, pp. 34-6, 102-5; J.M. Fernández Catón, 'La *Nodicia de Kesos* y los problemas de la documentación del siglo X sobre el origen de los monasterios independientes de Rozuela y Cillanueva', in *Orígenes*, i, pp. 37-45, 69-73, 84-5; J. Rodríguez Fernández, *El monasterio de Ardón* (León, 1964), pp. 36, 48; C. Lagunas, 'Abadesas, sorores y presbíteros en el monasterio dúplice de Santiago de León, siglos X-XI', *Hispania*, 51/179 (1991), p. 813; M.P. Yáñez Cifuentes, *El monasterio de Santiago de León* (León, 1972), pp. 55, 72-3; ACL, i, pp. xxii-xxiii, ii, pp. xi-xii, iii, pp. xiii-xv.

¹⁷ ACL, iii, pp. xiii-xv.

¹⁸ M. Carriedo Tejedo, 'En torno a los orígenes del monasterio de Sahagún', *TL*, 43/120-21 (2005), pp. 83-7; J.M. Mínguez Fernández, *El dominio del monasterio de Sahagún en el siglo X: paisajes agrarios, producción y expansión económica* (Salamanca, 1980), p. 217.

¹⁹ J.A. Fernández Flórez, 'El fondo documental del monasterio de Sahagún y sus scriptores (siglos IX-X)', in *Monacato*, pp. 133-46; L. Romera Iruela, 'Refacciones documentales a fines del s. XI: el caso de Sahagún', in *VIII Coloquio del Comité Internacional de Paleografía Latina. Actas* (Madrid, 1990), pp. 185-98; SAH, i, pp. 9-14, ii, pp. xii, xx-xxxv, lxvi, lxx-lxxi, iv, pp. 3-5, *Index*, i, pp. 17-22; Montenegro Valentín, *Piasca*, pp. 11-3, 41-9, 113-6.

Gótico contains 246 folios and 994 charters from 904 to 1110: it was written in the latter year by Munio Díaz, a priest active in the scriptorium, in Visigothic-Caroline transitional script, the contents are arranged geographically in nine books, perhaps reflecting the archive, and it was created in the same context as the *Tumbo de León*. The cartulary preserves the majority of the documents, and comparison with the 47 also surviving as originals indicates that the copyist intervened much more than at León, especially to improve language and standardize diplomatic formulas; he often copied monograms and signs, but intermittently reduced the confirmers and witnesses or modified their status, even substituting himself at times as scribe.²⁰ Conditioned by these factors, the collection consists of 432 charters dating from 857 to 1031, starting with a series from Piasca; it includes a number of smaller clerical and lay archives, but overall it is less variegated than León and more tightly focussed on the documentation of Sahagún.²¹

The **cathedral of Astorga** was also restored after the conquest of the city by Ordoño I, and like León its early medieval archive mainly consists of charters from monasteries absorbed by it in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Of these, San Genadio founded or refounded San Andrés de Montes, Santa Leocadia de Castañeda, and Santiago de Peñalba, amongst others, in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, contributing to a dense religious life in the Bierzo.²² Yet what may have been substantial documentation survives only in silhouette: the archive was fired first by Ecta Rapinatiz in 1028 amidst a struggle for the episcopate and again by the British

²⁰ Fernández Flórez, 'Huella', pp. 171-5, 179-91; *idem*, 'Sahagún', pp. 128-9; *idem* and M. Herrero de la Fuente, 'Libertades de los copistas en la confección de cartularios: el caso del Becerro Gótico de Sahagún', in E. Cordello and G. de Gregorio (eds.), *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa* (Spoleto, 1995), pp. 306-19; Romera Iruela, 'Refacciones', p. 196; *idem*, 'El Becerro Gótico de Sahagún: esbozo de estudio codicográfico', *AEM*, 18 (1988), pp. 23-4, 41; S. Serna Serna, 'Munio y el Becerro Gótico de Sahagún: una muestra de su actividad como copista', in *Monacato*, pp. 431-6; B.A. Shailor, 'The Scriptorium of San Sahagún: a Period of Transition', in B.F. Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: the Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080* (New York, 1985), pp. 41-61; Fernández Catón, 'Tumbo', pp. 416-22; *SAH*, i, pp. 10-11, ii, pp. xxii-xxiii, xxxiv-xxxvii.

²¹ See fig. 79.

²² *ACA*, pp. 13-4, 21-2; A. Quintana Prieto, 'El obispado de Astorga en el siglo IX. Restauración y episcopologio', *HS*, 18/35 (1965), pp. 170-73; *idem*, 'Fundaciones de S. Genadio', *AL*, 10/19 (1956), pp. 56-76; *idem*, 'Tebaida Berciana. San Cosme y San Damián de Burbia', *AL*, 11/22 (1957), p. 77; *idem*, *El obispado de Astorga en los siglos IX y X* (Astorga, 1968); *idem*, *El obispado de Astorga en el siglo XI* (Astorga, 1977).

in the Peninsular War, and so we have just ten contemporary parchments. There are, however, early modern archival indices, the primary one from the eighteenth century and held at Madrid, with 2000 notices; half refer to parchments, half to two lost cartularies, adding another layer of transmission, and there is a reorganized copy of the index and six other codices yielding further documents. Caution is needed, because many notices are misdated, and the same charter often appears in more than one manuscript or else multiply in the same one with different dates, but their editors have published all entries as if each were unique.²³ Once misdated and duplicate charters are sorted out, the collection consists of 243 charters from 857 to 1031, including two notable groups of forgeries.²⁴ There are notable blocs from the cathedral, the monastery of San Adrián del Valle, first attested in 922, and the sometime episcopal residence of San Dictino de Astorga, restored in 921/2, as well as other establishments of Genadio.²⁵ But in such attenuated form, the Astorgan charters are limited to basic testimony of documentary practice.

The monastery of **Otero de las Dueñas** was established in 1230, but its founder was a descendant of two Leonese counts from the turn of the millennium, whose archives, united by the marriage of their children, formed a part of its endowment. Fruela Muñoz was the son of Munio Fernández, and relocated from the Asturias to Viñayo, while Pedro Flaínez was born to Flaíno Muñoz, notable of León, and based himself in the Valdoré; their charters document the acquisition and management of their estates in these zones.²⁶ The unique collection consists of about 200 parchments, almost all originals, but no cartulary; partly by theft, it has fragmented into four blocs, and while three have returned to the diocesan and cathedral archives of León,

²³ ACA, pp. 15-20, 27-8, 31-2; M. Durany Castrillo and M.C. Rodríguez González, 'Puntualizaciones sobre la datación de algunos documentos de la catedral de Astorga del primer tercio del siglo XI: de Jimeno a Sampiro', *EHH*, 3 (2004), pp. 275-8, 281-4; S. Domínguez Sánchez, 'En torno a las puntualizaciones sobre la datación de documentos medievales de la catedral de Astorga', *EHH*, 4 (2005), pp. 298-302.

²⁴ See figs. 80-81; T. Deswarte, 'Restaurer les évêchés et falsifier la documentation en Espagne: la suppression du diocèse de Simancas (974) et l'église cathédrale d'Astorga', *RM*, 15/76 (2004), pp. 83-106.

²⁵ A. Quintana Prieto, 'Monasterios astorganos de San Dictino', *AL*, 29/57-8 (1975), pp. 212-7, 258-68; *idem*, 'Fundaciones', pp. 56-76; *idem*, 'Tebaida', pp. 84-5; *idem*, 'San Miguel de Camarzana y su "scriptorium"', *AEM*, 5 (1968), pp. 71-3.

²⁶ OLD, pp. 21-3; García Leal, 'Archivo', pp. 121-47; A. Prieto Prieto, 'El conde Fruela Muñoz: un asturiano del siglo XI', *AM*, 2 (1975), p. 21.

the Fondo Torbado is lost except for two sets of photographs and transcripts of murky origin.²⁷ There are 196 charters from 854 to 1031: leaving aside the earliest, a sale by Ordoño I held in private hands, the families of Fruela Muñoz and Pedro Flaínez together account for over half of the total.²⁸ With other lay archives and just a handful of documents from local churches and clergy, the collection is the prime resource for studying the (aristocratic) laity.²⁹

San Pedro de Eslonza was founded sometime in the late ninth century, contemporary to the restoration of Sahagún, during the conquest of León by Alfonso III. After the Dissolution, the archive was moved to Madrid; some charters which went astray were reintegrated in stages around 1900, but others are in the diocesan archive of León. The collection includes a codex, begun in 1576, which indexes the monastic archive, but omissions and errors in its composition impede identifying the corresponding documents; it also mentions a lost medieval cartulary. Like León, Sahagún, and Otero, however, this collection includes a large number of originals, with 24 from our period, including the earliest, the only original diplomas of García I.³⁰ In total the archive of Eslonza consists of 33 charters dating from between 912 and 1006.³¹

The West: Galicia and Portugal

Celanova was founded in 936, when Fruela Gutiérrez donated Vilar to his brother San Rosendo for him to build a monastery there, and he finished its construction by 942, endowing it richly. Celanova is inextricably linked to this magnate family, relations of the Leonese kings,

²⁷ OLD, pp. 10-19; A. García Leal, 'La colección fotográfica de los Dres. Emilio Sáez y Carlos Sáez correspondiente a la documentación del monasterio de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas (León)', in González de la Peña (ed.), pp. 591-8; G.S. Quijano, *Colección diplomática de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas (León) (854-1037)* (Salamanca, 1994), pp. 14-6.

²⁸ See fig. 82; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Serie de documentos inéditos del reino de Asturias', *CHE*, 1-2 (1944), pp. 327-8; OLD, pp. 25-9, 33-4; Quijano, *Otero*, p. 17.

²⁹ Minor archives: ADA, BEL, CAS, CRZ, SCL, SID, SIL, SJC, SMB, SME, SMO, SMP, SPM, SPO, SRE, SSC, SSS, TOL, TOR, VEG; J. Montenegro Valentín, *Colección diplomática de Santa María de Piasca (875-1252)* (Santander, 1991), seems unobtainable.

³⁰ SPE, pp. 11-30, 33-5.

³¹ See fig. 83.

and the earlier charters in its archive record the previous generation, Gutier and his wife Ilduara, building their patrimony, but they gradually fade from view, a process almost complete by the death of Rosendo in 977.³² The collection is limited to the *Tumbo de Celanova*, held at Madrid, a cartulary of 198 folios with 578 charters from 842 to 1165, the work of many hands in twelfth-century Caroline scripts; a declining familiarity with Visigothic script is evident in numerous errors of transcription. The *Tumbo* is distinctive for its early medieval documentary inventories, seemingly proto-cartularies, and the codex itself is a fusion of three cartulary projects carried out during the twelfth century, bound together in the seventeenth. The original organization put donations from Rosendo and family up front, and the rest in blocs by geography, typology, and protagonist; in the second project, each regional bloc concluded with a pertinent inventory or lawsuit, evidence of the various threats facing the monastic estates in the twelfth century, which the *Tumbo* sought to counter by memorializing the founder.³³ Neither edition, unfortunately, is satisfactory: while one is incomplete and the other flawed in text and dating, they also differ in handling the inventories, one assigning a number to each transaction, yielding nearly unusable units of mostly uncertain date, the other maintaining the layout unchanged, in unwieldy blocs of text.³⁴ Reconciled to the degree possible, the early medieval collection contains 383 charters from 842 to 1031, for the second largest monastic archive surviving in Iberia.³⁵

³² E. Sáez, 'Los ascendientes de San Rosendo. Notas para el estudio de la monarquía astur-leonesa durante los siglos IX-X', *Hispania*, 8/30 (1948), pp. 3-76, 8/31 (1948), pp. 179-233; Pallares Méndez, *Ilduara*, pp. 90-100; M.I. Carzolio de Rossi, 'Participación monástica en el control de la repoblación. El monasterio de San Salvador de Celanova en el siglo X', *CHE*, 70 (1988), pp. 5-59; J.M. Andrade Cernadas, 'Algunos apuntes sobre la *Vita Rudesindi* y los documentos del Tumbo de Celanova', in *Homenaje*, pp. 272-3.

³³ O. Gallego, *El archivo del monasterio de Celanova* (Madrid, 1991), pp. 25, 43-6; Sáez, 'Origen', pp. 12-3, 19-20; *idem* and A.E. Gutiérrez García-Muñoz, 'Hacia una interpretación del Tumbo de Celanova', in *Iglesia*, ii, pp. 1005-8; *idem*, 'De la austeridad a la ostentación: los cartularios de Celanova y Sigüenza', in B. Acinas Lope (ed.), *Silos. Un milenio, III. Cultura* (Burgos, 2003), pp. 216-222; Andrade Cernadas, '*Vita Rudesindi*', pp. 271-2, 276; *idem*, 'El Tumbo de Celanova: aspectos diplomáticos y de estructuración interna', in *Latín I*, pp. 75-7; CEL, i, pp. 7-11, iii, p. 6; CEL, pp. x-xx.

³⁴ CEL, i, pp. 13-5, 23-33, ii, pp. 8-10, iii, p. 5; J.I. Fernández de Viana y Vieites, 'Caecus non iudicat de coloribus. A propósito de la edición del Tumbo de Celanova', *Signo*, 3 (1996), pp. 231-6.

³⁵ See figs. 84-5.

The archive of **La Coruña** is an editorial shorthand, combining the collections of three monasteries in the province. In the early Middle Ages, the largest was Carboeiro, traditionally albeit uncertainly founded by the counts of Deza in 926-36. San Martín Pinario was formerly resident at Santa María de La Corticela but its foundation is obscure; it is first attested in three problematic charters of 911-2. The unusual monastery of Antealtares, finally, was physically part of the episcopal church of Compostela to provide liturgical services at the Apostolic tomb, and whatever its origin, it appears in a doubtful text of 899.³⁶ All three archives were combined at Pinario in the late fifteenth century: in the eighteenth, archivists affixed papers to the oldest parchments, causing ongoing deterioration. Now divided amongst various Galician public and religious archives, the Coruña collection consists of about sixty parchments, but no cartulary; another seventy texts, and readings of damaged exemplars, come from indices and *regesta* of early modern date, not unlike the cathedral archive of Astorga, with all its problems.³⁷ There are 136 charters from 788 to 1031, the earliest also the first lay transaction to survive, but much of the collection is preserved only in outline.³⁸

Sobrado de los Monjes was founded by Hermegildo Aloítiz, count of Présaras and majordomo to Ramiro II, and his wife Paterna in 952, and it soon became the second monastery of early medieval Galicia. The family, from their son Bishop Sisnando of Iria onward, kept control of Sobrado well into the eleventh century, notwithstanding the extinction of the direct line in 977; like Celanova and the family of Rosendo, it was both a proprietorial strategy and a pious foundation, and indeed there is a crossover between the two networks in their archives.

³⁶ COR, i, pp. 5-6; A. Abal, 'El monasterio de San Lorenzo de Carboeiro: intervenciones en el patrimonio y teorías de la restauración', *Abrente*, 40-41 (2008-9), p. 75; M. Lucas Álvarez, *El monasterio de San Martiño Pinario de Santiago de Compostela en la Edad Media* (Sada, 2003), pp. 9-16; *idem*, *San Paio de Antealtares, Soandres y Toques: tres monasterios medievales gallegos* (Coruña, 2001), pp. 13-6; J. Freire Camaniel, 'Los primeros documentos relativos a las iglesias de Antealtares y Santiago. Una lectura más', *Compostellum*, 44/3-4 (1999), pp. 335-92, 45/3-4 (2000), pp. 725-55.

³⁷ COR, i, pp. 6-25; F. López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media* (2nd ed., Santiago de Compostela, 2013), pp. 26-31.

³⁸ See fig. 86; J.A. Souto Cabo, 'A propósito da "charte presque célèbre" de Quiza Gonteríquiz', *Verba*, 36 (2009), pp. 215-54; C. Sáez and E. Sáez, 'El diploma de Quiza Gonteríquiz', *Signo* 3 (1996), pp. 69-86.

The Sobrado collection similarly preserves its aristocratic prehistory, which accounts for over half the early medieval charters, principally a record of its founders and their ancestors building the family estate, making it a lay as much as monastic archive.³⁹ There are two cartularies, now at Madrid, of 196 and 176 folios and totalling 986 charters from 787 to 1252, written in a script of the mid-thirteenth century; unfortunately the edition is incomplete, limited to a transcription of the text, so the study of the *Tumbos de Sobrado* is underdeveloped.⁴⁰ The collection consists of 129 charters from 787 to 1031, the richest for the Asturian period, anticipating the conquest of Galicia by Alfonso II; the monastery is a late entrant onto the scene, rendering the archive a western counterpart to Otero as a primary source for lay documentary practice.⁴¹

The monastery of **Samos** has Visigothic origins, but after the Arab conquest its history is enmeshed in the controversial narrative of the Mozarabic migration. The remarkable series of royal restorations of the monastery to religious immigrants from al-Andalus is overdue for reassessment, even if they are not demonstrably false. Samos is also unusual in that its earlier abbots seem to have wielded quasi-episcopal power over a congregation of dependent houses, while its later ones appear to overlap, unless there are textual problems.⁴² The archive consists of the *Tumbo de Samos*, which resurfaced in 1984 after a long disappearance, and contains 96 folios (another three lost) with 250 charters from 785 to 1200, plus a few additions; the work of a single hand in a late Caroline script of the early thirteenth century, it was not bound until the fifteenth. The originals of three early medieval texts in the *Tumbo* also survive, and another

³⁹ SLM, i, pp. 10-11; Pallares Méndez, *Monasterio*, pp. 71-6, 255-77; Sierra Macarrón, 'Aumento', pp. 120-27; *eadem*, 'Tipologías documentales del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes', in *Iglesia*, ii, pp. 1029-35; J. Pérez de Urbel, 'San Rosendo y Celanova en el Cartulario de Sobrado', *Signo*, 5 (1998), pp. 99-108.

⁴⁰ SLM, i, pp. 7-13; Pallares Méndez, *Sobrado*, pp. xxv-xxx; CEL, i, p. 6.

⁴¹ See figs. 87-8.

⁴² SJS, pp. 20-24; A.M. Mundó, 'La inscripción visigoda del monasterio de Samos', *SM*, 3/1 (1961), pp. 157-64; M. Arias, 'El monasterio de Samos desde sus orígenes hasta el siglo XI', *AL*, 35/70 (1981), pp. 275-311; J.A. García de Cortázar, 'Memoria y cultura en la documentación del monasterio de Samos: la respuesta de la fórmulas inútiles (años 785-1209)', *IAMR*, 18/1-2 (2008), p. 94; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Documentos de Samos de los reyes de Asturias', *CHE*, 4 (1946), pp. 147-60.

eleven documents are preserved in copies at Madrid.⁴³ The collection comprises 105 charters from 785 to 1031, but unlike Celanova and Sobrado, they feature the monastery alone.⁴⁴

When the tomb of the Apostle James was discovered at Compostela early in the reign of Alfonso II, the king rushed to the site, founded a church, and joined the ancient bishopric of Iria to it; as an offset to the restive Galician aristocracy, the **cathedral of Santiago** profited from royal largesse, and was grandly rebuilt by Alfonso III. This narrative of miraculous ascent and prestigious patronage is the sole interest of its early medieval archive, limited to cartularies of the high Middle Ages, when it had become an archiepiscopal see and terminus of a pilgrimage route spanning the Peninsula.⁴⁵ The *Tumbo A* is the main cartulary, 71 folios with 165 charters from 834 to 1255, written in Caroline script. The preface states that it was composed in 1129 at the order of Archbishop Diego Gelmírez, who planned to have the whole archive transcribed in five books by type of granter; only the first exists, of royal privileges, and while the first 100 were written by three or four scribes in one stage, the last 65 are additions from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The diplomas are ordered by date and grouped by reign, and heading each bloc is a royal miniature, making the *Tumbo A* a deluxe compendium of the past patrons of Santiago and their acts, aiming to inspire Alfonso VII to similar generosity.⁴⁶ As with the cathedral archive of Oviedo, the earliest diplomas are much criticized, but their often unique diplomatic formulation is perhaps due to this being a presentation copy in which textual fidelity was secondary. The formulas of confirmers are minimized so that their names line up in double columns, and the scribe is named only twice

⁴³ SJS, pp. 7-20; García de Cortázar, 'Samos', pp. 89-90; M. Arias, 'Informe sobre el archivo del monasterio de Samos', *Actas de las I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas, V. Paleografía y archivística* (Santiago de Compostela, 1975), pp. 163-70.

⁴⁴ See figs. 89-90.

⁴⁵ J. Barreiro Somoza, *El señorío de la iglesia de Santiago de Compostela (siglos IX-XIII)* (Coruña, 1987), pp. 21-6, 66-7; López Alsina, *Ciudad*, pp. 27-8, 105-51.

⁴⁶ SDC, pp. 11-2, 29-38, 42-54; López Alsina, *Ciudad*, pp. 28-36, 43; R.A. Fletcher, *Saint James' Catapult: the Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 262-5; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Los antiguos Tumbos de Santiago', in *Los Tumbos de Compostela* (Madrid, 1985), pp. 9-24; J.M. Fernández Catón, *El llamado Tumbo Colorado y otros códices de la iglesia compostelana: ensayo de reconstrucción* (León, 1990), pp. 74-96, 259-86.

for symmetry, but there is none of the hyperbole of the Oviedo falsifications. While the gift by Alfonso II of the three miles around the cathedral has raised great suspicion, the *Votos de Santiago*, the most gratuitous Compostelan forgery, is not found here, but in the *Tumbo B* of 1326. Caution is simply needed with this material.⁴⁷ The collection consists of 73 charters from 834 to 1030, uniquely focussed on tracing the relations of the Asturian and Leonese kings to Santiago, and to an extent Galician society.⁴⁸

The county of **Portugal** was born in 868, when Vímara Peres conquered Porto on behalf of Alfonso III, and it stayed in the Leonese kingdom until 1139. By the late nineteenth century, the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* had edited all known Portuguese charters from the early Middle Ages, with few omissions, and it remains the edition of reference. The collection has two components: 120 parchments held at Lisbon, primarily originals, and seven cartularies with about 170 early medieval charters.⁴⁹ The most important codex is the *Liber Testamentorum* of Lorvão, a monastery founded in the late ninth century and under Islamic rule from 988 to 1064. The 48 folios contain two chronicles and 86 charters from 777 (certainly in error) to 1117, plus later additions, and were written by one copyist with five contributors in a Visigothic-Caroline transitional script datable to *circa* 1119, when Lorvão was restored after brief suppression; the manuscript transmits over 60 early medieval documents, but fidelity of transcription is low, so they must be read with care.⁵⁰ The *Livro Preto* of the see of Coimbra contributes another sixty

⁴⁷ SDC, pp. 40-41; Barreiro Somoza, *Señorío*, pp. 43-58; López Alsina, *Ciudad*, pp. 31-47; S. Portela Pazos, *Anotaciones al Tumbo A de la catedral de Santiago* (Santiago, 1949).

⁴⁸ See figs. 91-2.

⁴⁹ M.J.V. Branco Marques da Silva, 'Portugal no reino de León. Etapas de uma relação (866-1179)', in *RL*, iv, pp. 533-625; A. Emiliano and S. Pedro, 'Inventário de diplomas conservados no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo contendo documentos notariais dos séculos IX-X', *Origens do Português. Digitalização, edição e estudo linguístico de documentos dos séculos IX-X* (2006), online at http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/philologia/ODP_inventario_mss.pdf; M.J. Azevedo Santos, *Da visigótica à carolina: a escrita em Portugal de 882 a 1172. Aspectos técnicos e culturais* (Lisbon, 1994), pp. 311-25; A. Emiliano, 'O mais antigo documento latino-português (882 a.D.) – edição e estudo grafémico', *Verba*, 26 (1999), pp. 7-42.

⁵⁰ M.J. Branco, 'Reis, condes, mosteiros e poderes: o mosteiro de Lorvão no contexto político do reino de Leão (secs. IX-XII)', in *LTL*, pp. 27-80; Aillet, pp. 27-49; A.A. Nascimento, 'Liber Testamentorum Coenobii Laurbanensis: descrição codicológica', in *LTL*, pp. 161-92; J.M. Ruiz Asencio, 'Los copistas del *Liber Testamentorum*, sus escrituras y notas sobre el *scriptorium* de Lorvão para la confección de documentos', in *LTL*, pp. 193-220; M. Herrero de la Fuente and J.A. Fernández Flórez, 'El "Liber Testamentorum" de Lorvão

charters, most originating from monastic and aristocratic archives later absorbed by it, because the bishops were only titular until Fernando I conquered the city in 1064. The codex consists of 255 folios with 663 charters from 773 (again in error) to 1217, and was written by numerous hands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the diocese faced challenges over its lands; the copyists were more faithful to their sources, except in transcribing witnesses.⁵¹ The *Livro de Mumadona* of Guimarães adds thirty more early medieval documents: its 60 folios preserve texts from 870 to 1115 written in a Caroline-Gothic transitional script, and it has taken its name from Mumadona Dias, great-granddaughter of Vímara Peres, who founded the monastery in 950, her family and foundation forming the focus of the cartulary.⁵² The remaining four codices are comparatively minor.⁵³ The Portuguese collection therefore consists of 275 charters from 773 to 1031, and remains underexploited for its many ecclesiastical and lay archives.⁵⁴

The East: Aragón, Castilla, La Rioja, and Navarra

San Juan de la Peña was traditionally founded in the eighth century by San Voto, but it is first securely attested in 1025, and a donation by Sancho III suggests that he had founded or restored it; he may also have introduced the Benedictine rule on the advice of Abbot Oliba

y sus tipos documentales, en el contexto de los cartularios de los reinos hispánicos occidentales', in LTL, pp. 244-5, 252-61, 274-304; M.H.C. Coelho, 'Análise diplomática da produção documental do *scriptorium* de Lorvão (séculos X-XII),' in *Estudos*, iii, pp. 387-405.

⁵¹ LPC, pp. xv-xxviii, ccxxxi-ccxxxii.

⁵² M.A. Rodrigues, 'Cartulários portugueses', in LTL, pp. 330-31; J.A. Pinto Ferreira, *Livro de Mumadona: cartulário medieval existente no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* (Lisbon, 1973).

⁵³ Rodrigues, 'Cartulários', pp. 321-2; F.A. Soares Silva, *Cartulário de D. Maior Martins (século XIII). Estudo introdutório, edição diplomática, índices* (Arouca, 2001); R. Durand, *Le cartulaire Baio-Ferrado du monastère de Grijó (XI^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1971); J. da Guarda, *Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto* (Porto, 1924).

⁵⁴ See figs. 93-4. Minor archives: ACM, ARO, AVE, CAM, OSE, OUR, SCR, SDB, SER, SPR, SVP. I should now add A.J. da Costa, *Liber Fidei Sanctae Bracarensis Ecclesiae* (3 vols., Braga, 1965-90); J.I. Fernández de Viana y Vieites, M.T. González Balasch, and J.C.P. Ramírez, 'El Tumbo de Caaveiro', *Cátedra*, 3 (1996), pp. 267-437, 4 (1997), pp. 221-385; F.J. Pérez Rodríguez, *Os documentos do Tombo de Toxosoutos* (Santiago de Compostela, 2004); J.L. López Sangil and M. Vidán Torreira, 'El Tumbo Viejo de Lugo (Transcripción Completa)', *EMin*, 27 (2011), pp. 11-373; V. Cañizares del Rey, *Colección diplomática (569-1463)*, ed. M. Rodríguez Sánchez and Ó. González Murado (Lugo, 2012).

of Ripoll. The early medieval archive is an umbrella for a dense monastic life which flourished in Aragón under Carolingian influence: Cillas, founded in 828, Fuenfría, established by García Íñiguez in about 850, Cercito, perhaps set up by Galindo I around that date, and Navasal, extant from 893, all absorbed by San Juan in the mid-eleventh century. The numerous forgeries in the collection invent a tenth-century history of royal favour for the main house.⁵⁵ The archive has two main elements: thirty parchments, mostly copies, held at Madrid, and the *Libro Gótico*, at Zaragoza. This cartulary is a composite bound in the sixteenth century, and is made up of 123 folios with 311 charters from 828 to 1216. The 'Visigothic section' of 39 folios is the earliest Iberian cartulary, the work of a scribe in the mid-eleventh century, copying texts from 948 to 1061, and a second who created an index; other hands thereafter added early medieval charters. The 'Caroline section' of the late eleventh or early twelfth century was originally separate, and spans 959 to 1095, with subsequent additions; both sections are cumulative registers rather than coherent cartularies.⁵⁶ In total the archive contains 55 charters from 828 to 1031.⁵⁷

San Pedro de Cardeña appears, fully formed, in 902; it was probably founded soon after Diego Rodríguez occupied Burgos in 884, and is traditionally associated with Alfonso III. The monastery was raided in 934, whence the 'two hundred martyrs', but thereafter it enjoyed the favour of the Castilian counts, and García Fernández was buried there in 995.⁵⁸ The archive is lost except for the *Becerro Gótico*, a codex of 99 folios with 367 charters from 899 to 1085, written largely by one scribe in a Visigothic-Caroline transitional script; from the latter year, it is the second earliest Iberian cartulary. Functional in design, it is organized geographically but for an initial bloc of (often forged) comital charters, and the copyist even reproduced hundreds

⁵⁵ SJP, i, pp. 7-9, 11-2; A.I. Lapeña Paul, *El monasterio de San Juan de la Peña en la Edad Media desde sus orígenes hasta 1410* (Zaragoza, 1989), pp. 23-39, 46-53.

⁵⁶ Á. Canellas López, 'El Cartulario visigótico de San Juan de la Peña', in *Homenaje a Don Agustín Millares Carlo* (2 vols., Las Palmas, 1975), i, pp. 206-17; Lapeña Paul, *San Juan*, pp. 17-22.

⁵⁷ See fig. 95.

⁵⁸ SPC, pp. 7-8; L. Serrano, *Becerro Gótico de Cardeña* (Valladolid, 1910), pp. viii-ix, xxxix-xl; S. Moreta Velayos, *El monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña: historia de un dominio monástico castellano (902-1338)* (Salamanca, 1971), pp. 19-23, 60; M.I. Carzolio de Rossi, 'Formación y desarrollo de los dominios del monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña', *CHE*, 45-6 (1967), pp. 79-81.

of monograms and signs, but he may have omitted the day from the dating clause, as a quarter of the charters are dated to the first of the month, and they are so homogeneous in formulation that steamlining seems indicated. The only other source, however, is an eighteenth-century archivist who transmits six documents from a lost thirteenth-century cartulary.⁵⁹ The collection contains 233 charters from 899 to 1031, more than all other Castilian archives combined.⁶⁰

The bishopric and monastery of **Valpuesta** was founded in 804, or so say two forgeries, when Alfonso II sent Bishop Juan to repopulate the area and he settled at an abandoned church, but the bishops are first securely attested in the late ninth century, and at this monastery in the tenth.⁶¹ There is a substantial archive for the period before the absorption of Valpuesta into the see of Burgos in 1088, comprised of two cartularies held at Madrid. The more important is the *Becerro Gótico*, of 103 folios (some initial ones missing) with 178 charters from 804 to 1138, plus additions, while the *Becerro Galicano* was created by a canon of Valpuesta in 1236, who copied 138 documents from the earlier codex. But conceiving of the *Becerro Gótico* as a single cartulary is inaccurate: the work of 34 different scribes, 22 writing in Visigothic scripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries and 12 in Caroline scripts of the late eleventh and twelfth, it is in fact a motley assemblage of originals and sets of copies, including a subsidiary cartulary of the monastery of Buezo de Bureba from the mid-eleventh century, and was perhaps begun around then in unknown circumstances.⁶² Reflecting this heterogeneous compilation, many texts in the codex exist in multiple versions; all told, there are 48 charters from 804 to 1031.⁶³

⁵⁹ SPC, pp. 9-17; Serrano, *Cardeña*, pp. xii-xiv; Moreta Velayos, *Cardeña*, pp. 14-5, 136-40; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Falsificaciones en Cardeña', *CHE*, 37-8 (1963), pp. 336-45.

⁶⁰ See fig. 96.

⁶¹ F. Cantera y Burgos, 'En torno al documento fundacional de Valpuesta', *Hispania*, 10 (1943), pp. 3-15; M.Á. Ibáñez García, 'El privilegio de Alfonso II: introducción al señorío de Valpuesta en los siglos XI-XII', *SS*, 18 (2003), pp. 149-74; A. Linage Conde, 'La repoblación diocesana de Juan de Valpuesta', *EMir*, 24 (2004), pp. 213-28; S. Ruiz de Loizaga, *Iglesia y sociedad en el norte de España: iglesia episcopal de Valpuesta, alta Edad Media* (Burgos, 1991), pp. 73-4, 113-8.

⁶² J.M. Ruiz Asencio, I. Ruiz Albi, and M. Herrero Jiménez, *Los Becerros gótico y galicano de Valpuesta* (2 vols., Burgos, 2010), i, pp. 41-105, 107-37, 157-67; S. Ruiz de Loizaga, *Los cartularios gótico y galicano de Santa María de Valpuesta (1090-1140)* (Vitoria, 1995), pp. 7-12, 21-32; *EMir*, 24 (2004).

⁶³ See fig. 97.

The archive of **San Pedro de Arlanza** was nearly lost: its *Becerro* vanished in the Civil War, but the contents were fortuitously transcribed in 1925. The cartulary can be reconstructed in some detail: it contained 97 charters from 912 to 1156, with several additions, and involved three stages of composition, a first thematic project around 1120-35, a second in chronological order *circa* 1150-65, and an appendix. The stages explain the duplicate charters of foundation, both dated to 912, one granted by Gonzalo Téllez, the other by his nephew Fernán González. The former provided the model for the latter, a forgery of the mid-twelfth century, added to the front of the *Becerro* in stage two; Arlanza was usurping the narrative of the origins of Castilla then coalescing around the count, who is interred at the monastery, and the cartulary includes many comital forgeries.⁶⁴ The only other source for the formative years of the monastery is a handful of eighteenth-century copies made by Liciniano Sáez, archivist of Silos, most notably of the *fuero* of Brañosera.⁶⁵ The archive consists of 29 charters from 824 to 1026.⁶⁶

San Salvador de Oña was the last foundation of the Castilian counts, established by Sancho García for his daughter Tigridia in 1011, after the example of García Fernández at Covarrubias. The endowment charter pre-dates the exchange by which he acquired the *villa* of Oña by a fortnight; it seems original, however, so either the second transaction is misdated or one of them was drawn up after the fact.⁶⁷ The monastery rapidly became a focus of Castilian political identity, and the founder and his son were buried there in 1017 and 1029 respectively, but its expansion came later. The early medieval archive of Oña is modest, twenty parchments

⁶⁴ SPA, pp. vii-xi, xv; J. Escalona Monge and P. Azcárate Aguilar-Amat, 'Una fuente "casi" perdida para la historia de la Castilla medieval. Notas en torno al Becerro de San Pedro de Arlanza', *Hispania*, 61/208 (2001), pp. 450-54, 462-73; *idem* and M. Larrañaga Zulueta, 'De la crítica diplomática a la ideología política. Los diplomas fundacionales de San Pedro de Arlanza y la construcción de una identidad para la Castilla medieval', in *VI Congreso*, ii, pp. 162-206.

⁶⁵ Escalona and Azcárate Aguilar-Amat, 'Becerro', pp. 454-7.

⁶⁶ See fig. 98.

⁶⁷ SSO, pp. x, xxx; S. Olmedo Bernal, *Una abadía castellana en el siglo XI. San Salvador de Oña (1011-1109)* (Madrid, 1987), pp. 19, 28-51; M. Zabalza Duque, 'Hallazgo del documento original de la fundación del monasterio de Oña', in *El pasado histórico de Castilla y León, I. Edad Media* (Burgos, 1983), pp. 325-32.

at Madrid and some early modern notices; a fourteenth-century monastic cartulary contains no texts from this period.⁶⁸ The collection is limited to 24 charters from 822 to 1029.⁶⁹

San Millán de la Cogolla is dedicated to a sixth-century hermit saint, at the cave where he lived, but there is no genuine record of its existence until 932, after the conquest of La Rioja by Sancho Garcés I in 923; the intervening centuries were later bridged by apocryphal lists of abbots and charters.⁷⁰ The major element of the archive is the *Becerro Galicano*, a cartulary of 246 folios with 406 documentary units from 759 to 1194 (plus additions), written in Caroline script around 1196. The *Becerro Gótico*, a lost earlier cartulary, may be partially reconstructed through archival notices from the eighteenth century. The peculiarity of the *Becerro Galicano* is that a quarter of the 406 entries in its index are not single documents but blocs of texts; often related in location or personnel, but at times miscellaneous, these tend to be lists of acquisitions, seemingly inherited from the *Becerro Gótico*. Whether to handle the blocs as they are or break them up remains an editorial problem, although one profitable approach is to differentiate the notes making up each bloc from the added documentary clauses. The cartulary is organized geographically, but estates of filial houses are grouped regardless of location and each bloc is situated by the first property in it; the underlying structure follows the diocesan boundaries of the early eleventh century, to demonstrate the seniority of San Millán to the dioceses encroaching on it by evoking the golden age when its abbots doubled as the bishops of Nájera and Álava.⁷¹ The archive is famous for its forgeries: the egregious *Votos de San Millán* of the mid- to late twelfth century, heading the *Becerro Galicano*, and the many boilerplate charters

⁶⁸ SSO, pp. ix, xxxi, xxxv-xxxvii, xl; Olmeda Bernal, *Abadía*, pp. 10-13, 51-75; R.M. Blasco Martínez, 'El códice cartulario de Oña. Aproximación codicológica', *HID*, 19 (1992), pp. 70-71.

⁶⁹ See fig. 99.

⁷⁰ J.Á. García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, *El dominio del monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla (siglos X a XIII): introducción a la historia rural de Castilla altomedieval* (Salamanca, 1969), pp. 24-8, 116-43; E. Zaragoza i Pascual, 'Abadologio del monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla (siglos VI-XIX)', *SM*, 42/1 (2000), pp. 188-91.

⁷¹ F. García Andreva, *El Becerro Galicano de San Millán de la Cogolla. Edición y estudio* (Logroño, 2010), pp. 13-82; García de Cortázar, *San Millán*, pp. 41-3, 64, 156-62; D. Peterson, 'Reescribiendo el pasado. El *Becerro Galicano* como reconstrucción de la historia institucional de San Millán de la Cogolla', *Hispania*, 69/233 (2009), pp. 654-80.

of foundation, endowment, and ultimate absorption for the many small houses later incorporated by the monastery. When the diplomas of the Navarrese kings and Castilian counts to San Millán have been discounted, forgeries from the twelfth century for litigation with neighbouring dioceses, a more humble reality remains.⁷² The collection consists of 196 charters from 759 to 1031, nearly one-third false; the monastery accounts for only a third of the total, while a quarter belong to San Juan de Hiniestra, founded in 947, and a tenth each to San Esteban de Salcedo and San Miguel de Pedroso.⁷³

The monastery of **Albelda** was founded by Sancho Garcés I in thanks for his victory at Viguera in 923, according to a twelfth-century forgery; by 925, in any case, it was in existence, and the Navarrese kings, having relocated to nearby Nájera, enriched it with gifts, enlisting it in the repopulation of their expanded realm. García Sánchez I attended the consecration in 947, and royal patronage may explain how Albelda became, alongside San Millán, a major centre of book production.⁷⁴ The monastery was subsumed into Santa María de la Redonda in 1435, and this institution houses some of its parchments, including the earliest original surviving from the east, which records the incorporation of San Prudencio de Monte Laturce into Albelda and was written by the calligrapher and illuminator Vigila in 950. The other element of the archive is a manuscript of 1501 now held at Simancas: it is a copy of seven folios in Visigothic script, perhaps a monastic cartulary.⁷⁵ The collection consists of 32 charters from 921 to 1024.⁷⁶

⁷² P. Azcárate Aguilar-Amat *et al.*, 'Volver a nacer: historia e identidad en los monasterios de Arlanza, San Millán y Silos (siglos XII-XIII)', *CEHM*, 29 (2006), pp. 373-82; A. Ubieto Arteta, 'Los votos de San Millán', in J. Maluquer de Motes (ed.), *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives* (2 vols., Barcelona, 1965), i, pp. 304-24; G. Martínez Díez, 'El monasterio de San Millán y sus monasterios filiales. Documentación emilianense y diplomas apócrifas', *Brocar*, 21 (1998), pp. 8-52; G. Martínez Díez, 'San Emeterio de Taranco', *CHE*, 76 (2000), pp. 7-8; A. Ubieto Arteta, 'Los primeros años del monasterio de San Millán', *PV*, 132-3 (1973), pp. 181-200; García de Cortázar, *San Millán*, pp. 43-4, 319-23.

⁷³ See fig. 100; Peterson, 'Reescribiendo', pp. 667-70; García de Cortázar, *San Millán*, pp. 13-4, 64-74, 130-36.

⁷⁴ M. Lázaro Ruiz, 'El monasterio de San Martín de Albelda: estrategias en la ocupación del territorio y valoración socioeconómica (925-1094)', in *VII Semana*, pp. 354-71, 380-81; C.J. Bishko, 'Salvus of Albelda and Frontier Monasticism in Tenth-Century Navarre', repr. in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London, 1980), §I, pp. 559-65.

⁷⁵ SMA, p. 5; ALB, pp. 7-8; SPL, pp. 15-6; SPC, p. 14; Lázaro Ruiz, 'Albelda,' pp. 356-61.

⁷⁶ See fig. 101.

San Salvador de Leire is mostly unknowable in this period because its archive is copious only in forgeries. The monastery was described by Eulogius of Córdoba in 848, and the relics of Nunilo and Alodia, martyred three decades before in Huesca, were translated to it in 880; a connection with the monarchy of Navarra is indicated by at least two kings being received into the monastic *familia* and buried there, while the abbot doubled as bishop of Pamplona from the early eleventh century. Yet the collection is confined to a dozen parchments and the *Becerro Antiguo*, a codex of 137 folios with 277 charters from 842 to 1202, written by various hands in Caroline script in three stages during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Half the parchment copies are contained in a *pancarta* of the late eleventh century, forged for use against the bishop of Pamplona, while the early medieval charters in the *Becerro Antiguo* are falsifications from the same time and context.⁷⁷ The principal Navarrese archive, with 22 charters from 842 to 1024, is therefore largely the partisan product of another era.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ SSL, pp. xii-xxx; L.J. Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, *Leire, un señorío monástico en Navarra (siglos IX-XIX)* (Pamplona, 1993), pp. 38-50, 73-97; cf. A. Ubieto Arteta, 'Con qué tipo de letra se escribió en Navarra hace mil años', *RABM*, 63 (1957), pp. 409-22.

⁷⁸ See fig. 102. Minor archives: ACB, ACH, ACP, ADA, ADC, ALB, AME, BUR, CAR, COV, JAC, MIR, RIO, SAF, SCI, SCS, SDS, SEB, SMI, SMN, SPL, SPS, VAL.

FIGURES

Figure 1

Overview

	Number	(%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Collections

<u>West</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>29.29</u>
CEL	384	9.80
COR	136	3.47
PMH	270	6.89
SDC	77	1.96
SJS	104	2.65
SLM	122	3.11
...	55	1.40
<u>Centre</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>52.77</u>
ACA	243	6.20
ACL	897	22.89
ACO	45	1.15
OLD	196	5.00
SAH	428	10.92
SDM	43	1.10
SPE	33	0.84
STL	82	2.09
SVO	30	0.77
...	71	1.81
<u>East</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>17.94</u>
SJP	54	1.38
SMA	31	0.79
SMC	196	5.00
SMV	48	1.22
SPA	29	0.74
SPC	234	5.97
SSL	22	0.56
SSO	24	0.61
...	65	1.66

Personnel

<u>Royal</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>12.91</u>
RE	433	11.05
ER	7	0.18
RL	44	1.12
LR	14	0.36
...	8	0.20
<u>Comital</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>1.81</u>
CE	54	1.38
CL	12	0.31
...	5	0.13

FIGURES

<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>66.32</u>
LE	1652	42.15
EL	115	2.93
EE	791	20.18
E	33	0.84
...	8	0.20
<u>Lay</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>18.47</u>
LL	722	18.42
...	2	0.05
<u>Unknown</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>0.48</u>

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>54.02</u>
D	1062	27.10
D/DPM	49	1.25
D/S	30	0.77
DC	293	7.48
DC/DPM	19	0.48
DP	44	1.12
DPM	142	3.62
RD	255	6.51
RDC	131	3.34
...	92	2.35
<u>Sales</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>36.21</u>
S	1190	30.36
SC	100	2.55
E	93	2.37
E/S	10	0.26
...	26	0.66
<u>Other</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>9.72</u>
C	36	0.92
DS	101	2.58
I	13	0.33
MP	18	0.46
N	27	0.69
P	59	1.51
RC	51	1.30
RC/RD	15	0.38
...	61	1.56
<u>Unknown</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.05</u>

Complexity

Simple	2714	69.25
Complex	1203	30.70
Unknown	2	0.05

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>21.26</u>
O	648	16.53
O/CC	126	3.22
O/LC	37	0.94
...	22	0.56

FIGURES

<u>Copy</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>5.89</u>
C	95	2.42
C/CC	83	2.12
C/CC/LC	12	0.31
C/LC	40	1.02
...	1	0.03
<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>60.70</u>
CC	2223	56.72
CC/LC	153	3.90
...	3	0.08
<u>Other</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>12.12</u>
LC	127	3.24
L	310	7.91
PO	26	0.66
...	12	0.31
<u>Unknown</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>92.55</u>
A	3598	91.81
A/S	14	0.36
A/I	15	0.38
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>
S	21	0.54
...	1	0.03
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>
I	53	1.35
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>5.38</u>
A/F	12	0.31
S/F	10	0.26
I/F	10	0.26
F	179	4.57
<u>Misdated</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.10</u>
<u>Unknown</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.05</u>

FIGURES

Figure 2

Concordance of Editions

Charter	Date
PMH.2/LTL.41	777/857/911-24
ACB.1/SMV.2	804
PMH.3/LTL.47	811/911
ACB.2/SDB.236	844
SJP.4/SSL.2	850
COR.4/SLM.13	867
PMH.4/LPC.360	867-912
PMH.5/VMH.1	870
SMC.16/SMN.1	873/903
PMH.11/LPC.12/SDC.11	883
PMH.1/LPC.454	902
PMH.13A/LPC.356	906
PMH.13B/LPC.354	906
PMH.13C/LPC.355	906
ACL.20/ACO.17	906
PMH.15/LTL.19	907
SAH.9/TOR.1	909
SAH.10/TOR.2	909
SAH.11/TOR.3	910
PMH.17/CDO.7	911
COR.14/SDC.25	912/915
PMH.18/SDC.26/SDB.210	915
PMH.19/SDC.27	915
PMH.20/LPC.169	915
ADA.1/SPM.6	918
PMH.23/LTL.50	919
SPC.14/SMA.1	921
PMH.25/LPC.81	922
PMH.26/SSG.130	922
SMN.2/RIO.1	923
SMA.2/ALB.1	924
PMH.28/LPC.514	924
ACA.27/ACA.41	924
PMH.29/VMH.2	924
SDC.35/SDB.237	924
PMH.31/VMH.3	926
PMH.33/LTL.40	927
PMH.32/LTL.72	927
PMH.34/LTL.33	928
SPA.10/BUR.1	931
PMH.37/CDR.8	933
PMH.37/LTL.1/CDR.2	933
PMH.39/LTL.7	933
SID.6/RCV.1	934
PMH.40/LTL.4	935
PMH.42/LTL.36	936
PMH.44/LTL.12	937

FIGURES

PMH.45/LTL.69	937
SSL.7/ACP.3	938
OUR.3/CEL.59	938
PMH.47/LTL.34	938
PMH.50/CDR.47	943
SPC.42/CAR.1	943
PMH.51/LTL.22	943
PMH.50/LTL.3	943
PMH.52/LTL.56	943
PMH.54/LPC.526	944
VEG.2/VDJ.5	946
PMH.55/LTL.45	946
PMH.71/VMH.8	947
SMA.14/ALB.2III	947
SMA.17/ALB.2II	947
PMH.59/VMH.4	949
PMH.61/VMH.6	950
PMH.36/VMH.5	950
PMH.62/LTL.18	950
SMA.19/SPL.1/ALB.3	950/956
PMH.100/LPC.56	951-5
ACA.70/ACA.71	952
PMH.65/LTL.66	952
ACL.270/SCL.1	954
ACA.47/ACA.77	954
PMH.68/LTL.73	954
PMH.70/VMH.7	956
ACA.30/ACA.46/ACA.83	956
PMH.73/LPC.111	957
PMH.75/LPC.368	957
PMH.74/LTL.17	957
PMH.76/AVE.1/VMH.9	959
PMH.49/LTL.54	959
PMH.78/VMH.10	960
PMH.81/VMH.11	960
ACA.92/ACA.93	960
PMH.82/VMH.12	961
PMH.85/LTL.23	961
PMH.83/LTL.46/LTL.75	961
PMH.84/LTL.61	961
PMH.107/LTL.58	963/973
PMH.87/LPC.139	964
PMH.88/VMH.13	964
PMH.92/LTL.5	966
PMH.93/LPC.530	967
PMH.94/LTL.2	967
PMH.97/AVE.1/VMH.14	968
PMH.99/VMH.15	968
PMH.96/LTL.8	968
PMH.101/LTL.57	970
ACH.11/JAC.1	971
ACB.4/COV.2	972

FIGURES

SMN.3/RIO.2a	972
SMN.4/RIO.2b	972
PMH.104/LTL.16	972
PMH.109/LPC.205	973
PMH.111/VMH.16	973
PMH.106/LTL.13	973
PMH.108/LTL.53	973
ACB.5/COV.3	974
ACA.39/ACA.128	974
CEL.176/COR.86	974
PMH.112/LPC.187	974
PMH.114/LPC.2	974
ACB.6/COV.5	974
PMH.113/LTL.21	974
ACL.437/SAH.280	975
ACA.132/ACA.133	975
PMH.116/LOR.2	976
PMH.118/LTL.24	976
PMH.116/LTL.32/LOR.2	976
PMH.117/LTL.6	976
PMH.120/LPC.291	977
PMH.121/LTL.76	977
ACB.8/COV.6	978
ACB.9/COV.7-9/BUR.2/TOL.1	978
PMH.125/LTL.25	978
PMH.122/LTL.55	978
PMH.123/LTL.70	978
COV.12/CAR.2	979
PMH.127/LTL.43	980
PMH.128/LTL.68	980
PMH.133/LTL.26	981
PMH.131/LTL.28	981
PMH.132/LTL.29	981
PMH.130/LTL.60	981
SJS.44/SJS.45	982
PMH.135/LPC.524	982
PMH.136/LTL.27	982
PMH.138/VMH.17	983
SMA.28/ALB.4	983
PMH.143/LTL.44	984
PMH.139/LTL.48	984
COR.95/SJS.S8	985
PMH.147/LPC.1	985
PMH.145/LTL.49	985
PMH.148/LTL.51	985
PMH.217/LTL.39	985-98/1012
PMH.152/VMH.18	986
PMH.153/LPC.515	987
COR.102/COR.103	988
SAH.340/SPE.30	988
PMH.154/LTL.52	988
NAV.64/NAV.65	989

FIGURES

PMH.156/LPC.208	989
PMH.159/LPC.366	990
PMH.179/LTL.37	990
SJP.28/SCS.1	992
PMH.165/LTL.42	992
PMH.168/VMH.19	994
PMH.170/LPC.517	994
ACA.173/ACA.181	994
PMH.171/LPC.194	994
PMH.173/LPC.200	995
COR.110/SLM.114	995
ACA.169/ACA.177	996
PMH.185/LPC.522	1001
PMH.191/LPC.126	1002
PMH.189/LTL.31	1002
PMH.192/LPC.191	1003
PMH.193/LPC.212	1004
SMA.30/SMI.2A	1004-24
PMH.194/LPC.135	1005
PMH.195/LPC.518	1006
PMH.196/LPC.72	1006
PMH.199/LPC.523	1008
PMH.200/VMH.20	1008
PMH.202/LPC.155	1008
PMH.201/VMH.21	1008
PMH.203/LPC.204	1008
PMH.204/LPC.206-7	1008
PMH.208/LPC.529	1009
PMH.209/LPC.193	1009
PMH.212/VMH.22	1009
PMH.213/LPC.211	1010
PMH.215/LPC.527	1010
SMC.144/MIR.1	1012
ACL.711/SIL.2	1013
PMH.221/VMH.23	1013
PMH.223/VMH.24/CDA.15	1014
PMH.224/LPC.197	1014
PMH.225/VMH.25	1014
PMH.237/LPC.118	1014
SSL.16/ACP.5/SEB.1	1014/1030
PMH.227/LPC.124	1016
PMH.228/LPC.202	1016
PMH.96/PMH.229	1016-7
PMH.229/LTL.10	1016-7
PMH.230/LTL.9	1016-7
PMH.233/LPC.123	1018
PMH.234A/LPC.129	1018
PMH.234B/LPC.161	1018
PMH.246/LPC.156	1018
PMH.238/LPC.120	1018
PMH.239/LPC.122	1018
PMH.240/LTL.15	1018

FIGURES

PMH.241/LPC.121	1019
PMH.242/LPC.134	1019
SJS.80/SJS.81	1020
PMH.245/LPC.91	1020
SMC.171/VAL.1	1020
PMH.247/VMH.26	1021
PMH.248/LPC.142	1021
ACL.786/SAH.410	1022
PMH.251/VMH.27	1022
SSL.20/ACP.7	1022
PMH.252/LPC.128	1023
PMH.253/LPC.109/LPC.143-4	1023
SSL.21/ACP.8	1023
ACB.11/COV.13	1024
SMA.31/SMI.2B/SMI.4	1024
SMA.32/ALB.2I	1024
PMH.258/LPC.203	1025
PMH.260/LPC.359	1025
ACB.12/COV.14	1027
PMH.232/PMH.263	1027
ACB.13/COV.15	1027
SRE.2/RCV.5	1027
ACA.237/ACA.252	1027
PMH.222/LPC.147	1027-37
PMH.264/VMH.28	1028
CDF.5/SSS.1	1030
PMH.269/SSG.169	1030

FIGURES

Figure 3

Authenticity

	Authentic		Suspicious		Interpolated		Falsified		Overall	
<u>Total</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>92.55</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>5.38</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>100.00</u>
Collections										
<u>West</u>	<u>1092</u>	<u>27.86</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.05</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>0.59</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>0.71</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>29.29</u>
CEL	379	9.67	0	0.00	4	0.10	1	0.03	384	9.80
COR	118	3.01	0	0.00	11	0.28	5	0.13	136	3.47
PMH	270	6.89	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	270	6.89
SDC	69	1.76	1	0.03	3	0.08	4	0.10	77	1.96
SJS	102	2.60	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.05	104	2.65
SLM	122	3.11	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	122	3.11
...	32	0.82	1	0.03	5	0.13	16	0.41	55	1.40
<u>Centre</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>50.37</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0.20</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0.38</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>1.76</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>52.77</u>
ACA	234	5.97	4	0.10	0	0.00	5	0.13	243	6.20
ACL	877	22.38	1	0.03	3	0.08	15	0.38	897	22.89
ACO	23	0.59	0	0.00	1	0.03	21	0.54	45	1.15
OLD	196	5.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	196	5.00
SAH	408	10.41	1	0.03	4	0.10	15	0.38	428	10.92
SDM	38	0.97	1	0.03	2	0.05	2	0.05	43	1.10
SPE	31	0.79	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.05	33	0.84
STL	81	2.07	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03	82	2.09
SVO	27	0.69	0	0.00	2	0.05	1	0.03	30	0.77
...	59	1.51	1	0.03	3	0.08	7	0.18	71	1.81
<u>East</u>	<u>561</u>	<u>14.31</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0.31</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0.38</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>2.91</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>17.94</u>
SJP	35	0.89	1	0.03	3	0.08	15	0.38	54	1.38
SMA	30	0.77	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03	31	0.79
SMC	137	3.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	59	1.51	196	5.00
SMV	45	1.15	0	0.00	1	0.03	2	0.05	48	1.22
SPA	21	0.54	3	0.08	1	0.03	4	0.10	29	0.74
SPC	221	5.64	1	0.03	0	0.00	12	0.31	234	5.97
SSL	5	0.13	0	0.00	5	0.13	12	0.31	22	0.56
SSO	18	0.46	2	0.05	3	0.08	1	0.03	24	0.61
...	49	1.25	5	0.13	2	0.05	8	0.20	65	1.66
Personnel										
<u>Royal</u>	<u>341</u>	<u>8.70</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0.31</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>0.54</u>	<u>132</u>	<u>3.37</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>12.91</u>
RE	278	7.09	9	0.23	20	0.51	126	3.22	433	11.05
ER	4	0.10	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.08	7	0.18
RL	38	0.97	3	0.08	1	0.03	2	0.05	44	1.12
LR	14	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	14	0.36
...	7	0.18	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	8	0.20
<u>Comital</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>0.66</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0.18</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.10</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>0.87</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>1.81</u>
CE	15	0.38	6	0.15	4	0.10	29	0.74	54	1.38
CL	6	0.15	1	0.03	0	0.00	5	0.13	12	0.31
...	5	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.13
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>2519</u>	<u>64.28</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0.08</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>0.69</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>1.15</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>66.32</u>
LE	1622	41.39	2	0.05	12	0.31	15	0.38	1652	42.15
EL	113	2.88	0	0.00	1	0.03	0	0.00	115	2.93

FIGURES

EE	746	19.04	1	0.03	14	0.36	28	0.71	791	20.18
E	30	0.77	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.05	33	0.84
...	8	0.20	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	8	0.20
<u>Lay</u>	<u>722</u>	<u>18.42</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>18.47</u>
LL	720	18.37	0	0.00	1	0.03	0	0.00	722	18.42
...	2	0.05	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.05

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>48.18</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>1.00</u>	<u>168</u>	<u>4.29</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>54.02</u>
D	985	25.13	6	0.15	14	0.36	57	1.45	1062	27.10
D/DPM	48	1.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	49	1.25
D/S	30	0.77	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	30	0.77
DC	276	7.04	0	0.00	6	0.15	9	0.23	293	7.48
DC/DPM	18	0.46	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	19	0.48
DP	44	1.12	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	44	1.12
DPM	141	3.60	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03	142	3.62
RD	173	4.41	8	0.20	9	0.23	65	1.66	255	6.51
RDC	87	2.22	4	0.10	7	0.18	33	0.84	131	3.34
...	86	2.19	0	0.00	3	0.08	3	0.08	92	2.35
<u>Sales</u>	<u>1417</u>	<u>36.16</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>36.21</u>
S	1189	30.34	0	0.00	1	0.03	0	0.00	1190	30.36
SC	100	2.55	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	100	2.55
E	92	2.35	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03	93	2.37
E/S	10	0.26	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	0.26
...	26	0.66	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	26	0.66
<u>Other</u>	<u>321</u>	<u>8.19</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>0.33</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>1.05</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>9.72</u>
C	28	0.71	2	0.05	2	0.05	4	0.10	36	0.92
DS	99	2.53	0	0.00	2	0.05	0	0.00	101	2.58
I	13	0.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	13	0.33
MP	16	0.41	0	0.00	1	0.03	1	0.03	18	0.46
N	25	0.64	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03	27	0.69
P	58	1.48	0	0.00	1	0.03	0	0.00	59	1.51
RC	35	0.89	0	0.00	3	0.08	13	0.33	51	1.30
RC/RD	5	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	0.26	15	0.38
...	42	1.07	2	0.05	4	0.10	12	0.31	61	1.56

Complexity

Simple	2549	65.04	14	0.36	24	0.61	126	3.22	2714	69.25
Complex	1077	27.48	8	0.20	29	0.74	84	2.14	1203	30.70

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>831</u>	<u>21.20</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>21.26</u>
O	646	16.48	1	0.03	1	0.03	0	0.00	648	16.53
O/CC	126	3.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	126	3.22
O/LC	37	0.94	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	37	0.94
...	22	0.56	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	22	0.56
<u>Copy</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>3.29</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0.23</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>1.71</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>5.89</u>
C	58	1.48	3	0.08	9	0.23	21	0.54	95	2.42
C/CC	54	1.38	1	0.03	3	0.08	25	0.64	83	2.12
C/CC/LC	1	0.03	2	0.05	1	0.03	8	0.20	12	0.31
C/LC	15	0.38	3	0.08	9	0.23	13	0.33	40	1.02
...	1	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>2225</u>	<u>56.77</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0.20</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>0.59</u>	<u>122</u>	<u>3.11</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>60.70</u>
CC	2088	53.28	7	0.18	16	0.41	111	2.83	2223	56.72
CC/LC	135	3.44	1	0.03	7	0.18	10	0.26	153	3.90
...	2	0.05	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03	3	0.08
<u>Other</u>	<u>441</u>	<u>11.25</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0.18</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>12.12</u>
LC	106	2.70	4	0.10	4	0.10	12	0.31	127	3.24
L	298	7.60	0	0.00	3	0.08	9	0.23	310	7.91
PO	26	0.66	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	26	0.66
...	11	0.28	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03	12	0.31

FIGURES

Figure 4

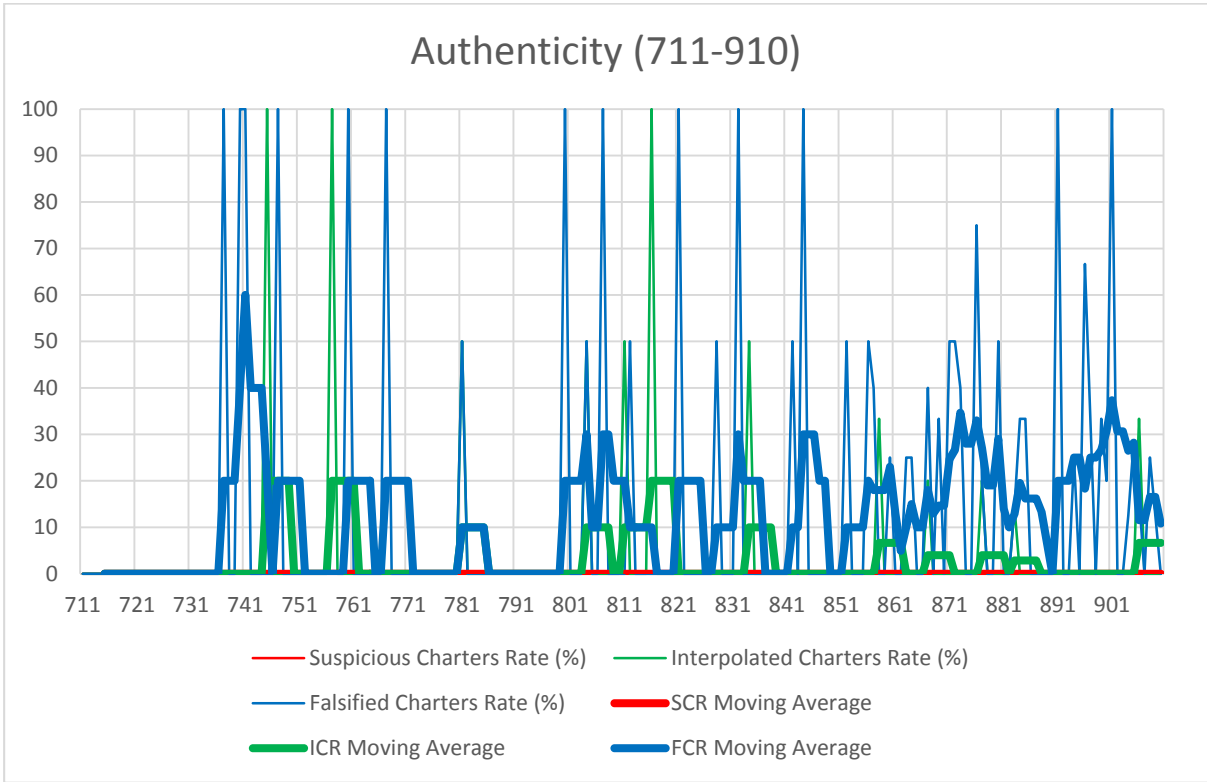
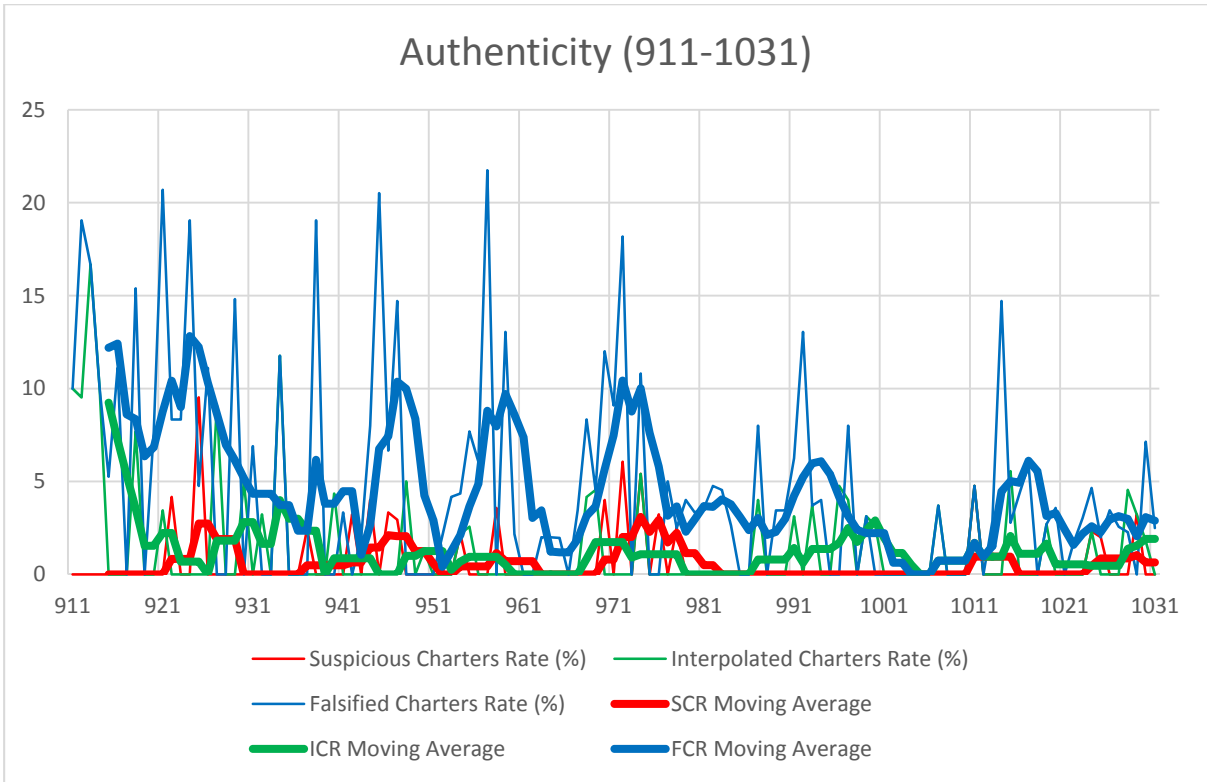


Figure 5



FIGURES

Figure 6

Palaeography

	Originals		Copies		Cartulary Copies		Other Copies		Overall	
<u>Total</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>21.26</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>5.89</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>60.70</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>12.12</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>100.00</u>
Collections										
<u>West</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>4.01</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>1.74</u>	<u>825</u>	<u>21.05</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>2.50</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>29.29</u>
CEL	0	0.00	1	0.03	382	9.75	1	0.03	384	9.80
COR	34	0.87	28	0.71	1	0.03	73	1.86	136	3.47
PMH	104	2.65	17	0.43	140	3.57	9	0.23	270	6.89
SDC	0	0.00	0	0.00	77	1.96	0	0.00	77	1.96
SJS	5	0.13	2	0.05	91	2.32	6	0.15	104	2.65
SLM	0	0.00	0	0.00	122	3.11	0	0.00	122	3.11
...	14	0.36	20	0.51	12	0.31	9	0.23	55	1.40
<u>Centre</u>	<u>658</u>	<u>16.79</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>2.58</u>	<u>998</u>	<u>25.47</u>	<u>310</u>	<u>7.91</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>52.77</u>
ACA	3	0.08	1	0.03	0	0.00	238	6.07	243	6.20
ACL	314	8.01	19	0.48	563	14.37	1	0.03	897	22.89
ACO	10	0.26	9	0.23	26	0.66	0	0.00	45	1.15
OLD	163	4.16	2	0.05	0	0.00	31	0.79	196	5.00
SAH	104	2.65	49	1.25	269	6.86	6	0.15	428	10.92
SDM	3	0.08	6	0.15	33	0.84	1	0.03	43	1.10
SPE	24	0.61	4	0.10	1	0.03	4	0.10	33	0.84
STL	1	0.03	2	0.05	79	2.02	0	0.00	82	2.09
SVO	28	0.71	2	0.05	0	0.00	0	0.00	30	0.77
...	8	0.20	7	0.18	27	0.69	29	0.74	71	1.81
<u>East</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>1.58</u>	<u>556</u>	<u>14.19</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>1.71</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>17.94</u>
SJP	2	0.05	0	0.00	52	1.33	0	0.00	54	1.38
SMA	2	0.05	4	0.10	1	0.03	24	0.61	31	0.79
SMC	1	0.03	7	0.18	188	4.80	0	0.00	196	5.00
SMV	1	0.03	0	0.00	47	1.20	0	0.00	48	1.22
SPA	0	0.00	4	0.10	16	0.41	9	0.23	29	0.74
SPC	0	0.00	1	0.03	226	5.77	7	0.18	234	5.97
SSL	0	0.00	13	0.33	9	0.23	0	0.00	22	0.56
SSO	1	0.03	14	0.36	0	0.00	9	0.23	24	0.61
...	11	0.28	19	0.48	17	0.43	18	0.46	65	1.66
Personnel										
<u>Royal</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>1.53</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>2.22</u>	<u>292</u>	<u>7.45</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>1.68</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>12.91</u>
RE	44	1.12	78	1.99	253	6.46	57	1.45	433	11.05
ER	0	0.00	1	0.03	6	0.15	0	0.00	7	0.18
RL	13	0.33	7	0.18	19	0.48	5	0.13	44	1.12
LR	3	0.08	0	0.00	9	0.23	2	0.05	14	0.36
...	0	0.00	1	0.03	5	0.13	2	0.05	8	0.20
<u>Comital</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0.08</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>1.07</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0.20</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>1.81</u>
CE	2	0.05	11	0.28	35	0.89	6	0.15	54	1.38
CL	0	0.00	6	0.15	4	0.10	2	0.05	12	0.31
...	1	0.03	1	0.03	3	0.08	0	0.00	5	0.13
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>413</u>	<u>10.54</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>3.01</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>44.07</u>	<u>341</u>	<u>8.70</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>66.32</u>
LE	267	6.81	54	1.38	1121	28.60	210	5.36	1652	42.15
EL	33	0.84	6	0.15	67	1.71	9	0.23	115	2.93

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EE	108	2.76	55	1.40	509	12.99	119	3.04	791	20.18
E	3	0.08	3	0.08	25	0.64	2	0.05	33	0.84
...	2	0.05	0	0.00	5	0.13	1	0.03	8	0.20
<u>Lay</u>	<u>353</u>	<u>9.01</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0.18</u>	<u>315</u>	<u>8.04</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>1.25</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>18.47</u>
LL	352	8.98	7	0.18	314	8.01	49	1.25	722	18.42
...	1	0.03	0	0.00	1	0.03	0	0.00	2	0.05

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>338</u>	<u>8.62</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>4.24</u>	<u>1288</u>	<u>32.87</u>	<u>324</u>	<u>8.27</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>54.02</u>
D	131	3.34	52	1.33	665	16.97	214	5.46	1062	27.10
D/DPM	8	0.20	4	0.10	32	0.82	5	0.13	49	1.25
D/S	9	0.23	0	0.00	19	0.48	2	0.05	30	0.77
DC	67	1.71	18	0.46	179	4.57	29	0.74	293	7.48
DC/DPM	4	0.10	1	0.03	12	0.31	2	0.05	19	0.48
DP	15	0.38	2	0.05	24	0.61	3	0.08	44	1.12
DPM	26	0.66	6	0.15	99	2.53	11	0.28	142	3.62
RD	33	0.84	40	1.02	146	3.73	35	0.89	255	6.51
RDC	21	0.54	32	0.82	70	1.79	10	0.26	131	3.34
...	24	0.61	11	0.28	42	1.07	13	0.33	92	2.35
<u>Sales</u>	<u>426</u>	<u>10.87</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>0.64</u>	<u>860</u>	<u>21.94</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>2.76</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>36.21</u>
S	357	9.11	17	0.43	729	18.60	87	2.22	1190	30.36
SC	40	1.02	0	0.00	54	1.38	6	0.15	100	2.55
E	20	0.51	6	0.15	59	1.51	8	0.20	93	2.37
E/S	5	0.13	0	0.00	5	0.13	0	0.00	10	0.26
...	4	0.10	2	0.05	13	0.33	7	0.18	26	0.66
<u>Other</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>1.74</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>1.02</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>5.89</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>1.07</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>9.72</u>
C	3	0.08	7	0.18	16	0.41	10	0.26	36	0.92
DS	25	0.64	5	0.13	64	1.63	7	0.18	101	2.58
I	1	0.03	1	0.03	10	0.26	1	0.03	13	0.33
MP	2	0.05	3	0.08	11	0.28	2	0.05	18	0.46
N	5	0.13	1	0.03	18	0.46	3	0.08	27	0.69
P	27	0.69	1	0.03	26	0.66	5	0.13	59	1.51
RC	1	0.03	7	0.18	36	0.92	7	0.18	51	1.30
RC/RD	0	0.00	2	0.05	11	0.28	2	0.05	15	0.38
...	4	0.10	13	0.33	39	1.00	5	0.13	61	1.56

Complexity

Simple	563	14.37	121	3.09	1670	42.61	359	9.16	2714	69.25
Complex	269	6.86	110	2.81	709	18.09	115	2.93	1203	30.70

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>831</u>	<u>21.20</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>3.29</u>	<u>2225</u>	<u>56.77</u>	<u>441</u>	<u>11.25</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>92.55</u>
A	830	21.18	127	3.24	2199	56.11	441	11.25	3598	91.81
A/S	1	0.03	1	0.03	12	0.31	0	0.00	14	0.36
A/I	0	0.00	1	0.03	14	0.36	0	0.00	15	0.38
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0.23</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0.20</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.10</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>
S	1	0.03	8	0.20	8	0.20	4	0.10	21	0.54
...	0	0.00	1	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>0.59</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0.18</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>
I	1	0.03	22	0.56	23	0.59	7	0.18	53	1.35
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>1.71</u>	<u>122</u>	<u>3.11</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>5.38</u>
A/F	0	0.00	3	0.08	8	0.20	1	0.03	12	0.31

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S/F	0	0.00	2	0.05	8	0.20	0	0.00	10	0.26
I/F	0	0.00	3	0.08	7	0.18	0	0.00	10	0.26
F	0	0.00	59	1.51	99	2.53	21	0.54	179	4.57

FIGURES

Figure 7

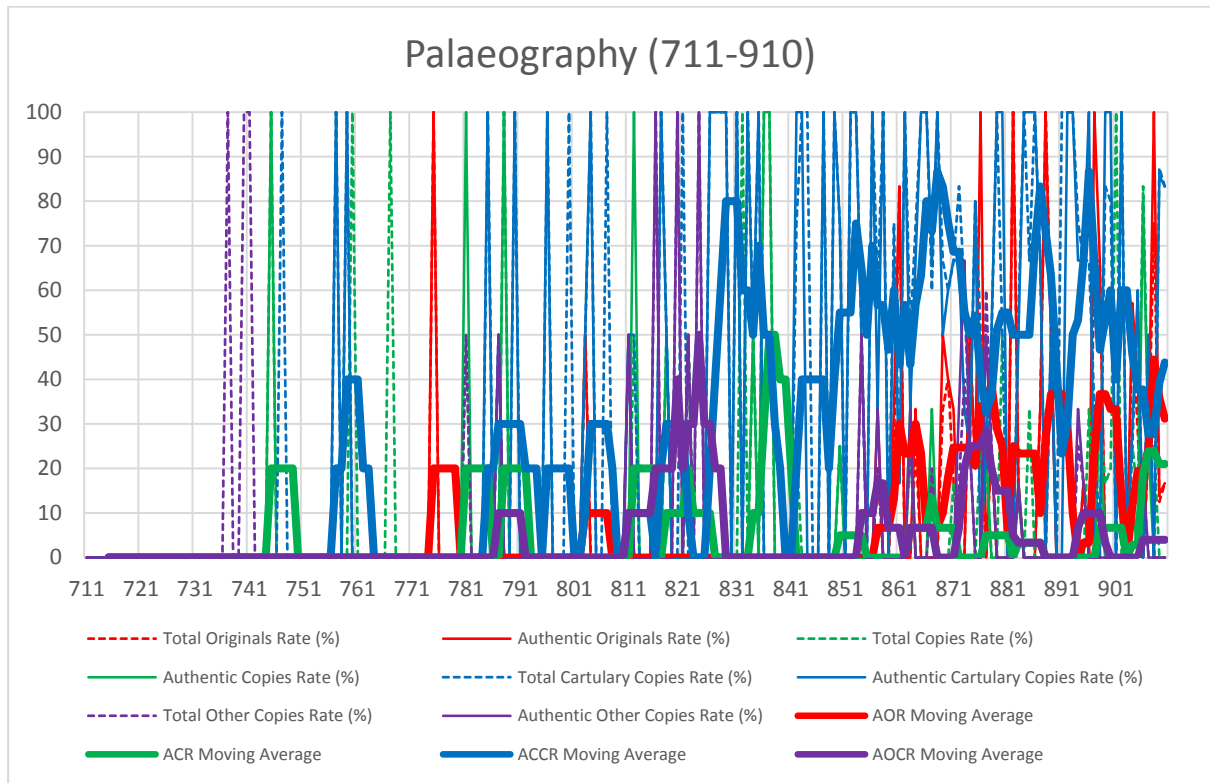
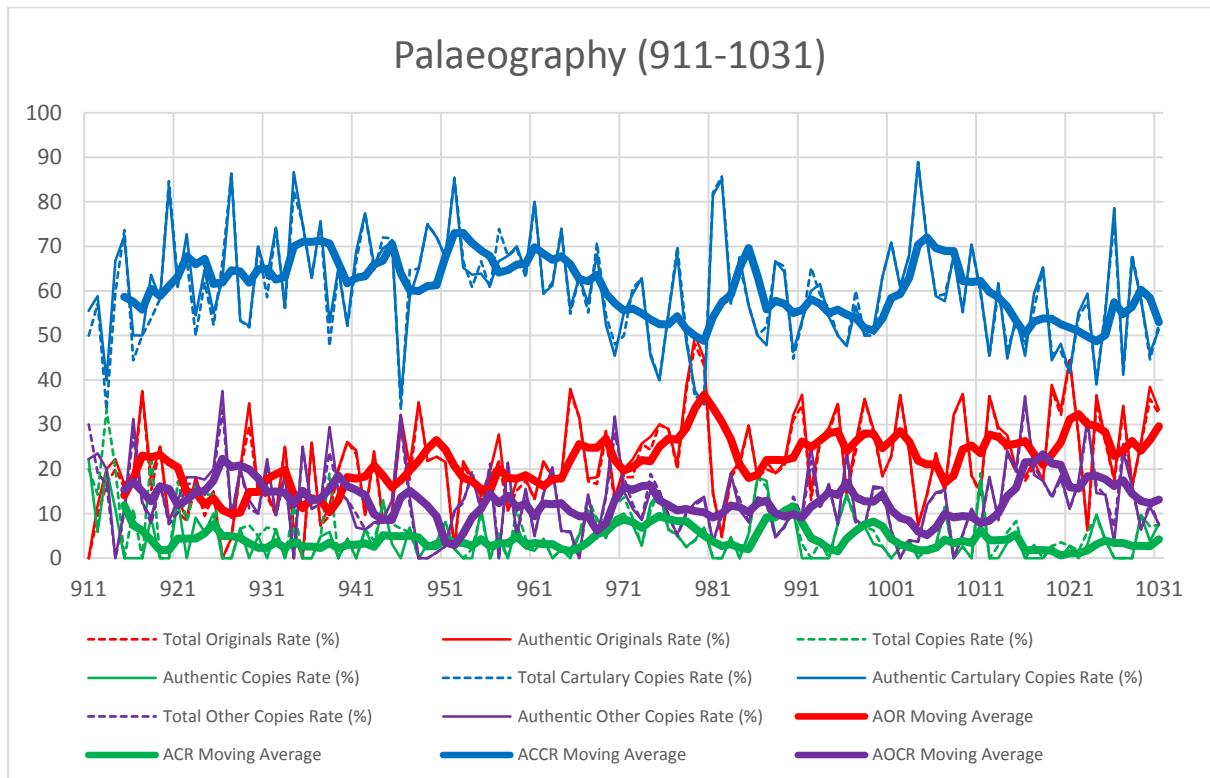


Figure 8



FIGURES

Figure 9

Regionalism

	West		Centre		East		Overall	
<u>Total</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>29.29</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>52.77</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>17.94</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>100.00</u>
Personnel								
<u>Royal</u>	<u>172</u>	<u>4.39</u>	<u>207</u>	<u>5.28</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>3.24</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>12.91</u>
RE	148	3.78	170	4.34	114	2.91	433	11.05
ER	2	0.05	4	0.10	1	0.03	7	0.18
RL	12	0.31	27	0.69	5	0.13	44	1.12
LR	5	0.13	4	0.10	5	0.13	14	0.36
...	5	0.13	2	0.05	2	0.05	8	0.20
<u>Comital</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.10</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>1.71</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>1.81</u>
CE	0	0.00	4	0.10	50	1.28	54	1.38
CL	0	0.00	0	0.00	12	0.31	12	0.31
...	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.13	5	0.13
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>742</u>	<u>18.93</u>	<u>1374</u>	<u>35.06</u>	<u>483</u>	<u>12.32</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>66.32</u>
LE	434	11.07	903	23.04	315	8.04	1652	42.15
EL	35	0.89	70	1.79	10	0.26	115	2.93
EE	247	6.30	391	9.98	153	3.90	791	20.18
E	23	0.59	6	0.15	4	0.10	33	0.84
...	3	0.08	4	0.10	1	0.03	8	0.20
<u>Lay</u>	<u>223</u>	<u>5.69</u>	<u>478</u>	<u>12.20</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>0.59</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>18.47</u>
LL	223	5.69	476	12.15	23	0.59	722	18.42
...	0	0.00	2	0.05	0	0.00	2	0.05
Typology								
<u>Donations</u>	<u>628</u>	<u>16.02</u>	<u>1005</u>	<u>25.64</u>	<u>484</u>	<u>12.35</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>54.02</u>
D	259	6.61	494	12.61	309	7.88	1062	27.10
D/DPM	19	0.48	22	0.56	8	0.20	49	1.25
D/S	6	0.15	20	0.51	4	0.10	30	0.77
DC	141	3.60	129	3.29	23	0.59	293	7.48
DC/DPM	13	0.33	6	0.15	0	0.00	19	0.48
DP	4	0.10	35	0.89	5	0.13	44	1.12
DPM	24	0.61	93	2.37	25	0.64	142	3.62
RD	74	1.89	110	2.81	71	1.81	255	6.51
RDC	49	1.25	56	1.43	26	0.66	131	3.34
...	39	1.00	40	1.02	13	0.33	92	2.35
<u>Sales</u>	<u>363</u>	<u>9.26</u>	<u>923</u>	<u>23.55</u>	<u>133</u>	<u>3.39</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>36.21</u>
S	280	7.14	793	20.23	117	2.99	1190	30.36
SC	41	1.05	57	1.45	2	0.05	100	2.55
E	34	0.87	50	1.28	9	0.23	93	2.37
E/S	1	0.03	9	0.23	0	0.00	10	0.26
...	7	0.18	14	0.36	5	0.13	26	0.66
<u>Other</u>	<u>156</u>	<u>3.98</u>	<u>139</u>	<u>3.55</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>2.19</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>9.72</u>
C	9	0.23	11	0.28	16	0.41	36	0.92
DS	38	0.97	48	1.22	15	0.38	101	2.58
I	11	0.28	2	0.05	0	0.00	13	0.33
MP	2	0.05	8	0.20	8	0.20	18	0.46
N	12	0.31	9	0.23	6	0.15	27	0.69

FIGURES

P	27	0.69	25	0.64	7	0.18	59	1.51
RC	26	0.66	6	0.15	19	0.48	51	1.30
RC/RD	2	0.05	10	0.26	3	0.08	15	0.38
...	29	0.74	20	0.51	12	0.31	61	1.56

Complexity

Simple	689	17.58	1503	38.35	522	13.32	2714	69.25
Complex	458	11.69	564	14.39	181	4.62	1203	30.70

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>4.01</u>	<u>658</u>	<u>16.79</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>21.26</u>
O	121	3.09	516	13.17	11	0.28	648	16.53
O/CC	11	0.28	111	2.83	4	0.10	126	3.22
O/LC	18	0.46	17	0.43	2	0.05	37	0.94
...	7	0.18	14	0.36	1	0.03	22	0.56
<u>Copy</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>1.74</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>2.58</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>1.58</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>5.89</u>
C	25	0.64	46	1.17	24	0.61	95	2.42
C/CC	19	0.48	49	1.25	15	0.38	83	2.12
C/CC/LC	2	0.05	0	0.00	10	0.26	12	0.31
C/LC	21	0.54	6	0.15	13	0.33	40	1.02
...	1	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03
<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>825</u>	<u>21.05</u>	<u>998</u>	<u>25.47</u>	<u>556</u>	<u>14.19</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>60.70</u>
CC	688	17.56	997	25.44	538	13.73	2223	56.72
CC/LC	136	3.47	0	0.00	17	0.43	153	3.90
...	1	0.03	1	0.03	1	0.03	3	0.08
<u>Other</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>2.50</u>	<u>310</u>	<u>7.91</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>1.71</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>12.12</u>
LC	25	0.64	74	1.89	28	0.71	127	3.24
L	70	1.79	201	5.13	39	1.00	310	7.91
PO	0	0.00	26	0.66	0	0.00	26	0.66
...	3	0.08	9	0.23	0	0.00	12	0.31

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>1092</u>	<u>27.86</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>50.37</u>	<u>561</u>	<u>14.31</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>92.55</u>
A	1085	27.69	1967	50.19	546	13.93	3598	91.81
A/S	3	0.08	4	0.10	7	0.18	14	0.36
A/I	4	0.10	3	0.08	8	0.20	15	0.38
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.05</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0.20</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0.31</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>
S	2	0.05	7	0.18	12	0.31	21	0.54
...	0	0.00	1	0.03	0	0.00	1	0.03
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>0.59</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0.38</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0.38</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>
I	23	0.59	15	0.38	15	0.38	53	1.35
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>0.71</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>1.76</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>2.91</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>5.38</u>
A/F	2	0.05	1	0.03	9	0.23	12	0.31
S/F	0	0.00	1	0.03	9	0.23	10	0.26
I/F	4	0.10	4	0.10	2	0.05	10	0.26
F	22	0.56	63	1.61	94	2.40	179	4.57

FIGURES

Figure 10

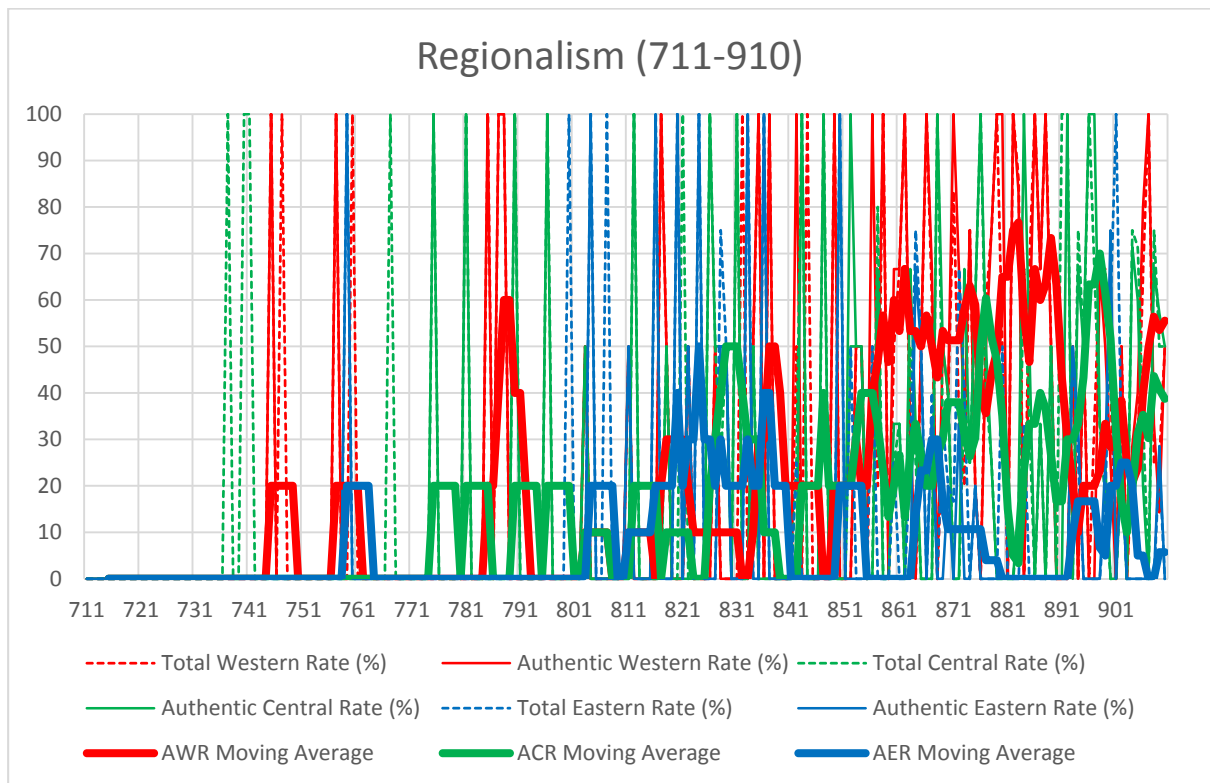
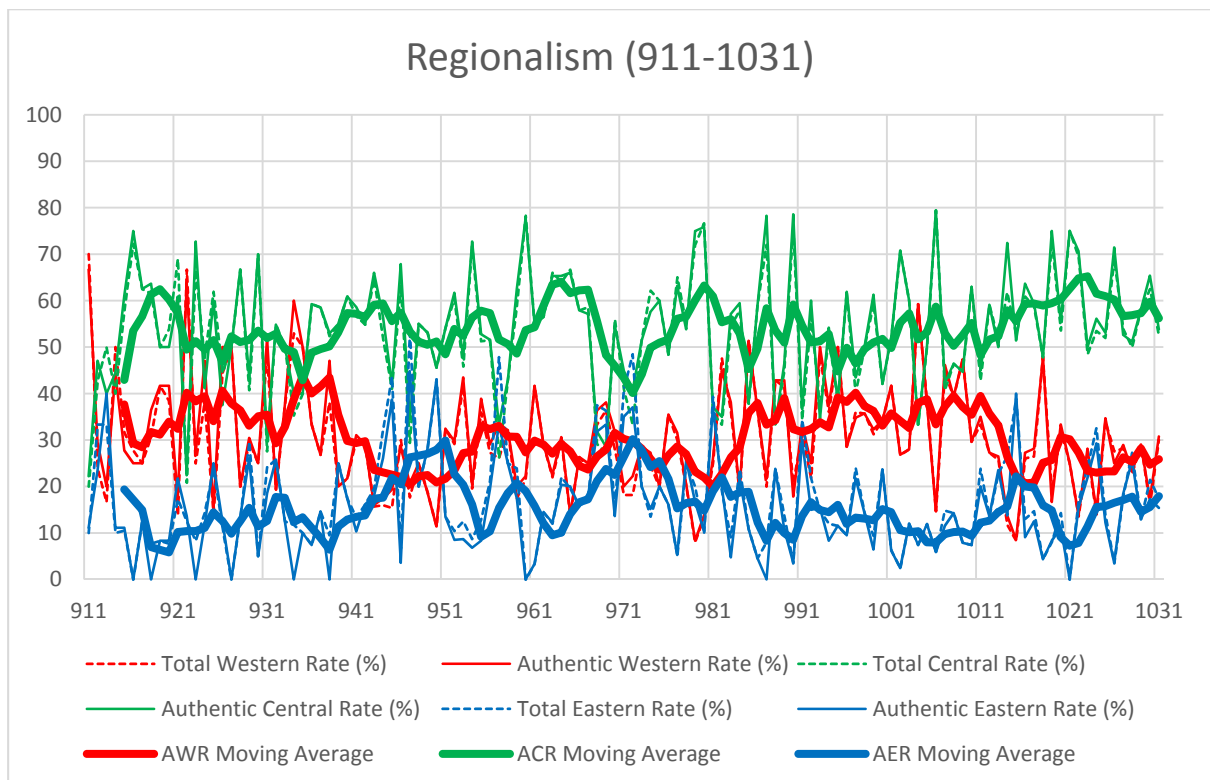


Figure 11



FIGURES

Figure 12

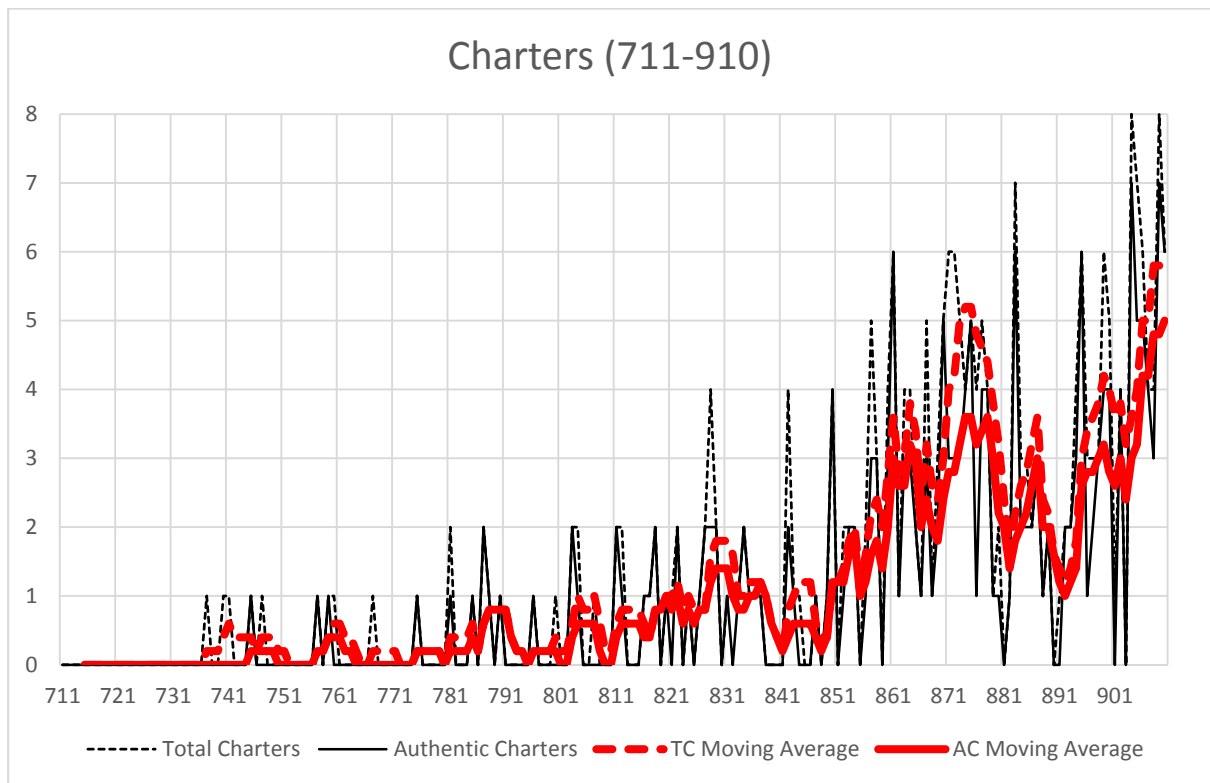
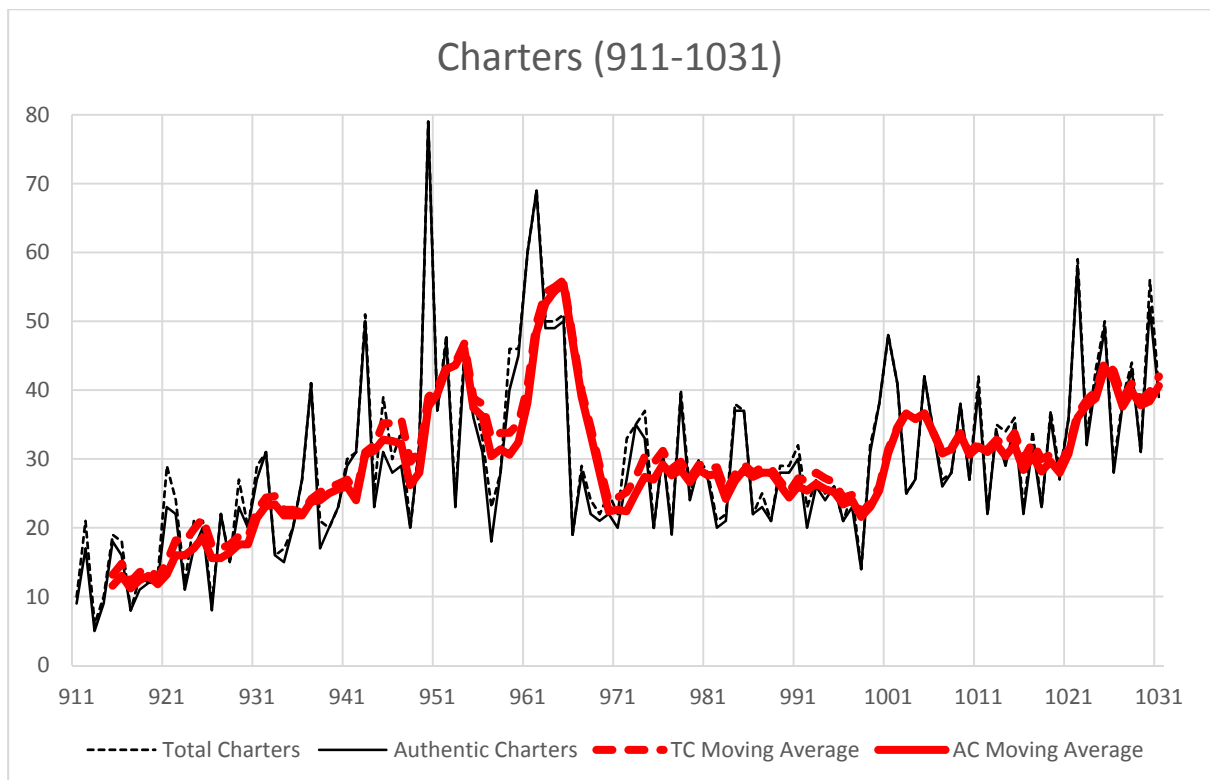


Figure 13



FIGURES

Figure 14

Personnel

	Royal		Comital		Ecclesiastical		Lay		Overall	
<u>Total</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>12.91</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>1.81</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>66.32</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>18.47</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>100.00</u>
Collections										
<u>West</u>	<u>172</u>	<u>4.39</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>742</u>	<u>18.93</u>	<u>223</u>	<u>5.69</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>29.29</u>
CEL	25	0.64	0	0.00	319	8.14	40	1.02	384	9.80
COR	16	0.41	0	0.00	99	2.53	11	0.28	136	3.47
PMH	12	0.31	0	0.00	154	3.93	104	2.65	270	6.89
SDC	70	1.79	0	0.00	7	0.18	0	0.00	77	1.96
SJS	15	0.38	0	0.00	88	2.25	1	0.03	104	2.65
SLM	6	0.15	0	0.00	54	1.38	62	1.58	122	3.11
...	28	0.71	0	0.00	21	0.54	5	0.13	55	1.40
<u>Centre</u>	<u>207</u>	<u>5.28</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.10</u>	<u>1374</u>	<u>35.06</u>	<u>478</u>	<u>12.20</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>52.77</u>
ACA	19	0.48	0	0.00	207	5.28	15	0.38	243	6.20
ACL	84	2.14	0	0.00	609	15.54	203	5.18	897	22.89
ACO	25	0.64	0	0.00	20	0.51	0	0.00	45	1.15
OLD	7	0.18	0	0.00	29	0.74	158	4.03	196	5.00
SAH	41	1.05	0	0.00	321	8.19	66	1.68	428	10.92
SDM	2	0.05	3	0.08	38	0.97	0	0.00	43	1.10
SPE	7	0.18	0	0.00	26	0.66	0	0.00	33	0.84
STL	0	0.00	0	0.00	57	1.45	25	0.64	82	2.09
SVO	1	0.03	0	0.00	20	0.51	9	0.23	30	0.77
...	21	0.54	1	0.03	47	1.20	2	0.05	71	1.81
<u>East</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>3.24</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>1.71</u>	<u>483</u>	<u>12.32</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>0.59</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>17.94</u>
SJP	33	0.84	1	0.03	19	0.48	1	0.03	54	1.38
SMA	12	0.31	0	0.00	19	0.48	0	0.00	31	0.79
SMC	40	1.02	18	0.46	135	3.44	2	0.05	196	5.00
SMV	1	0.03	0	0.00	46	1.17	1	0.03	48	1.22
SPA	0	0.00	10	0.26	16	0.41	3	0.08	29	0.74
SPC	3	0.08	19	0.48	195	4.98	15	0.38	234	5.97
SSL	20	0.51	0	0.00	2	0.05	0	0.00	22	0.56
SSO	2	0.05	9	0.23	12	0.31	1	0.03	24	0.61
...	16	0.41	10	0.26	39	1.00	0	0.00	65	1.66

Typology

	<u>395</u>	<u>10.08</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>	<u>1466</u>	<u>37.41</u>	<u>196</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>54.02</u>
<u>Donations</u>										
D	0	0.00	45	1.15	948	24.19	64	1.63	1062	27.10
D/DPM	0	0.00	0	0.00	46	1.17	2	0.05	49	1.25
D/S	0	0.00	0	0.00	22	0.56	8	0.20	30	0.77
DC	0	0.00	4	0.10	215	5.49	74	1.89	293	7.48
DC/DPM	0	0.00	0	0.00	16	0.41	3	0.08	19	0.48
DP	0	0.00	0	0.00	18	0.46	26	0.66	44	1.12
DPM	0	0.00	0	0.00	139	3.55	2	0.05	142	3.62
RD	255	6.51	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	255	6.51
RDC	131	3.34	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	131	3.34
...	9	0.23	4	0.10	62	1.58	17	0.43	92	2.35
<u>Sales</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>0.51</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0.08</u>	<u>906</u>	<u>23.12</u>	<u>483</u>	<u>12.32</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>36.21</u>
S	0	0.00	0	0.00	775	19.78	410	10.46	1190	30.36

FIGURES

SC	0	0.00	0	0.00	52	1.33	48	1.22	100	2.55
E	0	0.00	2	0.05	67	1.71	22	0.56	93	2.37
E/S	0	0.00	0	0.00	9	0.23	1	0.03	10	0.26
...	20	0.51	1	0.03	3	0.08	2	0.05	26	0.66
<u>Other</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>2.30</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0.38</u>	<u>227</u>	<u>5.79</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>1.15</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>9.72</u>
C	0	0.00	6	0.15	26	0.66	2	0.05	36	0.92
DS	2	0.05	1	0.03	79	2.02	18	0.46	101	2.58
I	0	0.00	0	0.00	12	0.31	1	0.03	13	0.33
MP	0	0.00	0	0.00	18	0.46	0	0.00	18	0.46
N	0	0.00	1	0.03	23	0.59	1	0.03	27	0.69
P	0	0.00	0	0.00	42	1.07	17	0.43	59	1.51
RC	51	1.30	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	51	1.30
RC/RD	15	0.38	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	0.38
...	22	0.56	7	0.18	27	0.69	6	0.15	61	1.56

Complexity

Simple	277	7.07	48	1.22	1867	47.64	508	12.96	2714	69.25
Complex	228	5.82	23	0.59	732	18.68	216	5.51	1203	30.70

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>1.53</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0.08</u>	<u>413</u>	<u>10.54</u>	<u>353</u>	<u>9.01</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>21.26</u>
O	31	0.79	0	0.00	280	7.14	333	8.50	648	16.53
O/CC	18	0.46	0	0.00	92	2.35	16	0.41	126	3.22
O/LC	5	0.13	2	0.05	26	0.66	4	0.10	37	0.94
...	6	0.15	1	0.03	15	0.38	0	0.00	22	0.56
<u>Copy</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>2.22</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>3.01</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0.18</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>5.89</u>
C	29	0.74	10	0.26	50	1.28	5	0.13	95	2.42
C/CC	34	0.87	1	0.03	47	1.20	1	0.03	83	2.12
C/CC/LC	10	0.26	0	0.00	2	0.05	0	0.00	12	0.31
C/LC	14	0.36	7	0.18	18	0.46	1	0.03	40	1.02
...	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03	0	0.00	1	0.03
<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>292</u>	<u>7.45</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>1.07</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>44.07</u>	<u>315</u>	<u>8.04</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>60.70</u>
CC	191	4.87	41	1.05	1673	42.69	315	8.04	2223	56.72
CC/LC	100	2.55	1	0.03	52	1.33	0	0.00	153	3.90
...	1	0.03	0	0.00	2	0.05	0	0.00	3	0.08
<u>Other</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>1.68</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0.20</u>	<u>341</u>	<u>8.70</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>1.25</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>12.12</u>
LC	36	0.92	1	0.03	79	2.02	10	0.26	127	3.24
L	27	0.69	7	0.18	250	6.38	16	0.41	310	7.91
PO	1	0.03	0	0.00	3	0.08	22	0.56	26	0.66
...	2	0.05	0	0.00	9	0.23	1	0.03	12	0.31

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>341</u>	<u>8.70</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>0.66</u>	<u>2519</u>	<u>64.28</u>	<u>722</u>	<u>18.42</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>92.55</u>
A	332	8.47	18	0.46	2507	63.97	722	18.42	3598	91.81
A/S	3	0.08	6	0.15	5	0.13	0	0.00	14	0.36
A/I	6	0.15	2	0.05	7	0.18	0	0.00	15	0.38
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0.31</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0.18</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0.08</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>
S	11	0.28	7	0.18	3	0.08	0	0.00	21	0.54
...	1	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>0.54</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.10</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>0.69</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>
I	21	0.54	4	0.10	27	0.69	1	0.03	53	1.35
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>132</u>	<u>3.37</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>0.87</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>1.15</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>5.38</u>

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A/F	10	0.26	1	0.03	1	0.03	0	0.00	12	0.31
S/F	4	0.10	4	0.10	2	0.05	0	0.00	10	0.26
I/F	6	0.15	2	0.05	2	0.05	0	0.00	10	0.26
F	112	2.86	27	0.69	40	1.02	0	0.00	179	4.57

FIGURES

Figure 15

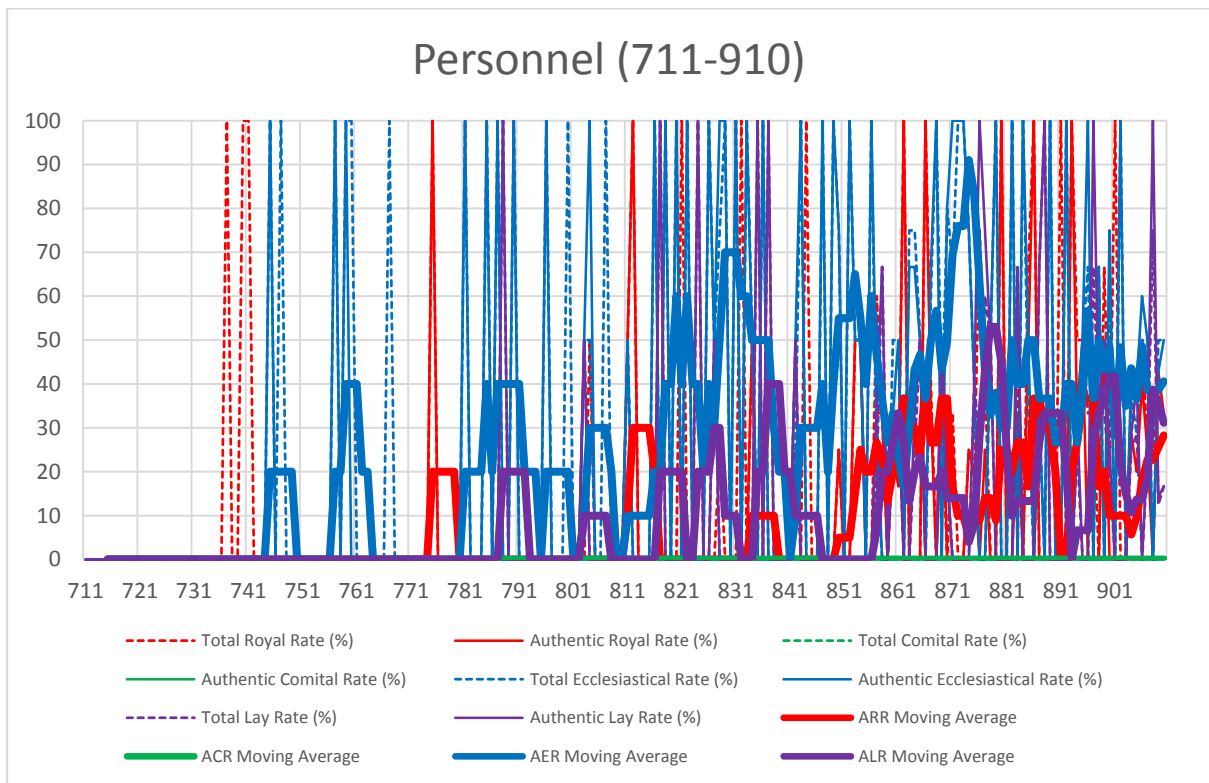
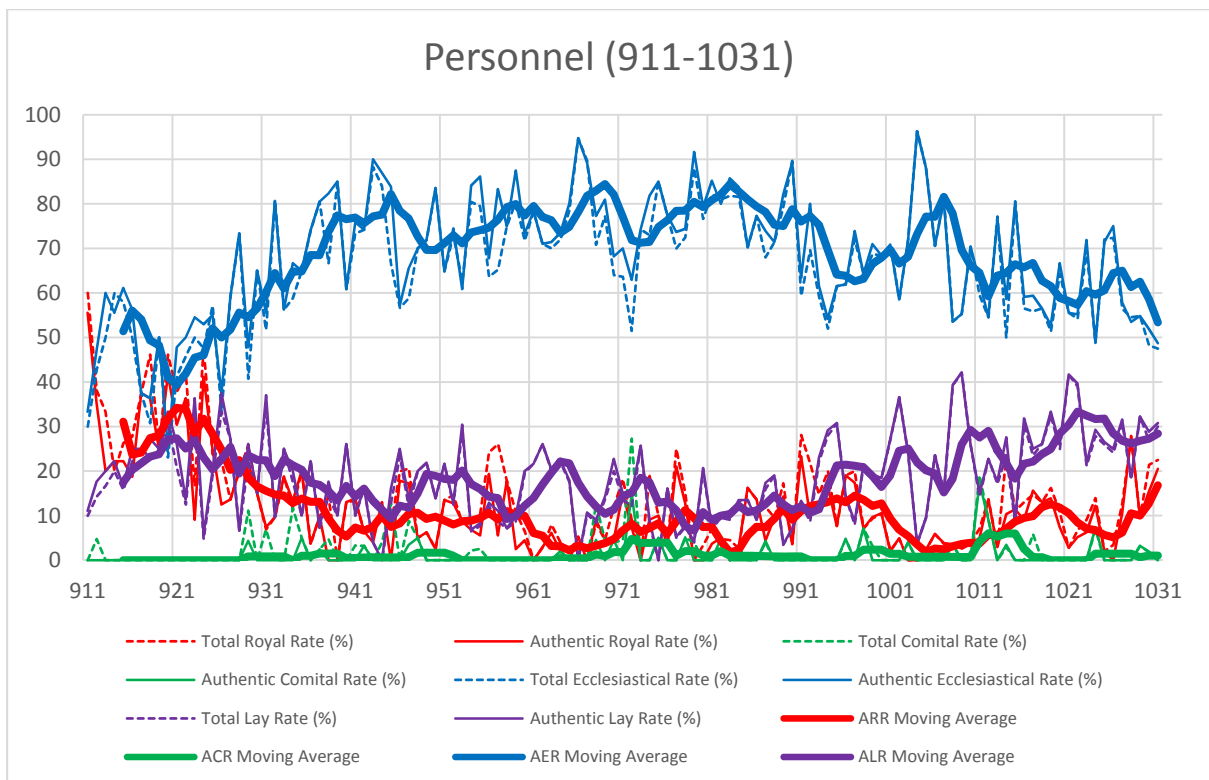


Figure 16



FIGURES

Figure 17

Typology

	Donations		Sales		Other		Overall	
<u>Total</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>54.02</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>36.21</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>9.72</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>100.00</u>
Collections								
<u>West</u>	<u>628</u>	<u>16.02</u>	<u>363</u>	<u>9.26</u>	<u>156</u>	<u>3.98</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>29.29</u>
CEL	158	4.03	182	4.64	44	1.12	384	9.80
COR	86	2.19	30	0.77	20	0.51	136	3.47
PMH	142	3.62	97	2.48	31	0.79	270	6.89
SDC	57	1.45	5	0.13	15	0.38	77	1.96
SJS	83	2.12	4	0.10	17	0.43	104	2.65
SLM	71	1.81	43	1.10	8	0.20	122	3.11
...	31	0.79	2	0.05	21	0.54	55	1.40
<u>Centre</u>	<u>1005</u>	<u>25.64</u>	<u>923</u>	<u>23.55</u>	<u>139</u>	<u>3.55</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>52.77</u>
ACA	189	4.82	45	1.15	9	0.23	243	6.20
ACL	387	9.87	465	11.87	44	1.12	897	22.89
ACO	22	0.56	2	0.05	21	0.54	45	1.15
OLD	55	1.40	124	3.16	17	0.43	196	5.00
SAH	187	4.77	219	5.59	22	0.56	428	10.92
SDM	35	0.89	4	0.10	4	0.10	43	1.10
SPE	24	0.61	8	0.20	1	0.03	33	0.84
STL	44	1.12	30	0.77	8	0.20	82	2.09
SVO	14	0.36	15	0.38	1	0.03	30	0.77
...	48	1.22	11	0.28	12	0.31	71	1.81
<u>East</u>	<u>484</u>	<u>12.35</u>	<u>133</u>	<u>3.39</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>2.19</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>17.94</u>
SJP	39	1.00	1	0.03	14	0.36	54	1.38
SMA	17	0.43	10	0.26	4	0.10	31	0.79
SMC	153	3.90	19	0.48	24	0.61	196	5.00
SMV	30	0.77	9	0.23	9	0.23	48	1.22
SPA	21	0.54	2	0.05	6	0.15	29	0.74
SPC	144	3.67	77	1.96	13	0.33	234	5.97
SSL	21	0.54	0	0.00	1	0.03	22	0.56
SSO	14	0.36	7	0.18	3	0.08	24	0.61
...	45	1.15	8	0.20	12	0.31	65	1.66
Personnel								
<u>Royal</u>	<u>395</u>	<u>10.08</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>0.51</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>2.30</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>12.91</u>
RE	349	8.91	6	0.15	78	1.99	433	11.05
ER	2	0.05	0	0.00	5	0.13	7	0.18
RL	34	0.87	7	0.18	3	0.08	44	1.12
LR	6	0.15	7	0.18	1	0.03	14	0.36
...	4	0.10	0	0.00	3	0.08	8	0.20
<u>Comital</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0.08</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0.38</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>1.81</u>
CE	51	1.30	0	0.00	3	0.08	54	1.38
CL	0	0.00	1	0.03	11	0.28	12	0.31
...	2	0.05	2	0.05	1	0.03	5	0.13
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>1466</u>	<u>37.41</u>	<u>906</u>	<u>23.12</u>	<u>227</u>	<u>5.79</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>66.32</u>
LE	812	20.72	775	19.78	65	1.66	1652	42.15
EL	26	0.66	45	1.15	44	1.12	115	2.93

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EE	623	15.90	86	2.19	82	2.09	791	20.18
E	0	0.00	0	0.00	33	0.84	33	0.84
...	5	0.13	0	0.00	3	0.08	8	0.20
<u>Lay</u>	<u>196</u>	<u>5.00</u>	<u>483</u>	<u>12.32</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>1.15</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>18.47</u>
LL	195	4.98	483	12.32	44	1.12	722	18.42
...	1	0.03	0	0.00	1	0.03	2	0.05

Complexity

Simple	1355	34.58	1306	33.32	53	1.35	2714	69.25
Complex	762	19.44	113	2.88	328	8.37	1203	30.70

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>338</u>	<u>8.62</u>	<u>426</u>	<u>10.87</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>1.74</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>21.26</u>
O	234	5.97	363	9.26	50	1.28	648	16.53
O/CC	66	1.68	52	1.33	8	0.20	126	3.22
O/LC	24	0.61	7	0.18	6	0.15	37	0.94
...	14	0.36	4	0.10	4	0.10	22	0.56
<u>Copy</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>4.24</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>0.64</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>1.02</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>5.89</u>
C	59	1.51	15	0.38	21	0.54	95	2.42
C/CC	65	1.66	5	0.13	13	0.33	83	2.12
C/CC/LC	10	0.26	0	0.00	2	0.05	12	0.31
C/LC	31	0.79	5	0.13	4	0.10	40	1.02
...	1	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03
<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>1288</u>	<u>32.87</u>	<u>860</u>	<u>21.94</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>5.89</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>60.70</u>
CC	1169	29.83	854	21.79	200	5.10	2223	56.72
CC/LC	118	3.01	5	0.13	30	0.77	153	3.90
...	1	0.03	1	0.03	1	0.03	3	0.08
<u>Other</u>	<u>324</u>	<u>8.27</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>2.76</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>1.07</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>12.12</u>
LC	95	2.42	17	0.43	15	0.38	127	3.24
L	213	5.44	71	1.81	25	0.64	310	7.91
PO	8	0.20	18	0.46	0	0.00	26	0.66
...	8	0.20	2	0.05	2	0.05	12	0.31

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>48.18</u>	<u>1417</u>	<u>36.16</u>	<u>321</u>	<u>8.19</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>92.55</u>
A	1865	47.59	1415	36.11	317	8.09	3598	91.81
A/S	11	0.28	0	0.00	3	0.08	14	0.36
A/I	12	0.31	2	0.05	1	0.03	15	0.38
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.00</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.10</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>
S	17	0.43	0	0.00	4	0.10	21	0.54
...	1	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.03
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>1.00</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>0.33</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>
I	39	1.00	1	0.03	13	0.33	53	1.35
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>168</u>	<u>4.29</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.03</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>1.05</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>5.38</u>
A/F	7	0.18	0	0.00	5	0.13	12	0.31
S/F	9	0.23	0	0.00	1	0.03	10	0.26
I/F	6	0.15	0	0.00	4	0.10	10	0.26
F	146	3.73	1	0.03	31	0.79	179	4.57

FIGURES

Figure 18

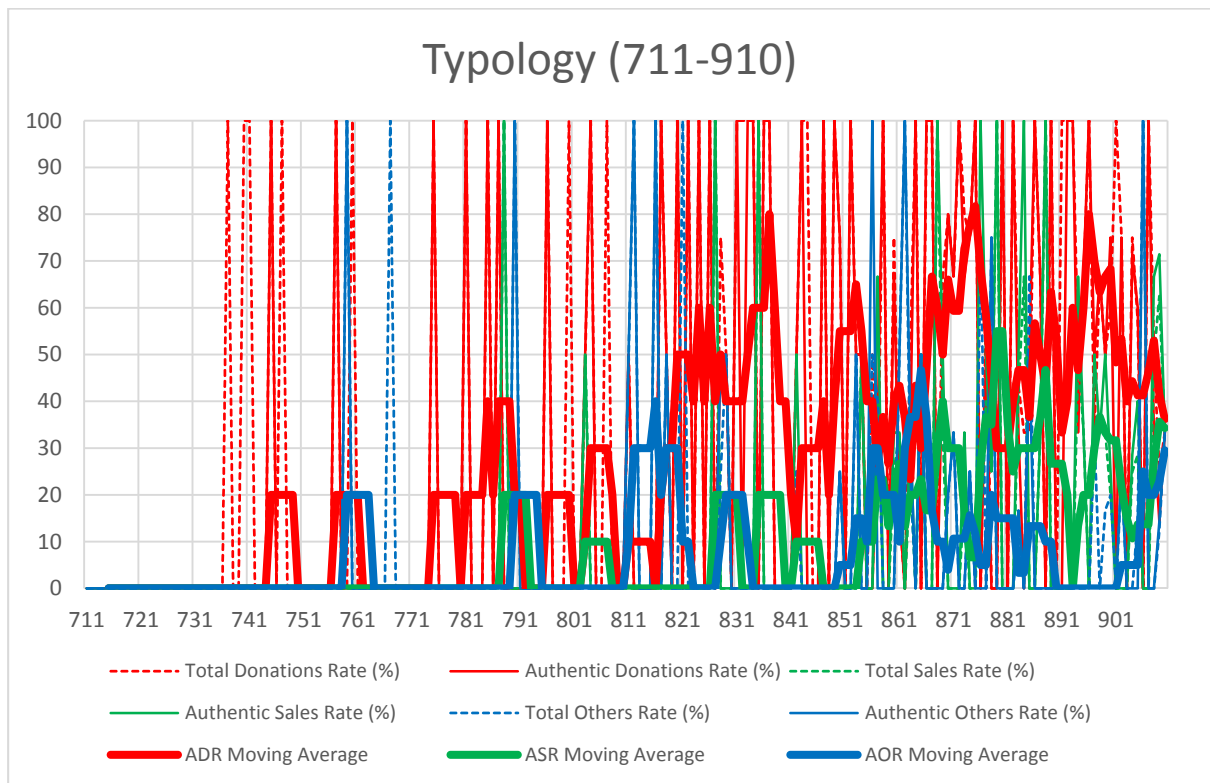
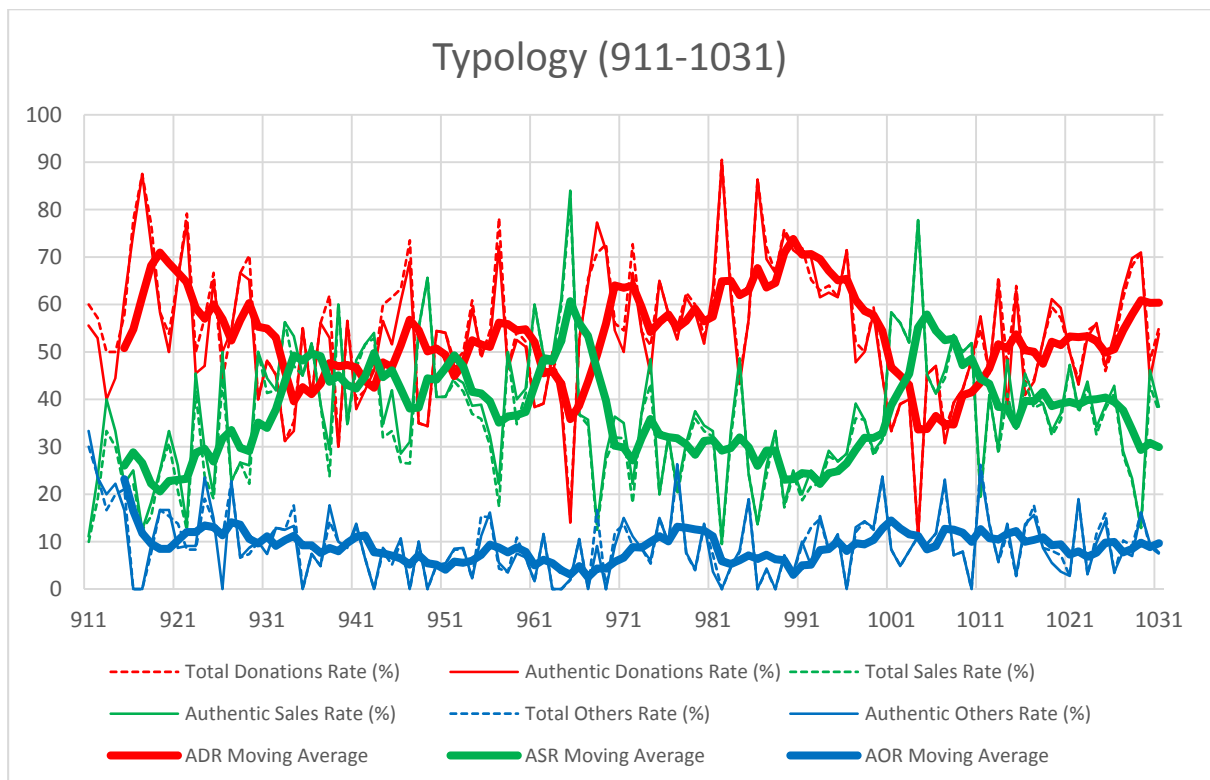


Figure 19



FIGURES

Figure 20

Complexity

	Simple		Complex		Overall	
<u>Total</u>	<u>2714</u>	<u>69.25</u>	<u>1203</u>	<u>30.70</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>100.00</u>
Collections						
<u>West</u>	<u>689</u>	<u>17.58</u>	<u>458</u>	<u>11.69</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>29.29</u>
CEL	251	6.40	133	3.39	384	9.80
COR	105	2.68	31	0.79	136	3.47
PMH	157	4.01	113	2.88	270	6.89
SDC	31	0.79	46	1.17	77	1.96
SJS	44	1.12	60	1.53	104	2.65
SLM	84	2.14	38	0.97	122	3.11
...	17	0.43	37	0.94	55	1.40
<u>Centre</u>	<u>1503</u>	<u>38.35</u>	<u>564</u>	<u>14.39</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>52.77</u>
ACA	196	5.00	47	1.20	243	6.20
ACL	663	16.92	233	5.95	897	22.89
ACO	17	0.43	28	0.71	45	1.15
OLD	112	2.86	84	2.14	196	5.00
SAH	341	8.70	87	2.22	428	10.92
SDM	35	0.89	8	0.20	43	1.10
SPE	17	0.43	16	0.41	33	0.84
STL	60	1.53	22	0.56	82	2.09
SVO	18	0.46	12	0.31	30	0.77
...	44	1.12	27	0.69	71	1.81
<u>East</u>	<u>522</u>	<u>13.32</u>	<u>181</u>	<u>4.62</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>17.94</u>
SJP	31	0.79	23	0.59	54	1.38
SMA	25	0.64	6	0.15	31	0.79
SMC	165	4.21	31	0.79	196	5.00
SMV	30	0.77	18	0.46	48	1.22
SPA	18	0.46	11	0.28	29	0.74
SPC	191	4.87	43	1.10	234	5.97
SSL	10	0.26	12	0.31	22	0.56
SSO	17	0.43	7	0.18	24	0.61
...	35	0.89	30	0.77	65	1.66
Personnel						
<u>Royal</u>	<u>277</u>	<u>7.07</u>	<u>228</u>	<u>5.82</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>12.91</u>
RE	247	6.30	186	4.75	433	11.05
ER	1	0.03	6	0.15	7	0.18
RL	18	0.46	26	0.66	44	1.12
LR	7	0.18	7	0.18	14	0.36
...	4	0.10	3	0.08	8	0.20
<u>Comital</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>1.22</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>0.59</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>1.81</u>
CE	44	1.12	10	0.26	54	1.38
CL	1	0.03	11	0.28	12	0.31
...	3	0.08	2	0.05	5	0.13
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>1867</u>	<u>47.64</u>	<u>732</u>	<u>18.68</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>66.32</u>
LE	1296	33.07	356	9.08	1652	42.15
EL	49	1.25	66	1.68	115	2.93

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EE	486	12.40	305	7.78	791	20.18
E	31	0.79	2	0.05	33	0.84
...	5	0.13	3	0.08	8	0.20
<u>Lay</u>	<u>508</u>	<u>12.96</u>	<u>216</u>	<u>5.51</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>18.47</u>
LL	506	12.91	216	5.51	722	18.42
...	2	0.05	0	0.00	2	0.05

Typology						
<u>Donations</u>	<u>1355</u>	<u>34.58</u>	<u>762</u>	<u>19.44</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>54.02</u>
D	1062	27.10	0	0.00	1062	27.10
D/DPM	0	0.00	49	1.25	49	1.25
D/S	30	0.77	0	0.00	30	0.77
DC	0	0.00	293	7.48	293	7.48
DC/DPM	0	0.00	19	0.48	19	0.48
DP	0	0.00	44	1.12	44	1.12
DPM	0	0.00	142	3.62	142	3.62
RD	255	6.51	0	0.00	255	6.51
RDC	0	0.00	131	3.34	131	3.34
...	8	0.20	84	2.14	92	2.35
<u>Sales</u>	<u>1306</u>	<u>33.32</u>	<u>113</u>	<u>2.88</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>36.21</u>
S	1190	30.36	0	0.00	1190	30.36
SC	0	0.00	100	2.55	100	2.55
E	93	2.37	0	0.00	93	2.37
E/S	10	0.26	0	0.00	10	0.26
...	13	0.33	13	0.33	26	0.66
<u>Other</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>	<u>328</u>	<u>8.37</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>9.72</u>
C	0	0.00	36	0.92	36	0.92
DS	0	0.00	101	2.58	101	2.58
I	13	0.33	0	0.00	13	0.33
MP	0	0.00	18	0.46	18	0.46
N	27	0.69	0	0.00	27	0.69
P	0	0.00	59	1.51	59	1.51
RC	0	0.00	51	1.30	51	1.30
RC/RD	0	0.00	15	0.38	15	0.38
...	13	0.33	48	1.22	61	1.56

Palaeography						
<u>Original</u>	<u>563</u>	<u>14.37</u>	<u>269</u>	<u>6.86</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>21.26</u>
O	454	11.58	193	4.92	648	16.53
O/CC	82	2.09	44	1.12	126	3.22
O/LC	14	0.36	23	0.59	37	0.94
...	13	0.33	9	0.23	22	0.56
<u>Copy</u>	<u>121</u>	<u>3.09</u>	<u>110</u>	<u>2.81</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>5.89</u>
C	54	1.38	41	1.05	95	2.42
C/CC	39	1.00	44	1.12	83	2.12
C/CC/LC	3	0.08	9	0.23	12	0.31
C/LC	24	0.61	16	0.41	40	1.02
...	1	0.03	0	0.00	1	0.03
<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>1670</u>	<u>42.61</u>	<u>709</u>	<u>18.09</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>60.70</u>
CC	1611	41.11	612	15.62	2223	56.72
CC/LC	58	1.48	95	2.42	153	3.90
...	1	0.03	2	0.05	3	0.08

FIGURES

<u>Other</u>	<u>359</u>	<u>9.16</u>	<u>115</u>	<u>2.93</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>12.12</u>
LC	83	2.12	44	1.12	127	3.24
L	254	6.48	55	1.40	310	7.91
PO	14	0.36	12	0.31	26	0.66
...	8	0.20	4	0.10	12	0.31
Diplomatic						
<u>Authentic</u>	<u>2549</u>	<u>65.04</u>	<u>1077</u>	<u>27.48</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>92.55</u>
A	2531	64.58	1066	27.20	3598	91.81
A/S	8	0.20	6	0.15	14	0.36
A/I	10	0.26	5	0.13	15	0.38
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>0.36</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0.20</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.56</u>
S	14	0.36	7	0.18	21	0.54
...	0	0.00	1	0.03	1	0.03
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>0.61</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>0.74</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1.35</u>
I	24	0.61	29	0.74	53	1.35
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>3.22</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>2.14</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>5.38</u>
A/F	5	0.13	7	0.18	12	0.31
S/F	8	0.20	2	0.05	10	0.26
I/F	2	0.05	8	0.20	10	0.26
F	111	2.83	67	1.71	179	4.57

FIGURES

Figure 21

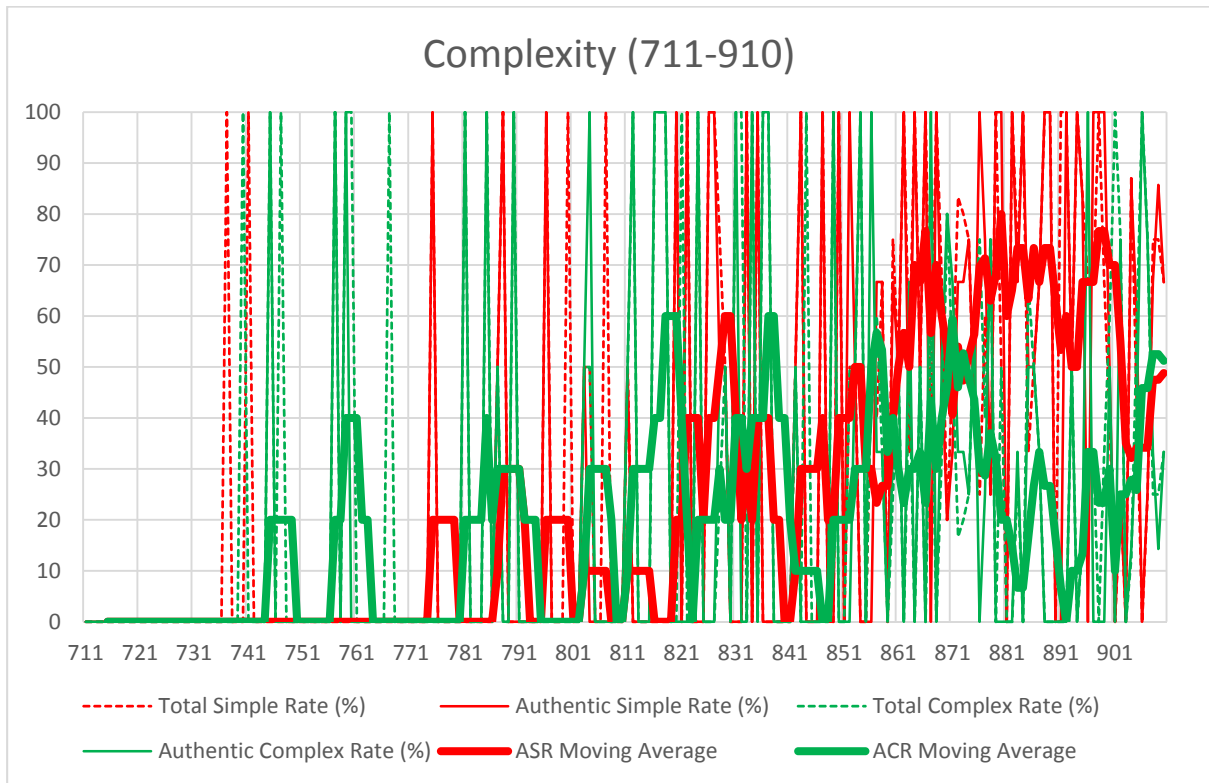
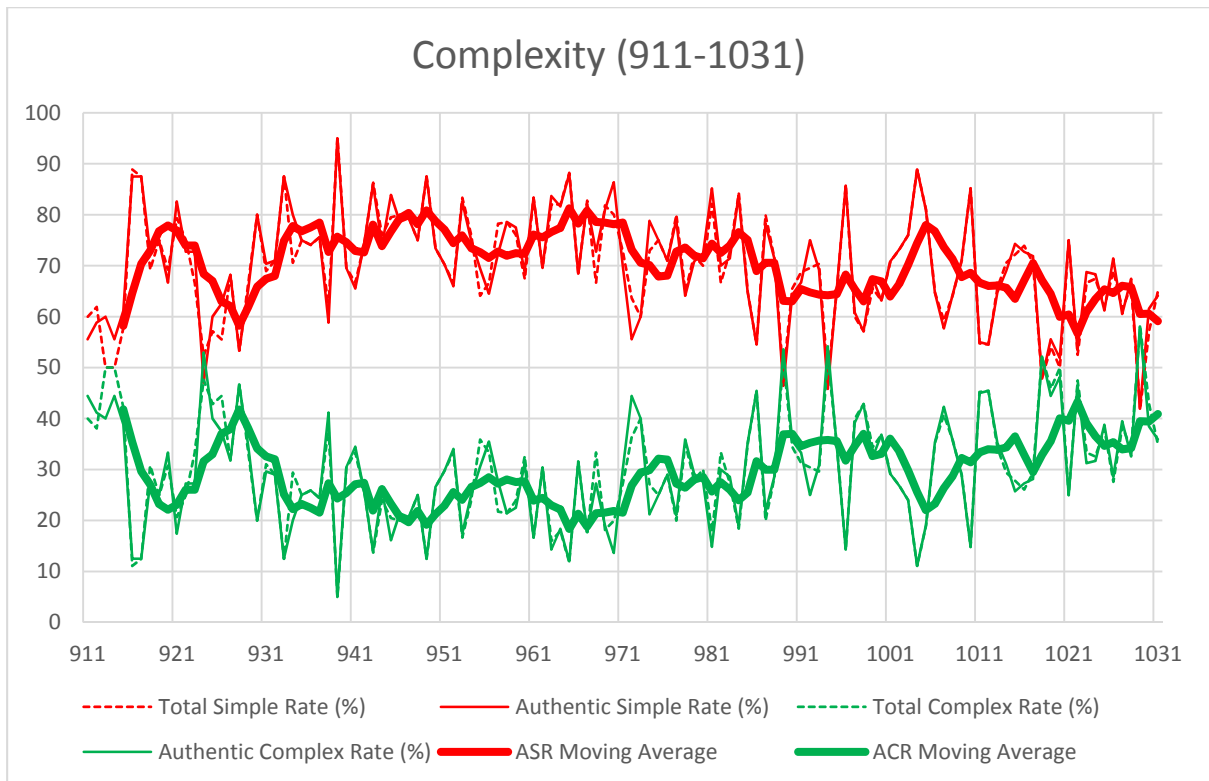


Figure 22



FIGURES

Figure 23

Rabal

Witness	CEL.116	7	8	125	128	9	30	31	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Gundesindo			X			X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X
Vistremirus	X		X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		X
Mito Gundesindi					X	X	X	X		X		X		X		X
Asoi	X					X	X	X	X	X		X				
Argemirus <i>conf</i>					X	X	X	X	X	X						X
Itila			X				X	X		X				X		
Ascarigo			X			X		X		X				X		
Ragiane			X			X	X	X	X	X						
Rando			X				X	X		X						
Sisiverto			X											X		
Gunderigo						X	X	X		X						
Recesindo <i>conf</i>					X						X	X				
Argemirus			X		X							X				
Berane			X													X
Cindo					X							X		X		
Vimara Ragianiz						X	X	X		X						

Witness	CEL.140	141	143	145	6	7	8	9	50	51	152	162	3	173	178	Total
Gundesindo	X	X	X		X	X					X					15
Vistremirus			X		X						X					14
Mito Gundesindi		X	X	X	X						X					13
Asoi		X	X		X	X								X		12
Argemirus <i>conf</i>																7
Itila			X		X											7
Ascarigo			X													6
Ragiane																6
Rando		X						X								6
Sisiverto			X	X	X	X										6
Gunderigo												X				5
Recesindo <i>conf</i>	X										X					5
Argemirus	X															4
Berane			X								X					4
Cindo				X												4
Vimara Ragianiz																4

FIGURES

Figure 24

Scribes

	Names	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>1574</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>40.16</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>332</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>28.92</u>
CEL	97	384	25.26
COR	34	136	25.00
PMH	129	270	47.78
SDC	5	77	6.49
SJS	5	104	4.81
SLM	44	122	36.07
...	18	55	32.73
<u>Centre</u>	<u>1114</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>53.87</u>
ACA	50	243	20.58
ACL	500	897	55.74
ACO	37	45	82.22
OLD	135	196	68.88
SAH	267	428	62.38
SDM	30	43	69.77
SPE	10	33	30.30
STL	34	82	41.46
SVO	20	30	66.67
...	31	71	43.66
<u>East</u>	<u>128</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>18.21</u>
SJP	19	54	35.19
SMA	4	31	12.90
SMC	34	196	17.35
SMV	9	48	18.75
SPA	19	29	65.52
SPC	10	234	4.27
SSL	2	22	9.09
SSO	7	24	29.17
...	24	65	36.92
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>208</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>41.11</u>
RE	169	433	39.03
ER	4	7	57.14
RL	28	44	63.64
LR	5	14	35.71
...	2	8	25.00
<u>Comital</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>43.66</u>
CE	26	54	48.15
CL	2	12	16.67
...	3	5	60.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>911</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>35.05</u>
LE	550	1652	33.29
EL	54	115	46.96

FIGURES

EE	301	791	38.05
E	2	33	6.06
...	4	8	50.00
<u>Lay</u>	<u>421</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>58.15</u>
LL	421	722	58.31
...	0	2	0.00

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>859</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>40.58</u>
D	375	1062	35.31
D/DPM	19	49	38.78
D/S	21	30	70.00
DC	146	293	49.83
DC/DPM	10	19	52.63
DP	21	44	47.73
DPM	56	142	39.44
RD	116	255	45.49
RDC	54	131	41.22
...	41	92	44.57
<u>Sales</u>	<u>599</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>42.21</u>
S	2	1190	0.17
SC	0	100	0.00
E	1	93	1.08
E/S	0	10	0.00
...	2	26	7.69
<u>Other</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>30.45</u>
C	12	36	33.33
DS	35	101	34.65
I	1	13	7.69
MP	5	18	27.78
N	1	27	3.70
P	25	59	42.37
RC	11	51	21.57
RC/RD	9	15	60.00
...	17	61	27.87

Complexity

Simple	1062	2714	39.13
Complex	512	1203	42.56

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>464</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>55.70</u>
O	372	648	57.41
O/CC	69	126	54.76
O/LC	17	37	45.95
...	6	22	27.27
<u>Copy</u>	<u>125</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>54.11</u>
C	51	95	53.68
C/CC	47	83	56.63
C/CC/LC	3	12	25.00
C/LC	24	40	60.00
...	0	1	0.00

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>876</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>36.82</u>
CC	863	2223	38.82
CC/LC	12	153	7.84
...	1	3	33.33
<u>Other</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>22.74</u>
LC	61	127	48.03
L	25	310	8.06
PO	18	26	69.23
...	4	12	33.33

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>1433</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>39.51</u>
A	1425	3598	39.61
A/S	6	14	42.86
A/I	2	15	13.33
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>40.91</u>
S	8	21	38.10
...	1	1	100.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>49.06</u>
I	26	53	49.06
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>104</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>49.29</u>
A/F	1	12	8.33
S/F	1	10	10.00
I/F	4	10	40.00
F	98	179	54.75

FIGURES

Figure 25

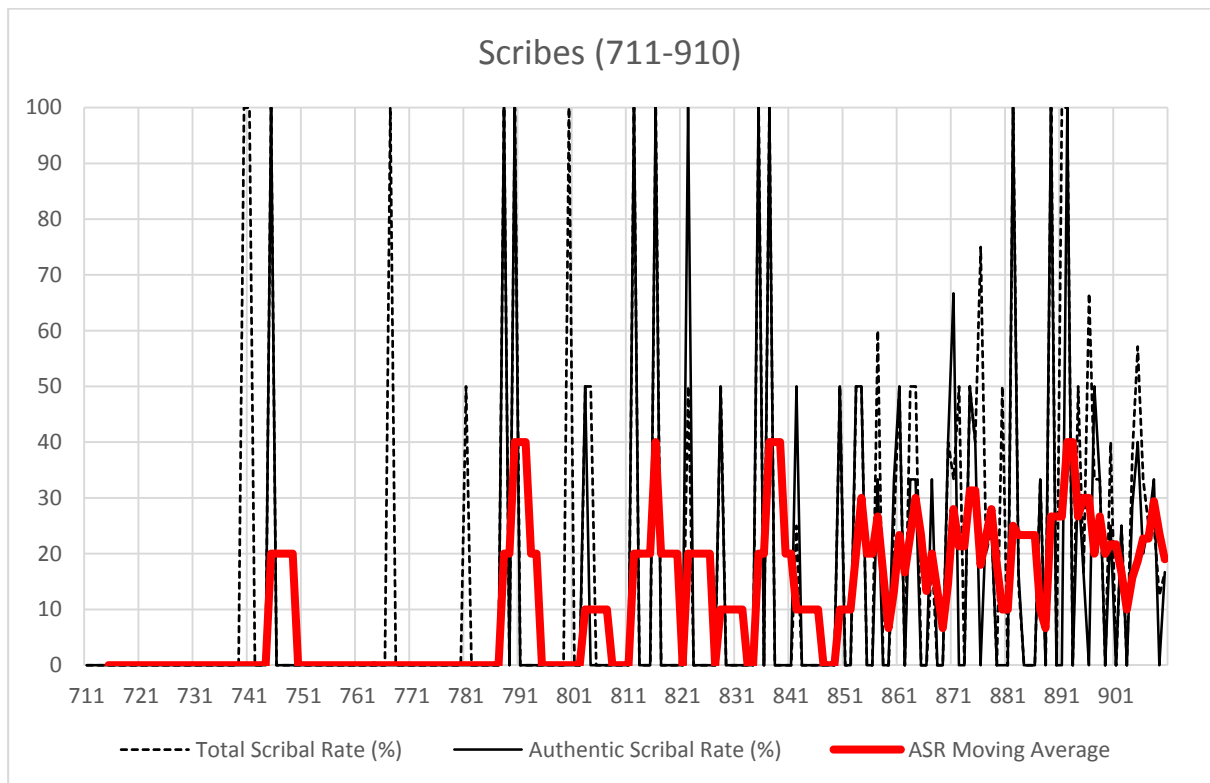
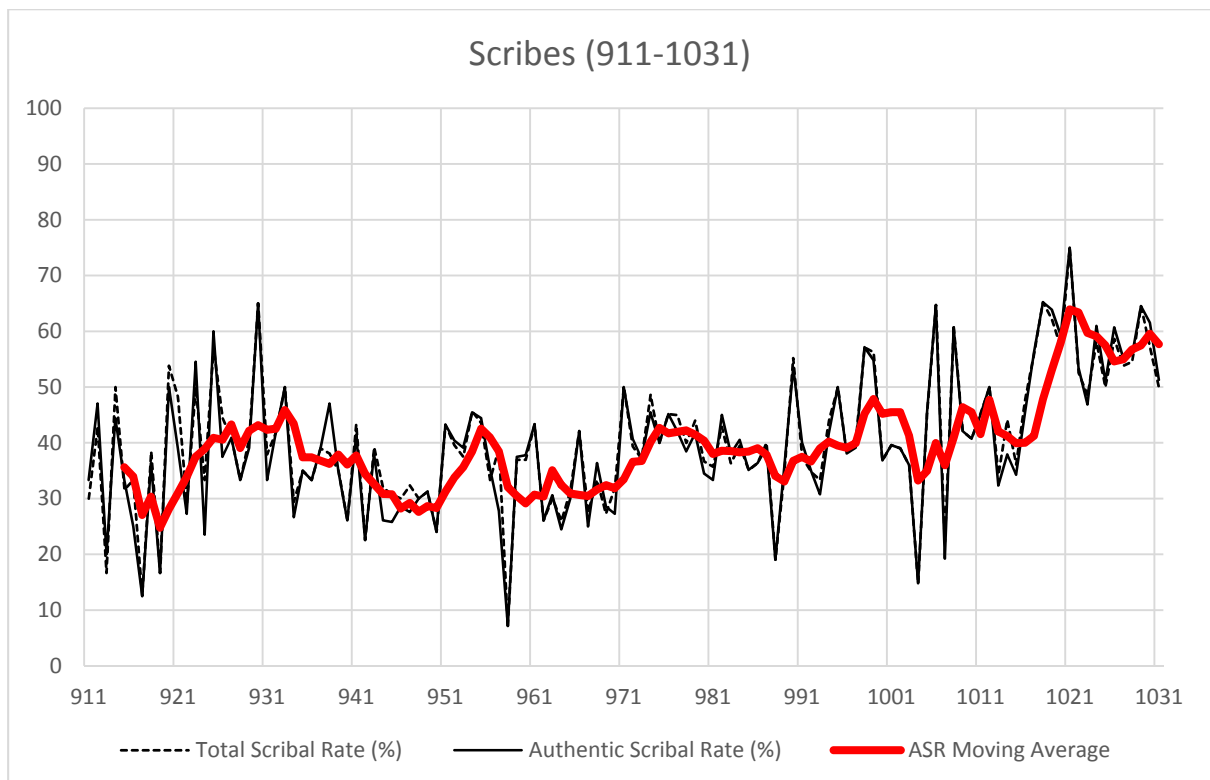


Figure 26



FIGURES

Figure 27

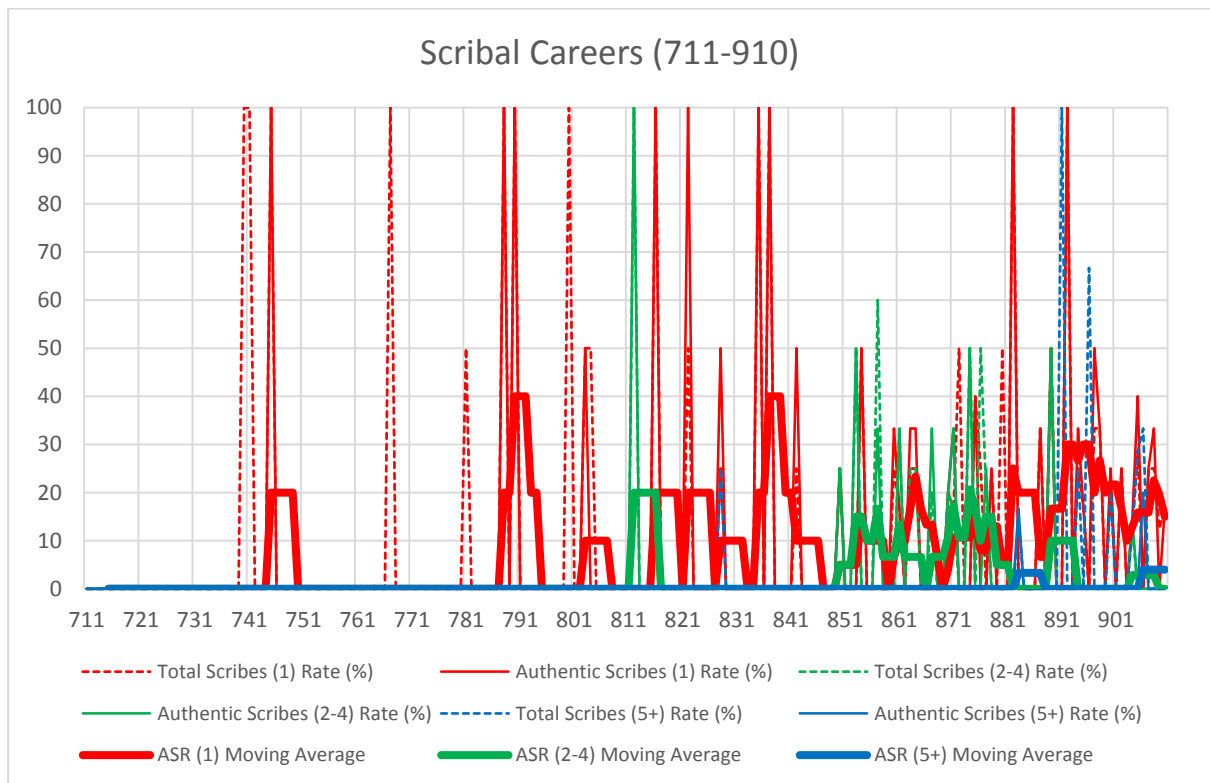
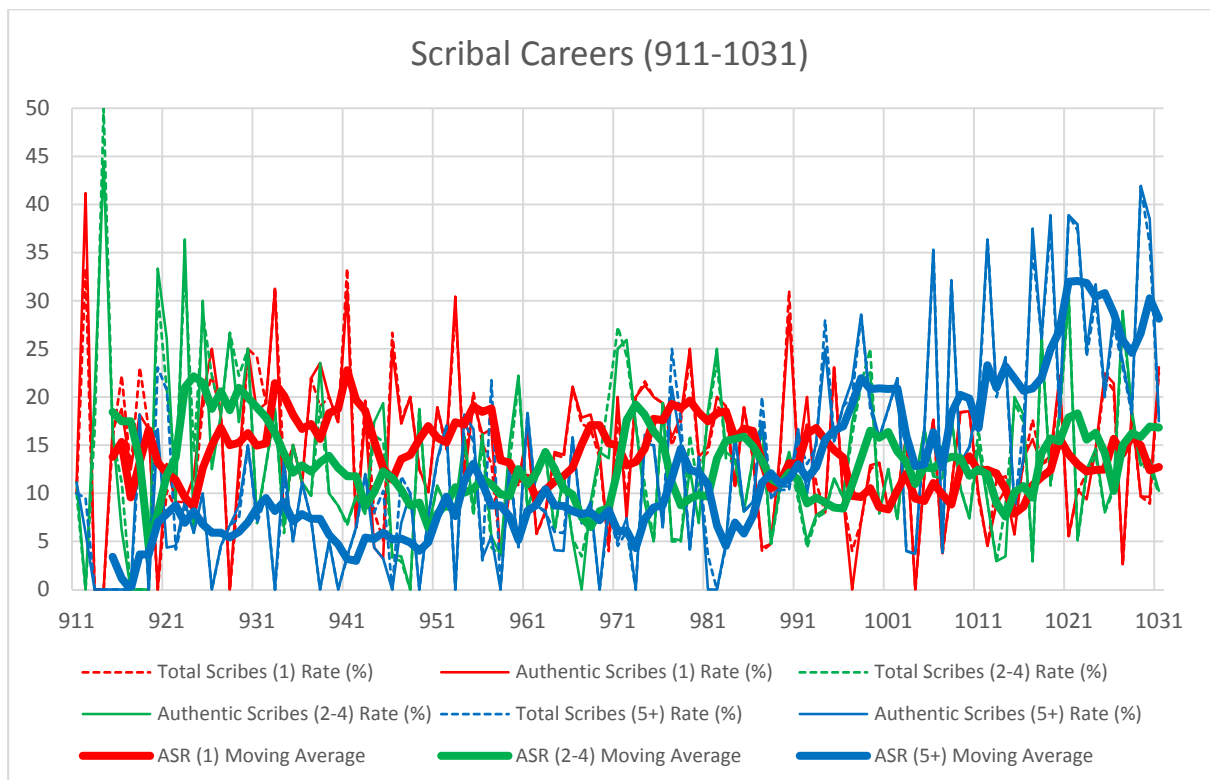


Figure 28



FIGURES

Figure 29

Career Scribes

Name	Collections	Dates	Charters
Petrus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	990-1031?	25
Fulgentius <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/SAH	995-1030	22
Citi <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/OLD	1008-29	18
Cidi <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/OLD	1006-30	17
Sampiro <i>quasi presbiter</i>	ACL/SAH/CEL/COR/SPO	977-1019	17
Vivi <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	1005-31	16
Felix <i>diaconus et notarius</i>	ACL/SAH	939-79?	11
Sendinus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/OLD/ACA	993-1022	11
Adulfus <i>diaconus</i> Gendoni	ACL/SAH/SDC	918-77?	10
Baroncellus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	952-61	10
Iohannes <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	965-1009?	10
Aloytus <i>diaconus et notarius</i>	CEL/COR	932-59	9
Iohannes	SDM	1019-26	9
Migael <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/OLD	992-1030	9
Velasco <i>scriptor</i> *	SJP	1014-31	9
Bellitus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/SAH	1006-26	8
Ciprianus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	952-94?	8
Ermegildo	SDM	1017-26	8
Possidonius <i>notarius</i> *	ACO/SAH/SDC/OUR/VDJ	883-906	8
Servandus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	1000-1029	8
Sescuto <i>presbiter</i>	OLD	1021-2	8
Aspidius <i>presbiter et notarius</i>	ACL/SAH/SID	918-45	7
Iohannes <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	914-59?	7
Petrus <i>presbiter</i>	SLM	959-84	7
Sandinus <i>presbiter</i>	PMH	1008-30	7
Sisivertus <i>diaconus</i>	SAH/SPE	985-91	7
Stephanus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	942-60	7
Adulfus <i>diaconus</i>	ACO	896-921	6
Cesarius <i>indignus</i>	ACL/ACO/SAH	974-8	6
Cissilani	SDM	980-1001	6
Felix <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	985-1011?	6
Ferro <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/SAH	937-67	6
Fredenandus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	932-66	6
Fredmundo <i>presbiter</i>	SAH/OLD	947-62	6
Gaudinas	CEL	1001-18	6
Gomessanus <i>exarator</i> *	SMC	945-57	6
Iohannes	SAH	932-71?	6
Iustus	SAH	966-98	6
Monnius <i>presbiter et notarius</i> *	SAH	950-1001	6
Felix Cromaciz/ <i>fratri</i> Munnio <i>iudex</i>	ACL/ACO/OLD	980-94?	6
Onorio <i>presbiter</i>	OLD	1017-9	6
Ordonius <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	1013-30	6
Seniorinus/ <i>Fagildus presbiter</i>	CEL	983-1003?	6
Stephanus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	1001-29	6
Teodemirus <i>notarius</i> *	ACL	920-34	6
Addaulfus <i>presbiter</i>	SLM	943-76	5
Amphilocius <i>presbiter</i>	CEL/COR/SAH	911-25	5

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Armentarius <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/OLD	978-1009?	5
Baltarius <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/SAH	951-74	5
Braolio <i>presbiter</i>	OLD	974-97	5
Christoforus <i>presbiter</i>	OLD	1019-28	5
Dominico <i>presbiter</i>	OLD	995-1026	5
Ecta <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/OLD	1008-28	5
Ermegildus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	961-1001?	5
Eterus <i>presbiter</i>	OLD	1024-7	5
Felix <i>diaconus</i>	SAH	996-1030?	5
Fidelis <i>frater</i>	CEL	999-1020	5
Florentius <i>scriba</i>	SPA/COV	937-78	5
Froila <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	951-4	5
Froila Odoariz <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	999-1021	5
Garsea <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	992-1030	5
Gudesteus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	1030-31	5
Iohannes <i>presbiter</i>	SLM	929-36	5
Iuannes <i>presbiter</i>	OLD	994-1026	5
Iulianus	ACL	1002-17	5
Marino <i>presbiter</i>	SAH/OLD	1002-27	5
Martinus <i>presbiter</i>	SAH	925-76?	5
Scemenus <i>diaconus/presbiter</i>	ACL	963-97?	5
Sisebutus <i>presbiter</i> *	SMC	944-97	5
Umbertus <i>scriba</i> *	SJP	828-994	5

FIGURES

Figure 30

Regnal Dating

	Regnal Dates	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>1322</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>33.73</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>3.92</u>
CEL	12	384	3.13
COR	7	136	5.15
PMH	2	270	0.74
SDC	6	77	7.79
SJS	10	104	9.62
SLM	3	122	2.46
...	5	55	9.09
<u>Centre</u>	<u>775</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>37.48</u>
ACA	34	243	13.99
ACL	325	897	36.23
ACO	7	45	15.56
OLD	50	196	25.51
SAH	214	428	50.00
SDM	35	43	81.40
SPE	16	33	48.48
STL	68	82	82.93
SVO	2	30	6.67
...	24	71	33.80
<u>East</u>	<u>502</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>71.41</u>
SJP	36	54	66.67
SMA	17	31	54.84
SMC	104	196	53.06
SMV	45	48	93.75
SPA	26	29	89.66
SPC	216	234	92.31
SSL	6	22	27.27
SSO	14	24	58.33
...	38	65	58.46
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>16.60</u>
RE	77	433	17.78
ER	0	7	0.00
RL	4	44	9.09
LR	3	14	21.43
...	0	8	0.00
<u>Comital</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>56.34</u>
CE	30	54	55.56
CL	5	12	41.67
...	5	5	100.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>970</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>37.32</u>
LE	638	1652	38.62
EL	25	115	21.74

FIGURES

EE	301	791	38.05
E	4	33	12.12
...	2	8	25.00
<u>Lay</u>	<u>226</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>31.22</u>
LL	225	722	31.16
...	1	2	50.00

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>745</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>35.19</u>
D	470	1062	44.26
D/DPM	15	49	30.61
D/S	13	30	43.33
DC	60	293	20.48
DC/DPM	1	19	5.26
DP	18	44	40.91
DPM	73	142	51.41
RD	50	255	19.61
RDC	19	131	14.50
...	26	92	28.26
<u>Sales</u>	<u>492</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>34.67</u>
S	439	1190	36.89
SC	19	100	19.00
E	24	93	25.81
E/S	4	10	40.00
...	6	26	23.08
<u>Other</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>22.31</u>
C	13	36	36.11
DS	23	101	22.77
I	1	13	7.69
MP	13	18	72.22
N	5	27	18.52
P	10	59	16.95
RC	5	51	9.80
RC/RD	3	15	20.00
...	12	61	19.67

Complexity

Simple	1011	2714	37.25
Complex	311	1203	25.85

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>294</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>35.29</u>
O	205	648	31.64
O/CC	69	126	54.76
O/LC	10	37	27.03
...	10	22	45.45
<u>Copy</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>30.74</u>
C	26	95	27.37
C/CC	27	83	32.53
C/CC/LC	7	12	58.33
C/LC	11	40	27.50
...	0	1	0.00

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>858</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>36.07</u>
CC	834	2223	37.52
CC/LC	23	153	15.03
...	1	3	33.33
<u>Other</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>20.84</u>
LC	42	127	33.07
L	43	310	13.87
PO	11	26	42.31
...	3	12	25.00

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>1230</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>33.91</u>
A	1214	3598	33.74
A/S	7	14	50.00
A/I	9	15	60.00
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>45.45</u>
S	10	21	47.62
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>30.19</u>
I	16	53	30.19
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>30.33</u>
A/F	0	12	0.00
S/F	4	10	40.00
I/F	4	10	40.00
F	56	179	31.28

FIGURES

Figure 31

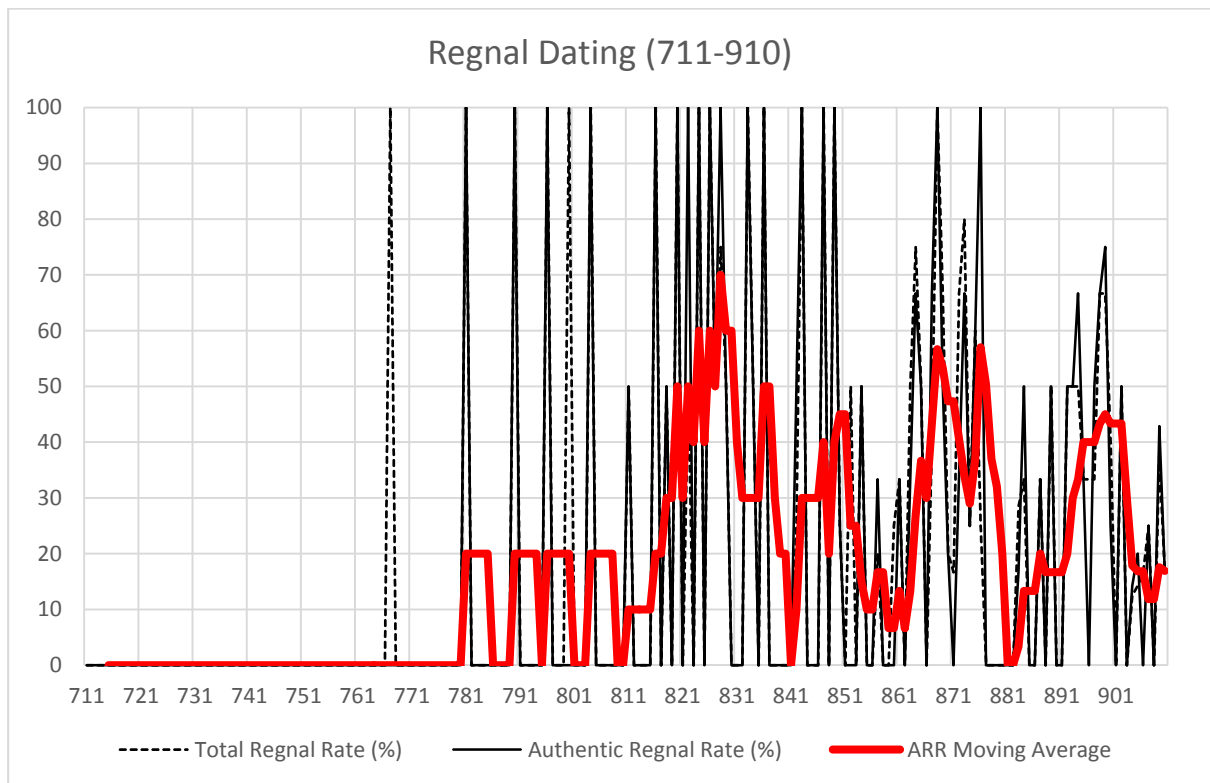
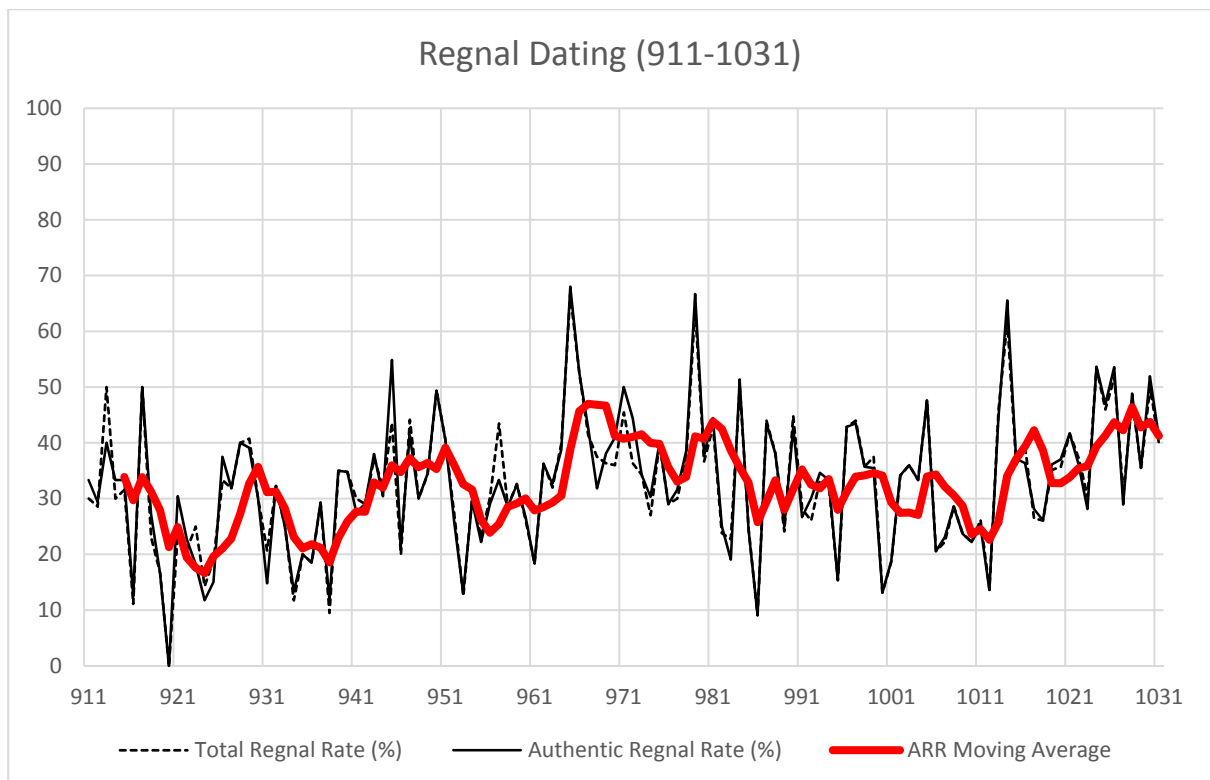


Figure 32



FIGURES

Figure 33

Royal Itineraries

Alfonso III		
Santiago de Compostela	862	SDC.3
Tudela	895	ACA.8
Santiago de Compostela	899/900	SDC.17
Zamora	907	CEL.9
Ordoño II		
Lugo	910	CDO.1
<i>Aliobrio</i>	911	PMH.17
Zamora	915	SDC.26
<i>Baronceli</i>	921	SER.1
Lózara	922	SJS.20
Crestuma	922	PMH.25
García I		
San Pedro de Eslonza	912	SPE.1-2
Fruela II		
Santiago de Compostela	924	SDC.35
Sancho Ordóñez		
Santiago de Compostela	927	SDC.38
Alfonso IV		
San Adrián de Caldas	929	SPE.9
Villafría	931	SPC.20
Ramiro II		
Viseu	926	PMH.31
San Isidro de Dueñas	935	SID.7
Astorga	937	ACA.48
Zamora	940	CAS.2
Ordoño III		
Santiago de Compostela?	951	SAH.132
Simancas	952	ACL.256
Lionia	956	ACL.295
Sancho I		
Elarin	960	SJS.26
Ramiro III		
Soria	976	SAH.284
Vermudo II		
Elarin	985	COR.95
Santiago de Compostela	985	CEL.195
Loña	993	CEL.218

FIGURES

Layas	995	CEL.223
Pravia	996	SPO.1
Santiago de Compostela	999	SDC.58
Alfonso V		
Layas	1002	CEL.263
<i>Villa Plana</i>	1005	CEL.292
<i>Villa Gomarici</i>	1007	CEL.302
Palacios de la Valduerna	1008	ACL.669
Pravia	1010	CDA.8
<i>Amolgas</i>	1012	CEL.331
Sahagún	1012	ACL.707
Palacios de la Valduerna	1014	ACA.212
São Miguel das Caldas de Vizela	1014	CDA.15
Congosto	1017	CDA.vii
Sobrado de los Monjes	1017	SLM.98
Sobrado de los Monjes	1017	SLM.101
<i>Rapati</i>	1017	CDA.viii
Lugo	1017	CDA.viii
Sahagún	1018	SAH.404
<i>Villa de Veiga</i>	1019	SAH.406
São Miguel das Caldas de Vizela	1025	CDA.x
<i>Faukis</i>	1025	CDA.x
Braga	1025	CDA.x
Cea	1026	ACL.829

FIGURES

Figure 34

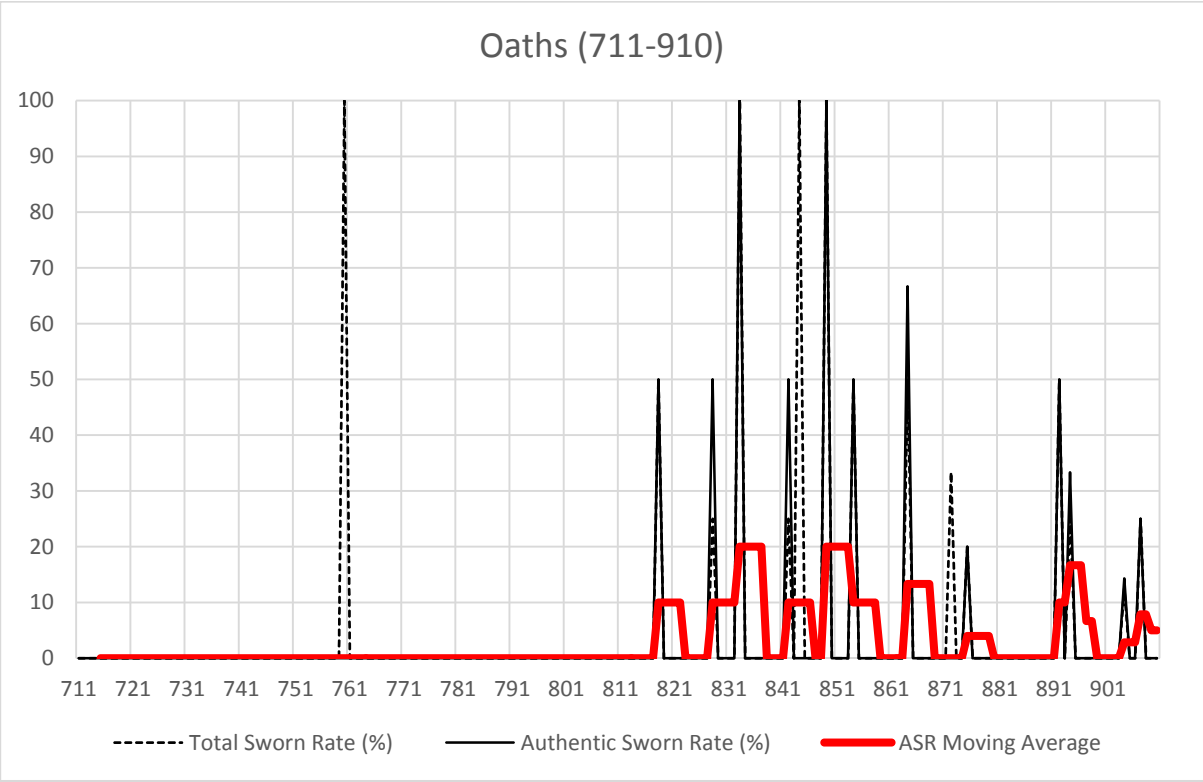
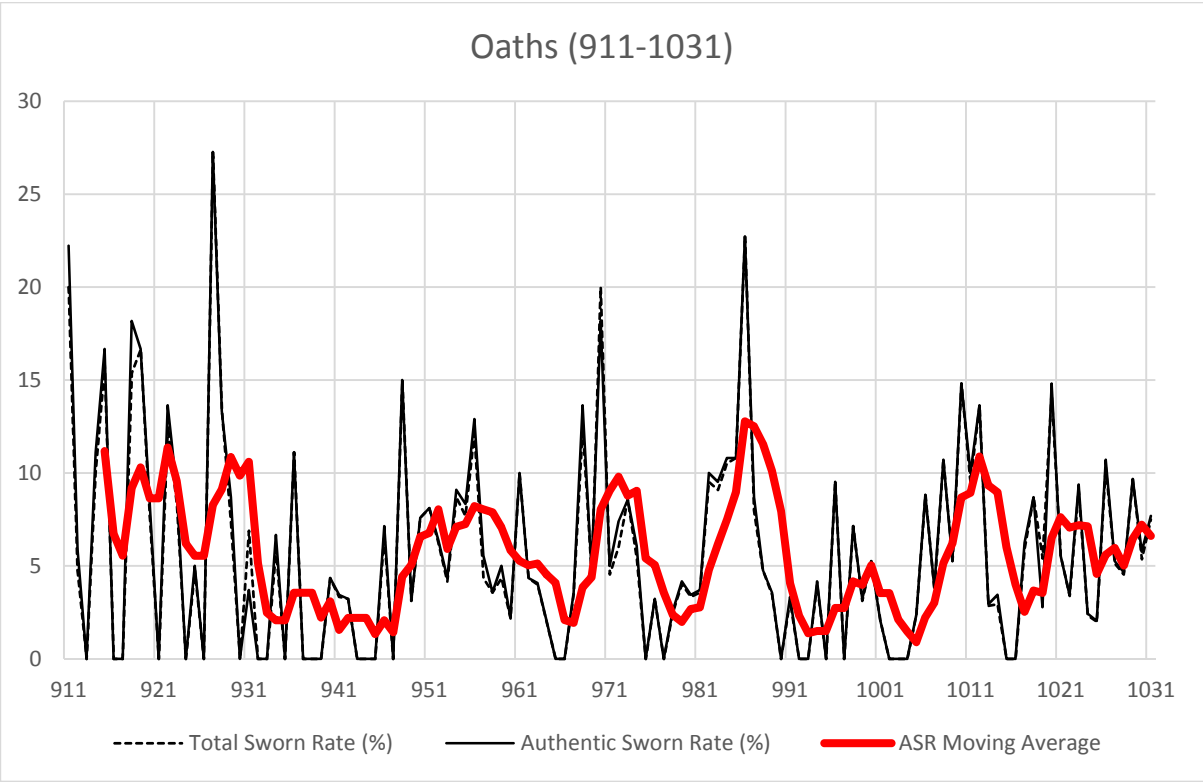


Figure 35



FIGURES

Figure 36

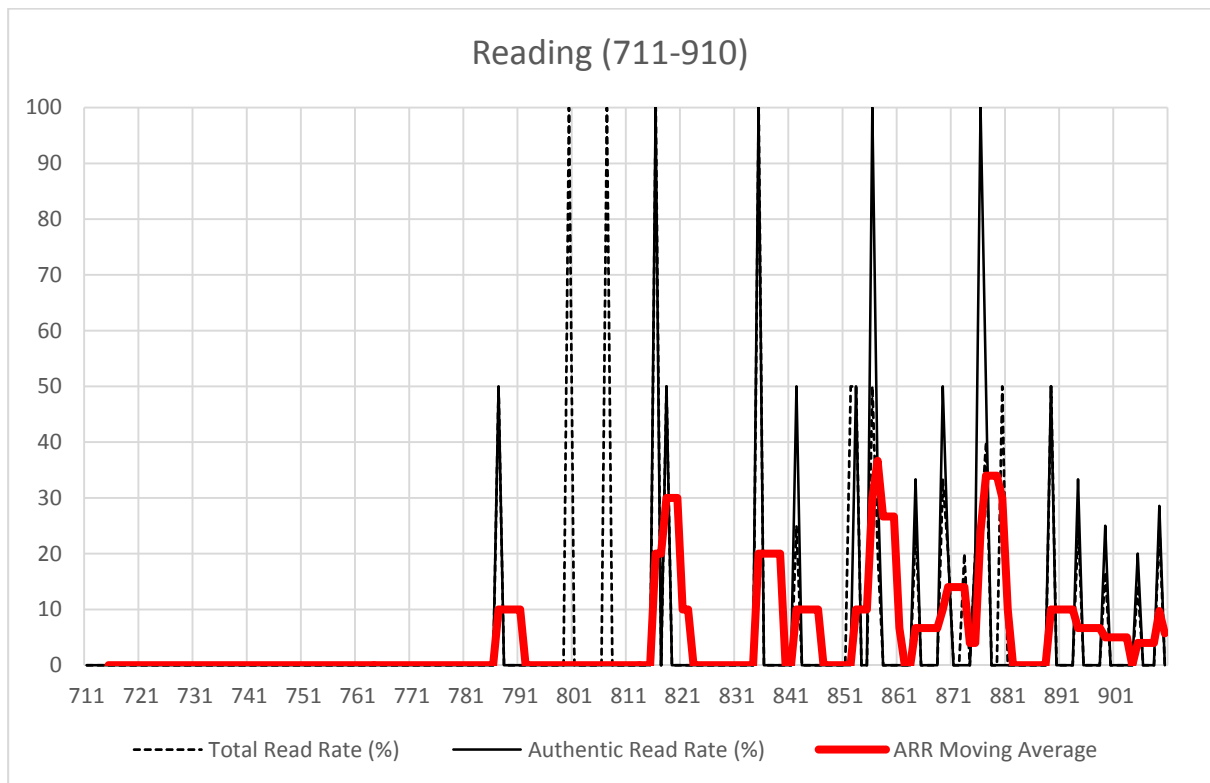
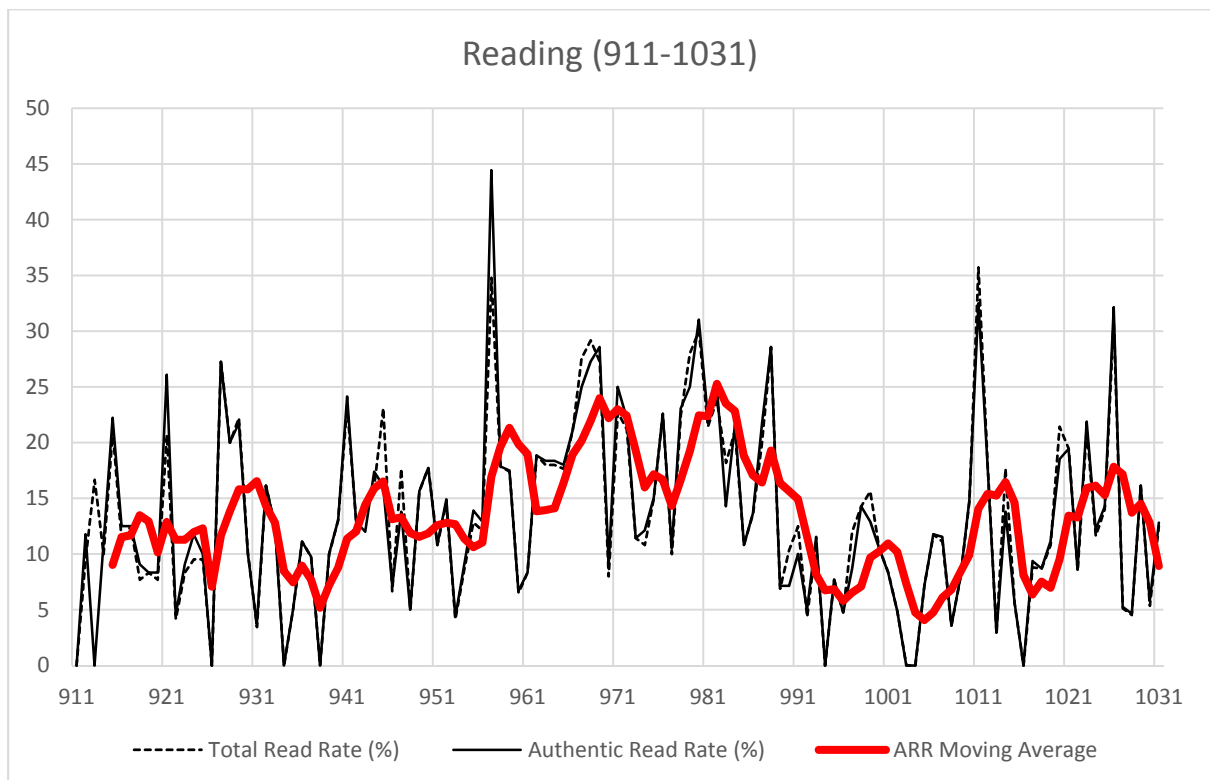


Figure 37



FIGURES

Figure 38

Notices of Confirmation

	Notices	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>139</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>3.55</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>6.27</u>
CEL	19	384	4.95
COR	6	136	4.41
PMH	13	270	4.81
SDC	13	77	16.88
SJS	13	104	12.50
SLM	3	122	2.46
...	5	55	9.09
<u>Centre</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>3.00</u>
ACA	2	243	0.82
ACL	31	897	3.46
ACO	6	45	13.33
OLD	1	196	0.51
SAH	4	428	0.93
SDM	0	43	0.00
SPE	5	33	15.15
STL	0	82	0.00
SVO	0	30	0.00
...	13	71	18.31
<u>East</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>0.71</u>
SJP	0	54	0.00
SMA	0	31	0.00
SMC	0	196	0.00
SMV	0	48	0.00
SPA	1	29	3.45
SPC	0	234	0.00
SSL	2	22	9.09
SSO	0	24	0.00
...	2	65	3.08
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>15.61</u>
RE	76	433	17.55
ER	0	7	0.00
RL	3	44	6.82
LR	0	14	0.00
...	0	8	0.00
<u>Comital</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>2.82</u>
CE	2	54	3.70
CL	0	12	0.00
...	0	5	0.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>2.15</u>
LE	18	1652	1.09
EL	3	115	2.61

FIGURES

EE	34	791	4.30
E	0	33	0.00
...	1	8	12.50
<u>Lay</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>0.28</u>
LL	2	722	0.28
...	0	2	0.00

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>5.38</u>
D	26	1062	2.45
D/DPM	3	49	6.12
D/S	0	30	0.00
DC	13	293	4.44
DC/DPM	0	19	0.00
DP	0	44	0.00
DPM	3	142	2.11
RD	40	255	15.69
RDC	24	131	18.32
...	5	92	5.43
<u>Sales</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>0.49</u>
S	4	1190	0.34
SC	0	100	0.00
E	0	93	0.00
E/S	0	10	0.00
...	3	26	11.54
<u>Other</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>4.72</u>
C	2	36	5.56
DS	4	101	3.96
I	0	13	0.00
MP	0	18	0.00
N	1	27	3.70
P	0	59	0.00
RC	6	51	11.76
RC/RD	3	15	20.00
...	2	61	3.28

Complexity

Simple	73	2714	2.69
Complex	66	1203	5.49

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>2.88</u>
O	12	648	1.85
O/CC	7	126	5.56
O/LC	4	37	10.81
...	1	22	4.55
<u>Copy</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>10.82</u>
C	5	95	5.26
C/CC	9	83	10.84
C/CC/LC	2	12	16.67
C/LC	9	40	22.50
...	0	1	0.00

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>3.24</u>
CC	50	2223	2.25
CC/LC	26	153	16.99
...	1	3	33.33
<u>Other</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>2.74</u>
LC	7	127	5.51
L	6	310	1.94
PO	0	26	0.00
...	0	12	0.00

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>115</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>3.17</u>
A	111	3598	3.09
A/S	2	14	14.29
A/I	2	15	13.33
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.00</u>
S	0	21	0.00
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>13.21</u>
I	7	53	13.21
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>8.06</u>
A/F	1	12	8.33
S/F	0	10	0.00
I/F	3	10	30.00
F	13	179	7.26

FIGURES

Figure 39

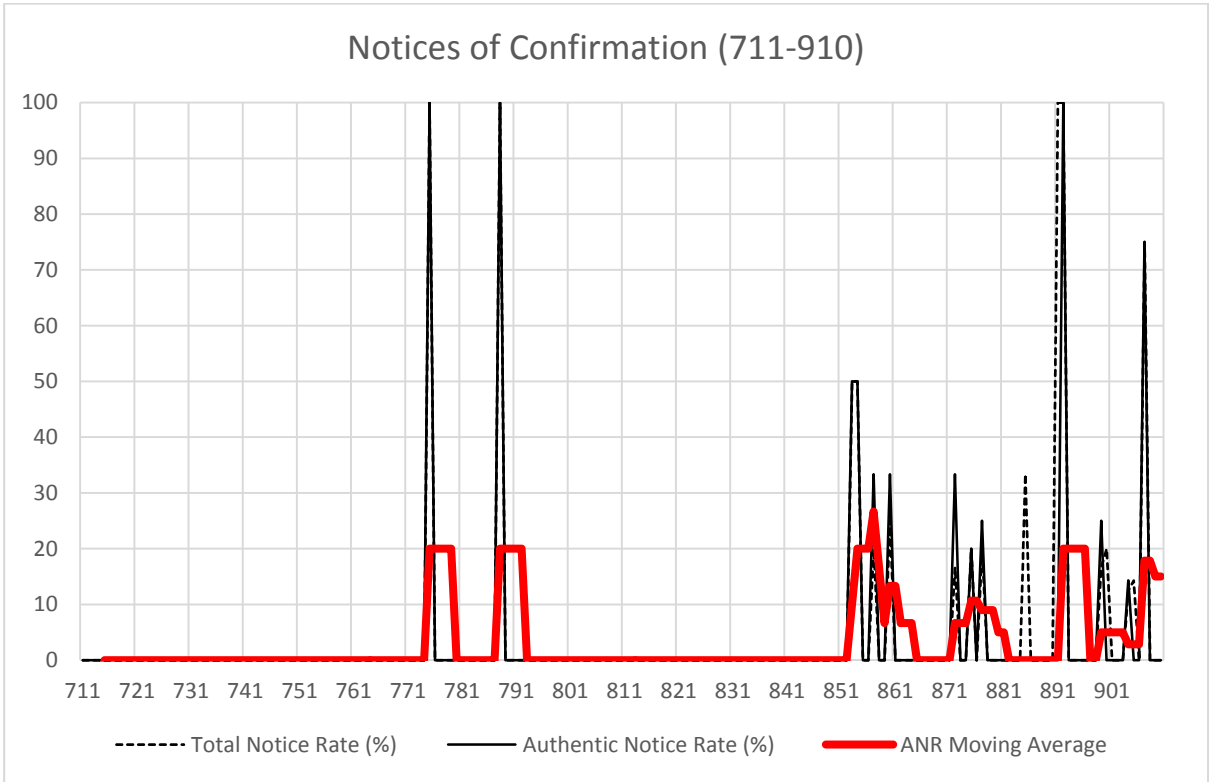
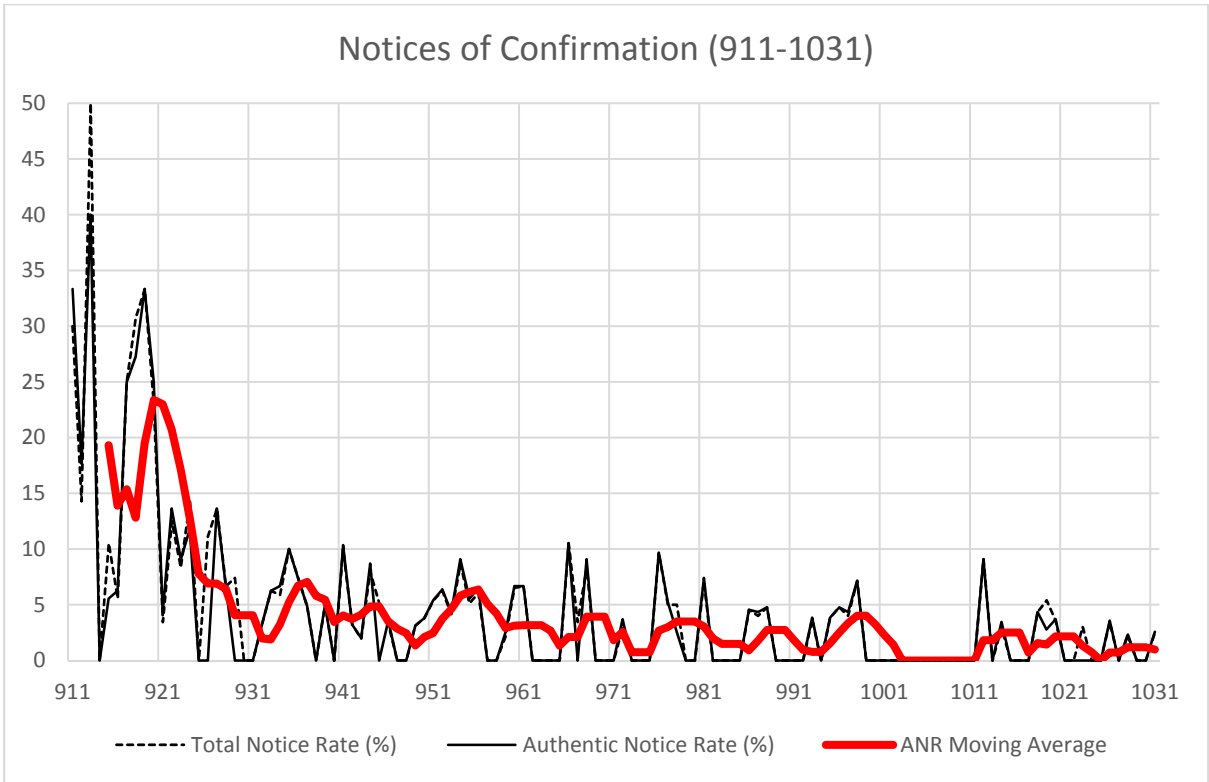


Figure 40



FIGURES

Figure 41

Charters of Confirmation

	Charters	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>3.01</u>

Citing Charters

<u>Total</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>49.15</u>

Collections

<u>West</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>3.83</u>
CEL	2	384	0.52
COR	9	136	6.62
PMH	3	270	1.11
SDC	11	77	14.29
SJS	9	104	8.65
SLM	0	122	0.00
...	10	55	18.18
<u>Centre</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>1.50</u>
ACA	0	243	0.00
ACL	2	897	0.22
ACO	15	45	33.33
OLD	0	196	0.00
SAH	5	428	1.17
SDM	2	43	4.65
SPE	1	33	3.03
STL	1	82	1.22
SVO	0	30	0.00
...	5	71	7.04
<u>East</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>6.12</u>
SJP	8	54	14.81
SMA	3	31	9.68
SMC	14	196	7.14
SMV	2	48	4.17
SPA	3	29	10.34
SPC	3	234	1.28
SSL	1	22	4.55
SSO	2	24	8.33
...	7	65	10.77

Personnel

<u>Royal</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>14.23</u>
RE	68	433	15.70
ER	0	7	0.00
RL	2	44	4.55
LR	0	14	0.00
...	2	8	25.00
<u>Comital</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>14.08</u>
CE	3	54	5.56
CL	7	12	58.33
...	0	5	0.00

FIGURES

<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>1.23</u>
LE	15	1652	0.91
EL	2	115	1.74
EE	15	791	1.90
E	0	33	0.00
...	0	8	0.00
<u>Lay</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>0.28</u>
LL	2	722	0.28
...	0	2	0.00

Typology

<u>Other</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>100.00</u>
C	36	118	30.51
C/DS	3	118	2.54
C/F	4	118	3.39
RC	51	118	43.22
RC/RD	15	118	12.71
RC/RDC	4	118	3.39
...	5	118	4.24

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>0.60</u>
O	2	648	0.31
O/CC	1	126	0.79
O/LC	1	37	2.70
...	1	22	4.55
<u>Copy</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>8.23</u>
C	6	95	6.32
C/CC	8	83	9.64
C/CC/LC	1	12	8.33
C/LC	4	40	10.00
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>3.11</u>
CC	52	2223	2.34
CC/LC	21	153	13.73
...	1	3	33.33
<u>Other</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>4.21</u>
LC	8	127	6.30
L	12	310	3.87
PO	0	26	0.00
...	0	12	0.00

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>2.15</u>
A	77	3598	2.14
A/S	1	14	7.14
A/I	0	15	0.00
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>13.64</u>
S	3	21	14.29
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>13.21</u>
I	7	53	13.21

FIGURES

<u>Falsified</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>14.22</u>
A/F	4	12	33.33
S/F	1	10	10.00
I/F	3	10	30.00
F	22	179	12.29

FIGURES

Figure 42

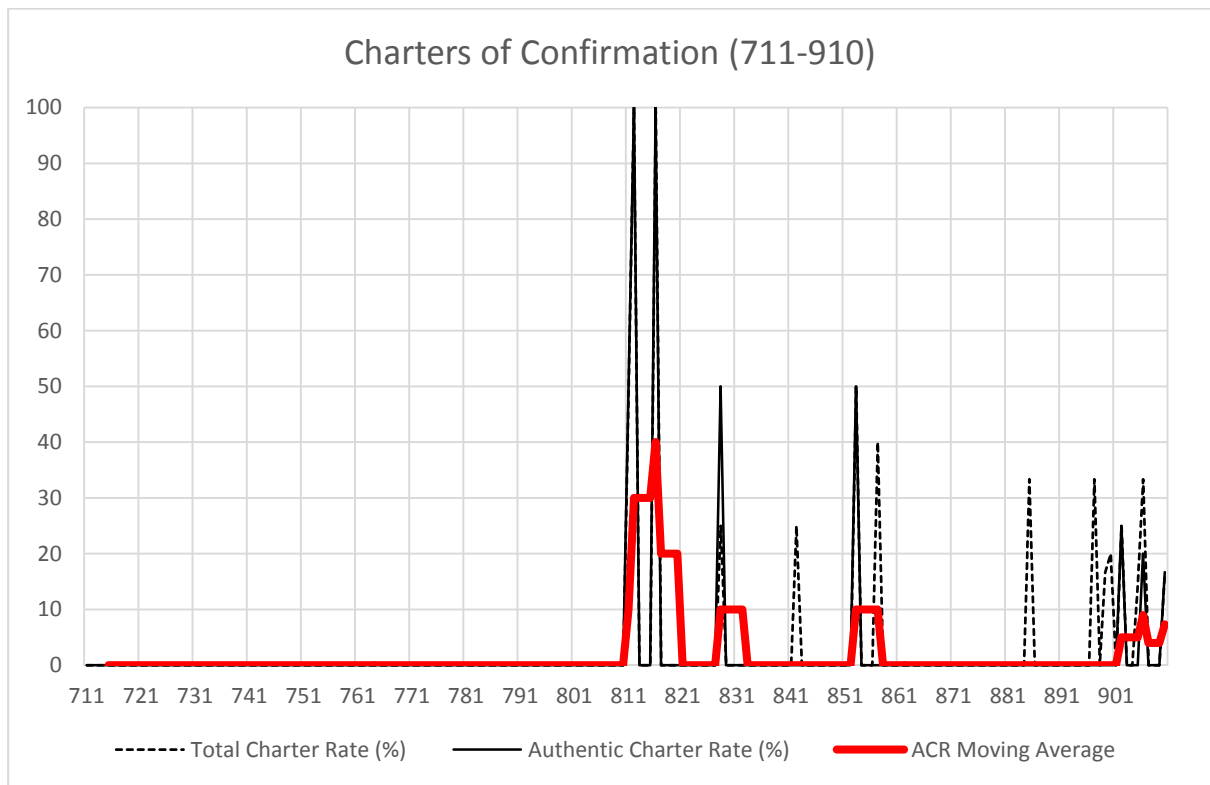
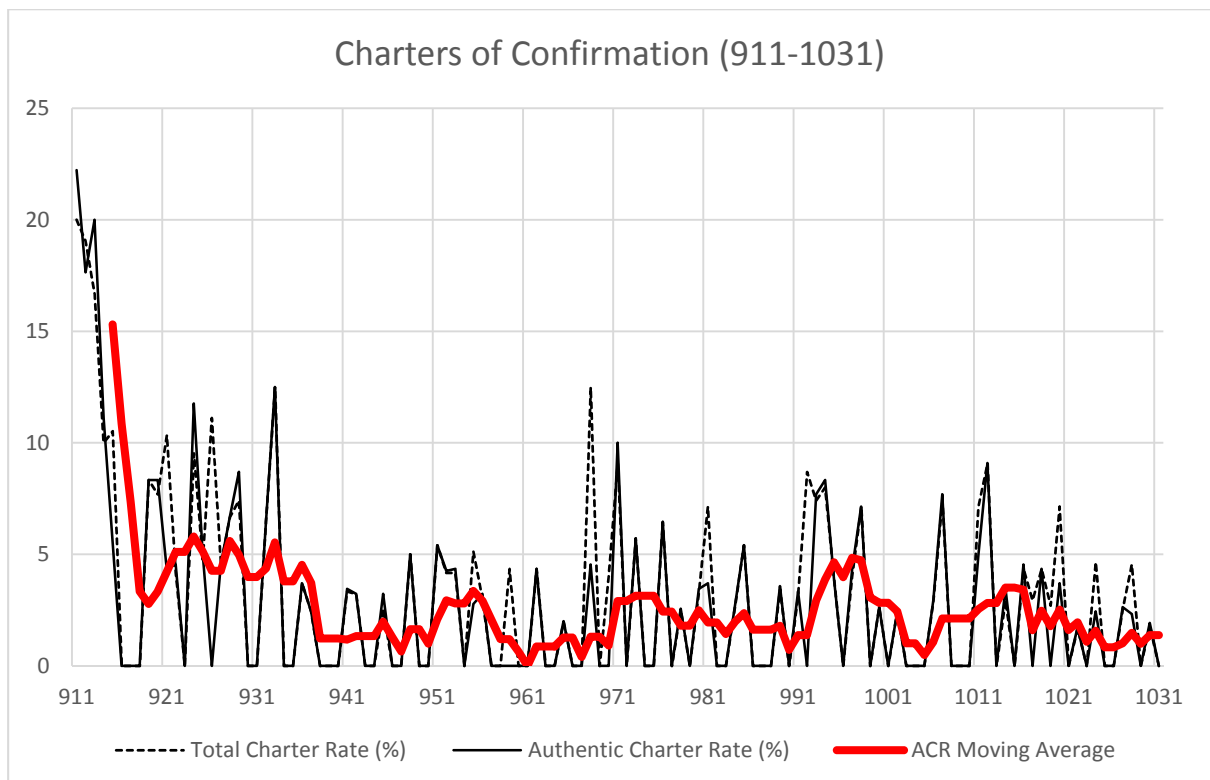


Figure 43



FIGURES

Figure 44

Archives

Institution	Collection	Region	Total	Rate (%)
San Salvador de Celanova	CEL	West	280	7.14
Sahagún	SAH	Centre	260	6.63
San Cosme y San Damián de Abellar	ACL	Centre	180	4.59
San Pedro de Cardeña	SPC	East	146	3.73
Santos Justo y Pastor de Ardón	ACL	Centre	86	2.19
San Julián de Samos	SJS	West	82	2.09
Santiago de Compostela	SDC	West	71	1.81
San Millán de la Cogolla	SMC	East	68	1.74
São Mamede de Lorvão	PMH	West	67	1.71
Santa María de León	ACL	Centre	56	1.43
San Lorenzo de Carboeiro	COR	West	55	1.40
Santiago de León	ACL	Centre	53	1.35
San Juan y San Millán de Hiniestra	SMC	East	48	1.22
Santa María de Astorga	ACA	Centre	39	1.00
Santillana del Mar	SDM	Centre	38	0.97
Sobrado de los Monjes	SLM	West	36	0.92
San Pedro de Eslonza	SPE	Centre	29	0.74
San Salvador de Oviedo	ACO	Centre	29	0.74
San Miguel Arcángel de la Vega de León	ACL	Centre	28	0.71
Santa María de Valpuesta	SMV	East	28	0.71
San Martín de Turieno	STL	Centre	27	0.69
San Juan de la Peña	SJP	East	25	0.64
San Salvador de Matallana	ACL	Centre	25	0.64
San Vicente de León	ACL	Centre	25	0.64
Santa María y Santiago de Valdevimbre	ACL	Centre	25	0.64
San Adrián del Valle	ACA	Centre	23	0.59
Santa María de Guimarães	PMH	West	22	0.56
San Martín de Albelda	SMA	East	21	0.54
San Salvador de Leire	SSL	East	20	0.51
San Dictino de Astorga	ACA	Centre	19	0.48
San Isidro de Dueñas	SID	Centre	17	0.43
San Cipriano de Valdesaz	ACL	Centre	16	0.41
San Juan Apóstol de Corniero	SAH	Centre	15	0.38
San Martín Pinario	COR	West	15	0.38
Santa María de Lugo*	Other	West	15	0.38
Vacariça	PMH	West	15	0.38
San Martín de Valdepueblo	ACL	Centre	14	0.36
San Millán y San Esteban de Salcedo	SMC	East	14	0.36
San Paio de Antealtares	COR	West	14	0.36
Santa María de Piasca	SAH	Centre	14	0.36
San Cosme y San Damián de Burbia	ACA	Centre	13	0.33
San Miguel de Camarzana	ACA	Centre	13	0.33
San Miguel de Pedroso	SMC	East	13	0.33
San Pedro de Montes	SPM	Centre	13	0.33
San Salvador de Villeña	STL	Centre	13	0.33
Buezo de Bureba	SMV	East	12	0.31
San Felices de Oca	SMC	East	12	0.31

FIGURES

San Julián y Santa Basilisa de Villagonzalo	SPC	East	12	0.31
San Pedro de Arlanza	SPA	East	12	0.31
San Salvador de Oña	SSO	East	12	0.31
Santa Leocadia de Castañeda	ACA	Centre	12	0.31
Santiago de Cellariolo	ACL	Centre	12	0.31
San Andrés de Pardomino	ACL	Centre	11	0.28
San Martín de Mondoñedo	ACM	West	11	0.28
San Pedro de Siresa	SPS	East	11	0.28
Santiago de Peñalba	ACA	Centre	11	0.28
San Martín de Castañeda	CAS	Centre	10	0.26
San Salvador de Villare	CEL	West	10	0.26
Santa Marta de Tera	ACA	Centre	10	0.26
Santiago de Valdávida	SAH	Centre	10	0.26
Covarrubias	COV	East	9	0.23
San Cristóbal de Astorga	ACA	Centre	8	0.20
San Juan de Ardón	ACL	Centre	8	0.20
San Martín de Torres	ACA	Centre	8	0.20
San Vicente de Oviedo	SVO	Centre	8	0.20
Santa Eugenia y Santa Marina de Marmellar	SPC	East	8	0.20
San Pedro de Zamudia	ACA	Centre	7	0.18
Santa María de Obona	SMO	Centre	7	0.18
San Andrés de Villalbilla	SPC	East	6	0.15
San Emeterio y San Celedonio de Taranco	SMC	East	6	0.15
San Mamés de Obarenes	SMC	East	6	0.15
San Martín de Cillas	SJP	East	6	0.15
San Martín de Villabáscos	SPC	East	6	0.15
Saelices de Mayorga	SAH	Centre	5	0.13
San Cipriano del Condado	ACL	Centre	5	0.13
San Juan Bautista de Cerezal	ACA	Centre	5	0.13
San Julián de Lavasal	SJP	East	5	0.13
San Sebastián de Montesacro	COR	West	5	0.13
Santa Cruz	ACA	Centre	5	0.13
Santa María de Rezmondo	SPC	East	5	0.13
San Andrés de Argutorio	ACA	Centre	4	0.10
San Cebrián de Pinza	ACA	Centre	4	0.10
San Juan de Tabladillo	SPA	East	4	0.10
San Julián y Santa Basilisa de Bezares	SPC	East	4	0.10
San Martín de Cercito	SJP	East	4	0.10
San Miguel de Silos	SDS	East	4	0.10
San Salvador de Bárcena	ACA	Centre	4	0.10
San Salvador de Cinis	COR	East	4	0.10
Santa María de Coimbra	PMH	West	4	0.10
Santa María de Pamplona	ACP	East	4	0.10
Santiago de Valdegobia	SMC	East	4	0.10
Compludo	ACA	Centre	3	0.08
Leça	PMH	West	3	0.08
San Acisclo de Astorga	ACA	Centre	3	0.08
San Andrés de Fanlo	SAF	East	3	0.08
San Juan Bautista	ACL	Centre	3	0.08
San Juan de Edrada	CEL	West	3	0.08
San Pedro de Berlangas	ACB	East	3	0.08
San Salvador	ACL	Centre	3	0.08

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San Salvador de Astorga	ACA	Centre	3	0.08
San Salvador de Boñar	SAH	Centre	3	0.08
San Sebastián de Silos	SDS	East	3	0.08
San Vicente de Fiéstoles	FLO	East	3	0.08
San Vincenzo de Pombeiro	SVP	West	3	0.08
Santa María de Fontfrida	SJP	East	3	0.08
Santa María de Puerto	SMP	Centre	3	0.08
Santa Marina	OLD	Centre	3	0.08
Santa Teodosia de Arenas de Iguña	SDM	Centre	3	0.08
Santiago de Cellariolo	SAH	Centre	3	0.08
Miscellaneous	...	...	308	7.86
West			711	18.14
Centre			1254	32.00
East			554	14.14
Total			2827	72.14

Individual	Collection	Region	Total	Rate (%)
Melic <i>presbiter</i>	SAH	Centre	13	0.33
Munnio <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	Centre	10	0.26
Servandus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	Centre	8	0.20
Vincemalo <i>presbiter</i>	ACL/SAH	Centre	6	0.15
Bishop Tudemiro	SMA	East	5	0.13
Braolio <i>presbiter</i>	OLD	Centre	5	0.13
Vincentio <i>presbiter</i>	SVO	Centre	5	0.13
Lalano <i>presbiter</i>	OLD	Centre	4	0.10
Sampiro <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	Centre	4	0.10
Savaricus <i>diaconus</i>	ACL	Centre	4	0.10
Abbot Falcon	SPC	East	3	0.08
Arzisclus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	Centre	3	0.08
Ihoannes <i>frater</i>	SPC	East	3	0.08
Valite <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	Centre	3	0.08
Vermudo <i>presbiter</i>	STL	Centre	3	0.08
Zuleiman <i>frater</i>	ACL	Centre	3	0.08
Absalon <i>presbiter</i>	CEL	West	2	0.05
Adulfo <i>diaconus</i>	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
brother Enneco and sister Totaduenna	SMC	East	2	0.05
Crescentius and Gamil <i>monachi</i>	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Enneco <i>presbiter</i>	SPC	East	2	0.05
Felix <i>diaconus</i>	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Gutier <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Iohannes <i>presbiter</i>	STL	Centre	2	0.05
Iuliano <i>presbiter</i>	SPC	East	2	0.05
Iustus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Micahel <i>diaconus</i>	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Modesto <i>presbiter</i>	SVO	Centre	2	0.05
Sabbarico <i>diaconus</i>	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Stephanus <i>presbiter</i>	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Tellu <i>presbiter</i>	SPC	East	2	0.05
Vimara <i>presbiter</i>	CEL	West	2	0.05
Vislavara <i>conversa</i>	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Zamarius <i>presbiter</i> and Farega <i>deovota</i>	PMH	West	2	0.05
Ecclesiastical Total			118	3.01

FIGURES

Count Pedro Flaínez and wife Bronildi	ACL/OLD	Centre	59	1.51
Count Fruela Muñoz and wife Amuna	OLD	Centre	53	1.35
Hermegildo and wife Paterna	CEL/COR/SLM	West	45	1.15
Count Munio Fernández and wife Elvira	ACA/ACL/OLD	Centre	21	0.54
Munio Flaínez and wife Froileuva	ACL/OLD/SAH	Centre	20	0.51
Ansur <i>majordomo</i> and wife María	SAH	Centre	16	0.41
Count Gutier and wife Ilduara	CEL	West	15	0.38
Bagaudano and wife Faquilona	STL	Centre	14	0.36
Cidi Domínguez and wife Auria	ACL	Centre	12	0.31
Tructesindo Osorediz and wife Unisco	PMH	West	11	0.28
Fláino Muñoz and wife Iusta	OLD	Centre	8	0.20
Fruela Velaz and wife Jimena	ACL/SAH	Centre	8	0.20
Iuzef and wife Iusta	ACL	Centre	8	0.20
Count Pedro Fernández and wife Sancha	ACL	Centre	7	0.18
Ederonio Alvitiz and wife Crastina	PMH	West	6	0.15
María Velázquez	ACL/SAH	Centre	6	0.15
Menicio and wife Avola	ACL	Centre	6	0.15
Arias and wife Flora	ACL	Centre	5	0.13
Count Munio Muñoz	ACA/ACL/OLD	Centre	5	0.13
Donani Zalamiz and wife Trudilo	PMH	West	5	0.13
Fruela Vimarediz and wife Adosinda	OLD	Centre	5	0.13
Mumadona Dias	PMH	West	5	0.13
Vimara Kagitiz	CEL	West	5	0.13
Izila Christovaliz and wife Creusa	PMH	West	4	0.10
Nuno Sarracinez and wife Gudigeva	ACL	Centre	4	0.10
Sandino Munoz and wife Eilo	CEL	West	4	0.10
Taurello and wife Principia	ACL	Centre	4	0.10
Vela Vermudez and wife Gontina	SAH	Centre	4	0.10
Anderquina	SPC	East	3	0.08
Argemundo and wife Recoire	SAH	Centre	3	0.08
Atriano and wife Ermesenda	OLD	Centre	3	0.08
Count Pelayo Muñoz and wife Sancha	ACL	Centre	3	0.08
Didacu Danielliz and wife Vislavara	OLD	Centre	3	0.08
Elena	SAH	Centre	3	0.08
Framilde	ACL	Centre	3	0.08
Fredesinde	ACL	Centre	3	0.08
Gundulfo	COR	West	3	0.08
Lazaro and wife Lempeda	PMH	West	3	0.08
Munio and wife Gulatrudia	STL	Centre	3	0.08
Pelayo and wife Crementina	PMH	West	3	0.08
Savarico and wife Vistrilli	STL	Centre	3	0.08
Sunila and wife Gudilo	PMH	West	3	0.08
Vermude and Pascuale	ACL	Centre	3	0.08
Vermudo Núñez	SAH	Centre	3	0.08
Advocatus and wife Leovilli	PMH	West	2	0.05
Agodin and wife Bonilde	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Agube and wife Auria	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Aloito and wife Gotina	PMH	West	2	0.05
Auriolo	SVO	Centre	2	0.05
Bonello and wife Arcadie	SVO	Centre	2	0.05
Cidi Domneliz	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Count Fafila Fernández and wife Adosinda	ACL/SAH	Centre	2	0.05

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Dominico and wife Matre	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Eileuva	PMH	West	2	0.05
Fafila Petriz	OLD	Centre	2	0.05
Fafilane and Penetrudie	SLM	West	2	0.05
Fernando Núñez	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Flaíno and wife Bronildi Velasquita	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Fromarigu iben Egas and wife Adosenda	PMH	West	2	0.05
Fruela and wife Eleuva	PMH	West	2	0.05
Fruela and wife Gundilu	PMH	West	2	0.05
Fruela and wife Trastalo	PMH	West	2	0.05
Fruela Ansaloniz	PMH	West	2	0.05
Fruela Gutiérrez	CEL	West	2	0.05
Fruela Sendíniz and wife Rosla	OLD	Centre	2	0.05
Godesteio Menendez and wife Ledegundia	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Gómez	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Gonzalo Fernández and wife Ermesinda	PMH	West	2	0.05
Gutier and wife Teudilo	PMH	West	2	0.05
Hermegildo and Paterna [?]	SLM	West	2	0.05
Lalano and wife Iusta	OLD	Centre	2	0.05
Maurele Velazquez and wife Gudina	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Menendo	CEL	West	2	0.05
Michael, Gomeiro, and mother Framille	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Munio Flaínez	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Munio Núñez and wife Paterna	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Nunno	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Oveco Díaz	SMC	East	2	0.05
Paterna	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Paterno Velázquez	SAH	Centre	2	0.05
Peitro	OLD	Centre	2	0.05
Pelayo Danieliz	ACA	Centre	2	0.05
Roderico and Elvira	SLM	West	2	0.05
Salbator	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Sallo	SAH	Centre	2	0.05
Saracino and wife Iusta	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Sarrazino Arias and wife Froilo	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Semena	OLD	Centre	2	0.05
Semena Muñoz	OLD	Centre	2	0.05
Sintila and wife Gontina	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Tedon Pelagiz	PMH	West	2	0.05
Trastalum	PMH	West	2	0.05
Tructesindo Guimiriz	PMH	West	2	0.05
Vita	SPC	East	2	0.05
Zondai and wife Aurie	ACL	Centre	2	0.05
Lay Total			515	13.14
Miscellaneous	...	...	459	11.71
West			154	3.93
Centre			453	11.56
East			26	0.66
Total			1092	27.86

FIGURES

Figure 45

Dorsal Notes

	Notes	Originals	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>149</u>	<u>499</u>	<u>29.86</u>
Collections			
<u>Centre</u>	<u>149</u>	<u>499</u>	<u>29.86</u>
ACL	107	312	34.29
OLD	33	163	20.25
SPE	9	24	37.50
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>40.00</u>
RE	13	33	39.39
RL	5	12	41.67
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>207</u>	<u>35.75</u>
LE	53	144	36.81
EL	6	21	28.57
EE	15	40	37.50
E	0	1	0.00
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Lay</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>244</u>	<u>23.36</u>
LL	57	243	23.46
...	0	1	0.00
Typology			
<u>Donations</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>178</u>	<u>30.90</u>
D	16	45	35.56
D/DPM	1	2	50.00
D/S	1	6	16.67
DC	7	40	17.50
DC/DPM	0	1	0.00
DP	1	6	16.67
DPM	8	20	40.00
RD	11	26	42.31
RDC	7	18	38.89
...	3	14	21.43
<u>Sales</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>286</u>	<u>31.47</u>
S	75	240	31.25
SC	8	27	29.63
E	5	13	38.46
E/S	1	4	25.00
...	1	2	50.00
<u>Other</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>11.76</u>
DS	3	15	20.00
I	0	1	0.00
N	0	3	0.00
P	1	14	7.14
...	0	1	0.00

FIGURES

	Complexity		
Simple	109	339	32.15
Complex	40	159	25.16

FIGURES

Figure 46

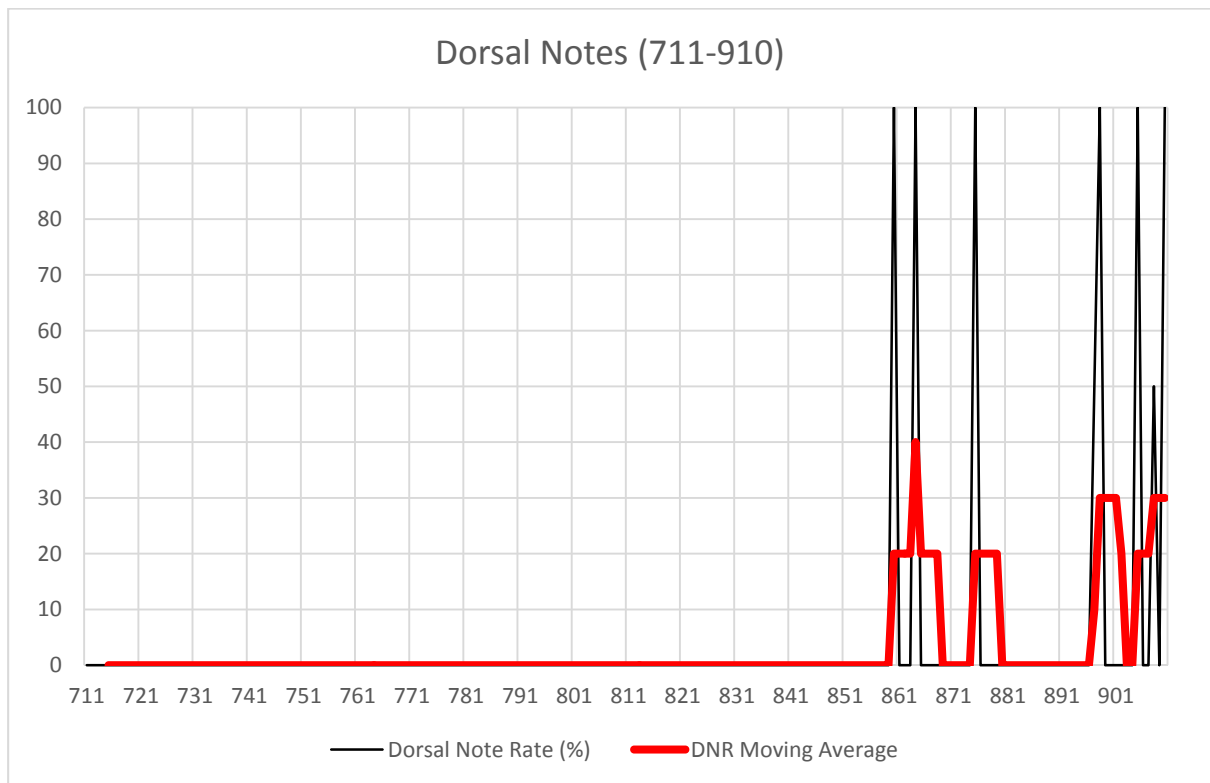
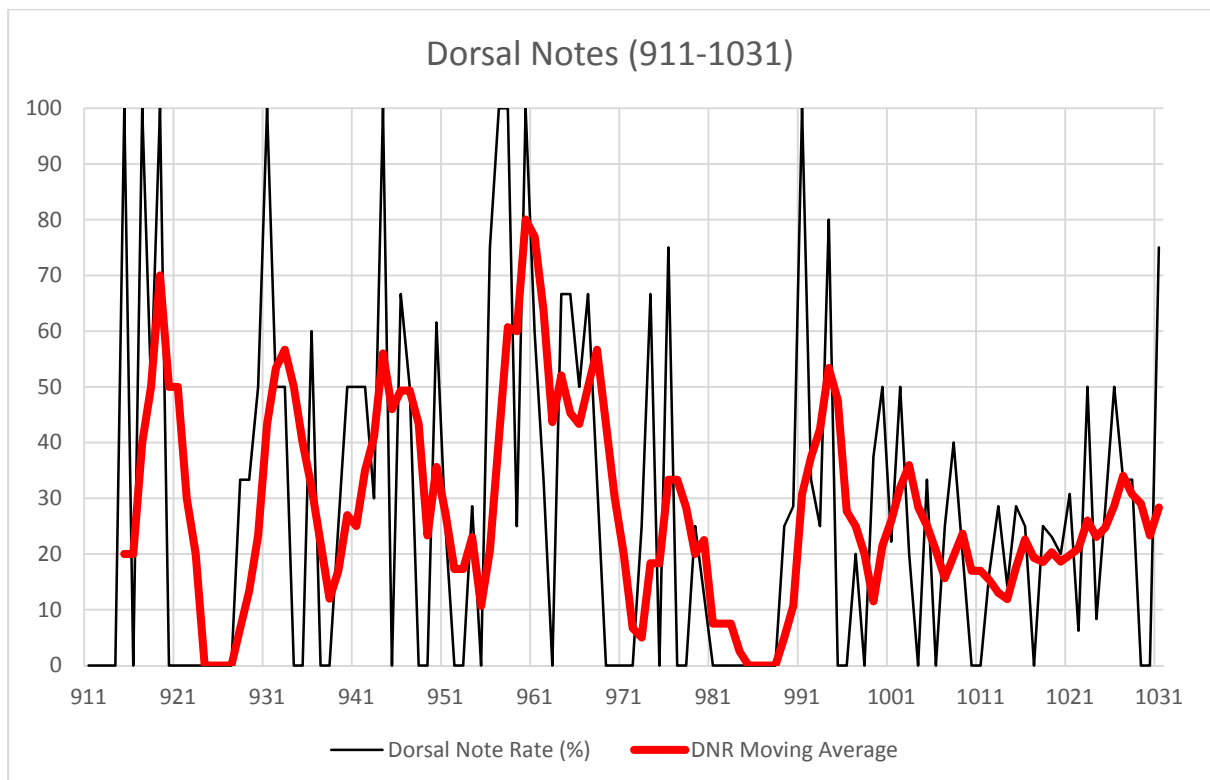


Figure 47



FIGURES

Figure 48

Charters Citing Charters

	Citations	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>565</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>14.42</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>303</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>26.39</u>
CEL	77	384	20.05
COR	21	136	15.44
PMH	62	270	22.96
SDC	39	77	50.65
SJS	49	104	47.12
SLM	35	122	28.69
...	20	55	36.36
<u>Centre</u>	<u>237</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>11.46</u>
ACA	10	243	4.12
ACL	91	897	10.14
ACO	23	45	51.11
OLD	30	196	15.31
SAH	45	428	10.51
SDM	6	43	13.95
SPE	1	33	3.03
STL	8	82	9.76
SVO	9	30	30.00
...	14	71	19.72
<u>East</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>3.56</u>
SJP	3	54	5.56
SMA	1	31	3.23
SMC	3	196	1.53
SMV	2	48	4.17
SPA	3	29	10.34
SPC	4	234	1.71
SSL	1	22	4.55
SSO	2	24	8.33
...	6	65	9.23
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>25.10</u>
RE	111	433	25.64
ER	4	7	57.14
RL	11	44	25.00
LR	0	14	0.00
...	1	8	12.50
<u>Comital</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>7.04</u>
CE	1	54	1.85
CL	4	12	33.33
...	0	5	0.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>360</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>13.85</u>
LE	160	1652	9.69
EL	35	115	30.43

FIGURES

EE	152	791	19.22
E	13	33	39.39
...	0	8	0.00
<u>Lay</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>10.08</u>
LL	72	722	9.97
...	1	2	50.00
Typology			
<u>Donations</u>	<u>310</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>14.64</u>
D	89	1062	8.38
D/DPM	9	49	18.37
D/S	4	30	13.33
DC	86	293	29.35
DC/DPM	9	19	47.37
DP	2	44	4.55
DPM	13	142	9.15
RD	25	255	9.80
RDC	47	131	35.88
...	26	92	28.26
<u>Sales</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>6.34</u>
S	41	1190	3.45
SC	27	100	27.00
E	14	93	15.05
E/S	0	10	0.00
...	8	26	30.77
<u>Other</u>	<u>165</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>43.31</u>
C	15	36	41.67
DS	60	101	59.41
I	11	13	84.62
MP	1	18	5.56
N	4	27	14.81
P	16	59	27.12
RC	23	51	45.10
RC/RD	10	15	66.67
...	25	61	40.98
Complexity			
Simple	196	2714	7.22
Complex	370	1203	30.76
Palaeography			
<u>Original</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>13.69</u>
O	81	648	12.50
O/CC	16	126	12.70
O/LC	9	37	24.32
...	8	22	36.36
<u>Copy</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>23.81</u>
C	21	95	22.11
C/CC	23	83	27.71
C/CC/LC	3	12	25.00
C/LC	7	40	17.50
...	1	1	100.00

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>362</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>15.22</u>
CC	294	2223	13.23
CC/LC	67	153	43.79
...	1	3	33.33
<u>Other</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>7.16</u>
LC	18	127	14.17
L	13	310	4.19
PO	2	26	7.69
...	1	12	8.33

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>507</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>13.98</u>
A	500	3598	13.90
A/S	3	14	21.43
A/I	4	15	26.67
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>9.09</u>
S	1	21	4.76
...	1	1	100.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>32.08</u>
I	17	53	32.08
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>18.48</u>
A/F	1	12	8.33
S/F	1	10	10.00
I/F	3	10	30.00
F	34	179	18.99

FIGURES

Figure 49

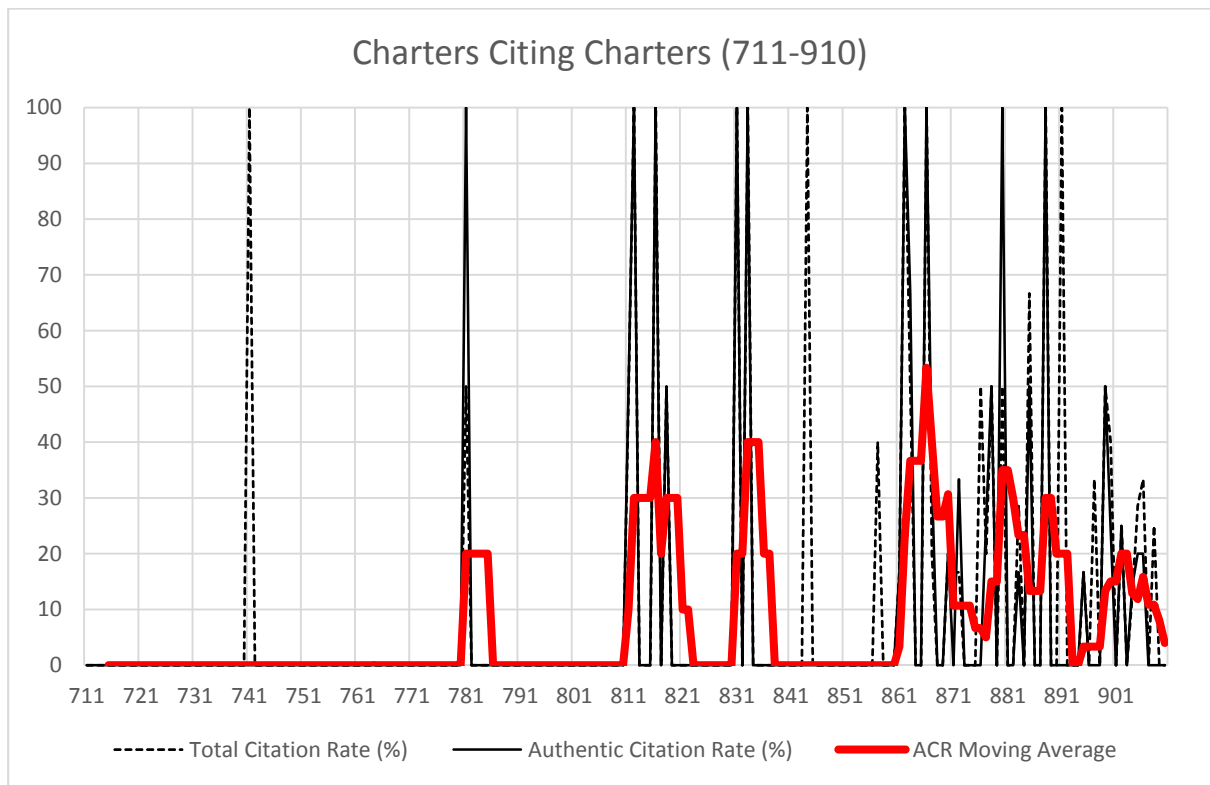
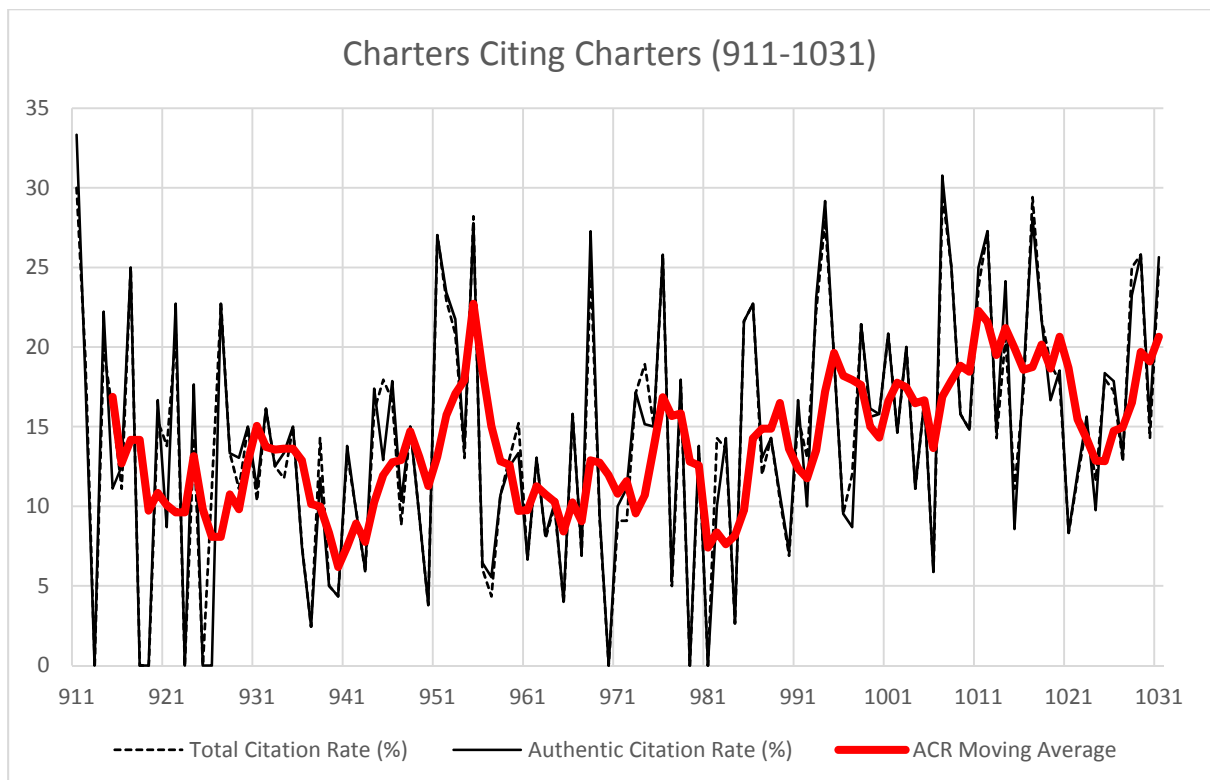


Figure 50



FIGURES

Figure 51

Charters Citing Law

	Citations	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>439</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>11.20</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>204</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>17.77</u>
CEL	62	384	16.15
COR	7	136	5.15
PMH	50	270	18.52
SDC	18	77	23.38
SJS	30	104	28.85
SLM	19	122	15.57
...	18	55	32.73
<u>Centre</u>	<u>205</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>9.91</u>
ACA	9	243	3.70
ACL	89	897	9.92
ACO	14	45	31.11
OLD	47	196	23.98
SAH	26	428	6.07
SDM	3	43	6.98
SPE	1	33	3.03
STL	3	82	3.66
SVO	3	30	10.00
...	10	71	14.08
<u>East</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>4.27</u>
SJP	0	54	0.00
SMA	1	31	3.23
SMC	8	196	4.08
SMV	3	48	6.25
SPA	4	29	13.79
SPC	9	234	3.85
SSL	0	22	0.00
SSO	1	24	4.17
...	4	65	6.15
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>17.19</u>
RE	66	433	15.24
ER	2	7	28.57
RL	18	44	40.91
LR	0	14	0.00
...	1	8	12.50
<u>Comital</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>8.45</u>
CE	2	54	3.70
CL	3	12	25.00
...	1	5	20.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>242</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>9.31</u>
LE	118	1652	7.14
EL	23	115	20.00

FIGURES

EE	99	791	12.52
E	1	33	3.03
...	1	8	12.50
<u>Lay</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>14.23</u>
LL	102	722	14.13
...	1	2	50.00
Typology			
<u>Donations</u>	<u>289</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>13.65</u>
D	76	1062	7.16
D/DPM	12	49	24.49
D/S	1	30	3.33
DC	98	293	33.45
DC/DPM	8	19	42.11
DP	2	44	4.55
DPM	21	142	14.79
RD	19	255	7.45
RDC	37	131	28.24
...	15	92	16.30
<u>Sales</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>3.95</u>
S	20	1190	1.68
SC	28	100	28.00
E	4	93	4.30
E/S	0	10	0.00
...	8	26	30.77
<u>Other</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>24.67</u>
C	0	36	0.00
DS	43	101	42.57
I	2	13	15.38
MP	1	18	5.56
N	0	27	0.00
P	15	59	25.42
RC	13	51	25.49
RC/RD	8	15	53.33
...	12	61	19.67
Complexity			
Simple	125	2714	4.61
Complex	314	1203	26.10
Palaeography			
<u>Original</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>13.93</u>
O	85	648	13.12
O/CC	21	126	16.67
O/LC	8	37	21.62
...	2	22	9.09
<u>Copy</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>12.99</u>
C	12	95	12.63
C/CC	12	83	14.46
C/CC/LC	1	12	8.33
C/LC	4	40	10.00
...	1	1	100.00

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>266</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>11.18</u>
CC	228	2223	10.26
CC/LC	38	153	24.84
...	1	3	33.33
<u>Other</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>5.68</u>
LC	10	127	7.87
L	9	310	2.90
PO	7	26	26.92
...	1	12	8.33

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>401</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>11.06</u>
A	396	3598	11.01
A/S	4	14	28.57
A/I	1	15	6.67
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>4.55</u>
S	1	21	4.76
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>13.21</u>
I	7	53	13.21
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>14.22</u>
A/F	1	12	8.33
S/F	1	10	10.00
I/F	2	10	20.00
F	26	179	14.53

FIGURES

Figure 52

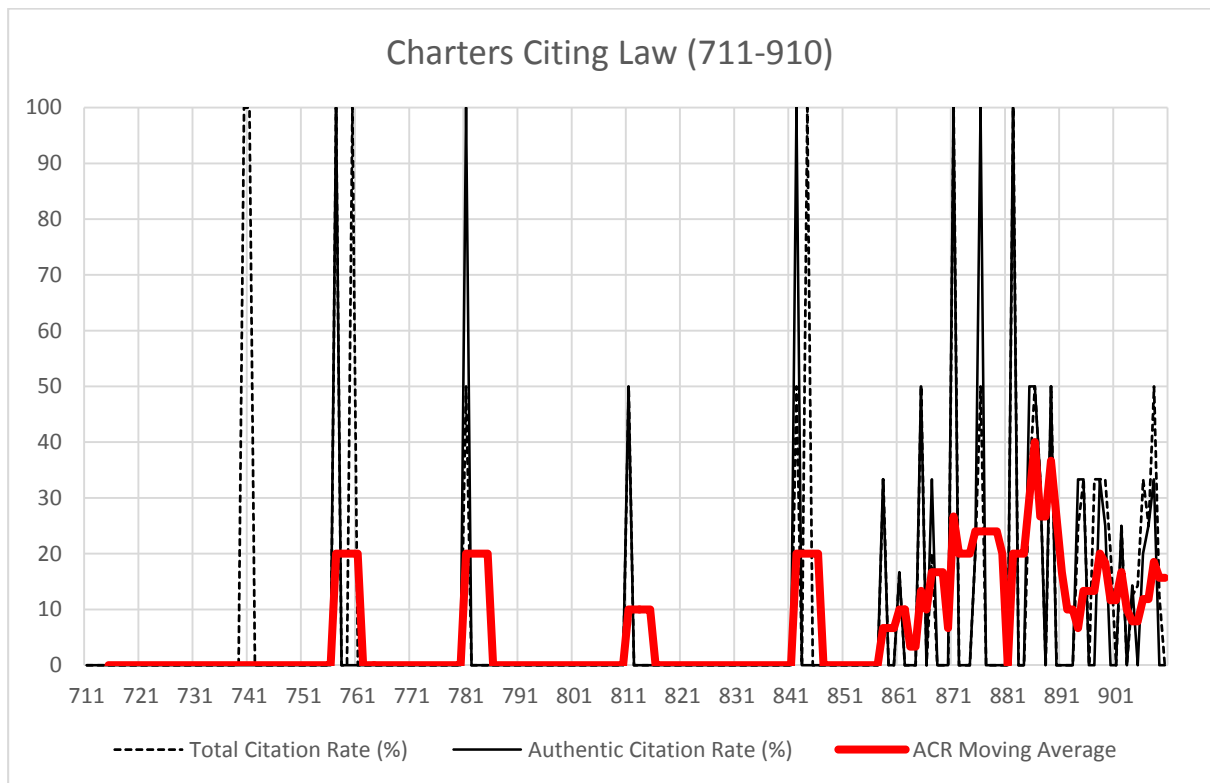
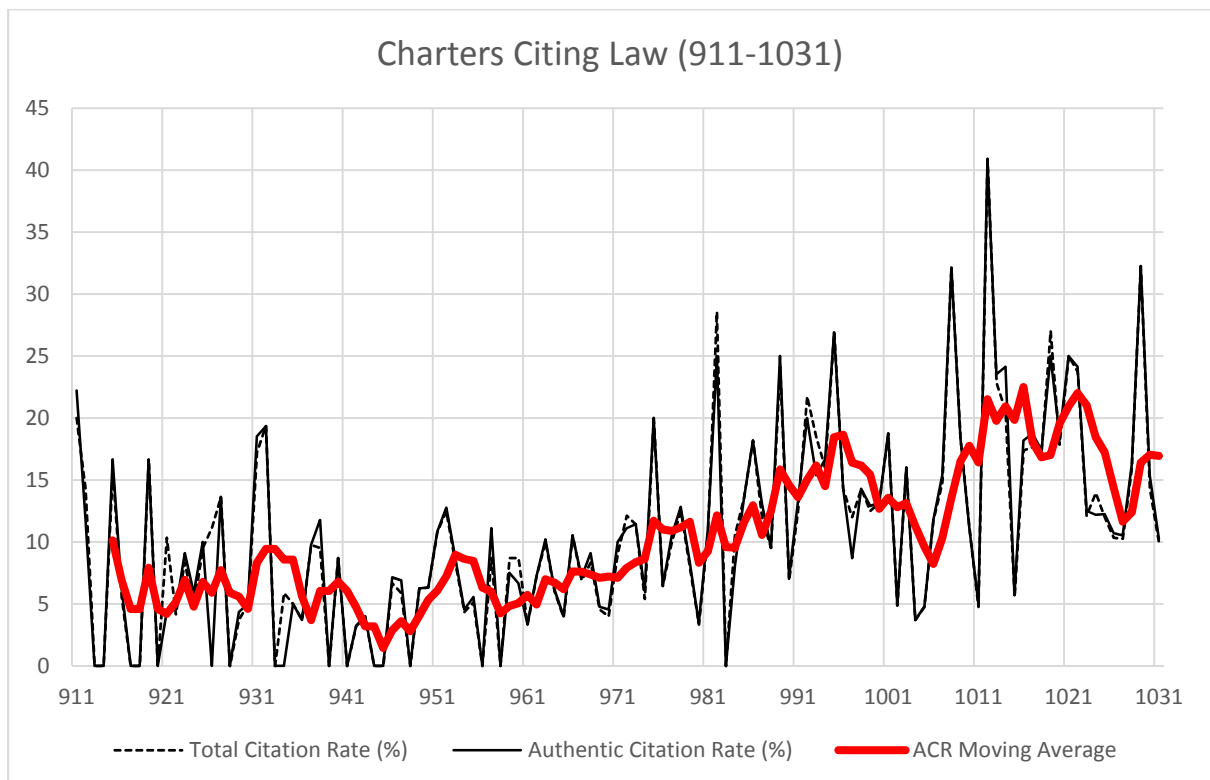


Figure 53



FIGURES

Figure 54

Legal Citations

<u>LV2</u>	<u>LV4</u>	<u>LV7</u>	8.4.29
2.1.4	4.1.3	7.1.1	8.4.31
2.1.8	4.2.2	7.1.5	8.6.2
2.1.11	4.2.9	7.2.4	
2.1.14	4.2.10	7.2.7	<u>LV9</u>
2.1.15	4.2.11	7.2.9	9.2.8
2.1.18	4.2.14	7.2.13	9.2.9
2.1.23	4.2.16	7.2.14	
2.1.25	4.2.17	7.2.16	<u>LV10</u>
2.1.26	4.2.18	7.2.17	10.1.11
2.1.27	4.2.19	7.2.18	10.1.13
2.1.29	4.2.20	7.2.20	10.2.1
2.2.5	4.5.1	7.2.22	10.2.3
2.4.1	4.5.4	7.2.23	10.2.6
2.4.5	4.5.6	7.3.1	10.3.2
2.4.6		7.3.4	10.3.4
2.4.7	<u>LV5</u>	7.4.1	
2.4.8	5.1.1	7.4.4	<u>LV12</u>
2.4.12	5.1.2	7.5.1	12.2.3
2.5.4	5.1.3	7.5.5	12.2.12
2.5.5	5.1.4		12.2.18
2.5.8	5.2.1	<u>LV8</u>	12.3.2
2.5.12	5.2.2	8.1.2	12.3.3
2.5.16	5.2.4	8.1.5	12.3.4
2.5.17	5.2.6	8.1.6	12.3.5
2.5.18	5.2.7	8.1.7	12.3.8
	5.4.1	8.1.9	12.3.11
<u>LV3</u>	5.4.3	8.1.10	12.3.15
3.1.3	5.4.8	8.1.12	12.3.17
3.1.4	5.4.13	8.2.1	12.3.19
3.1.5	5.5.1	8.3.1	12.3.22
3.1.9	5.5.2	8.3.2	12.3.28
3.2.2	5.6.1	8.3.3	
3.3.1	5.6.2	8.3.5	
3.4.1	5.6.3	8.3.6	
3.4.3	5.6.4	8.3.7	
3.4.5	5.7.8	8.3.11	
3.4.8		8.3.12	
3.4.12	<u>LV6</u>	8.3.14	
3.4.13	6.1.2	8.4.1	
3.4.15	6.1.3	8.4.2	
3.4.18	6.4.1	8.4.3	
3.5.1	6.4.2	8.4.7	
3.5.2	6.4.3	8.4.8	
3.5.5	6.5.12	8.4.11	
3.5.6	6.5.14	8.4.13	
3.6.1	6.5.15	8.4.16	
3.6.2		8.4.21	

FIGURES

Figure 55

Charters Citing Scripture

	Citations	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>622</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>15.87</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>17.68</u>
CEL	33	384	8.59
COR	23	136	16.91
PMH	43	270	15.93
SDC	25	77	32.47
SJS	53	104	50.96
SLM	13	122	10.66
...	13	55	23.64
<u>Centre</u>	<u>328</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>15.86</u>
ACA	34	243	13.99
ACL	137	897	15.27
ACO	16	45	35.56
OLD	4	196	2.04
SAH	63	428	14.72
SDM	12	43	27.91
SPE	8	33	24.24
STL	25	82	30.49
SVO	2	30	6.67
...	27	71	38.03
<u>East</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>12.94</u>
SJP	21	54	38.89
SMA	2	31	6.45
SMC	10	196	5.10
SMV	7	48	14.58
SPA	9	29	31.03
SPC	12	234	5.13
SSL	11	22	50.00
SSO	2	24	8.33
...	17	65	26.15
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>153</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>30.24</u>
RE	144	433	33.26
ER	3	7	42.86
RL	4	44	9.09
LR	1	14	7.14
...	1	8	12.50
<u>Comital</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>22.54</u>
CE	14	54	25.93
CL	2	12	16.67
...	0	5	0.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>450</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>17.31</u>
LE	202	1652	12.23
EL	10	115	8.70

FIGURES

EE	237	791	29.96
E	1	33	3.03
...	0	8	0.00
<u>Lay</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>0.41</u>
LL	3	722	0.42
...	0	2	0.00

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>558</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>26.36</u>
D	258	1062	24.29
D/DPM	23	49	46.94
D/S	3	30	10.00
DC	74	293	25.26
DC/DPM	11	19	57.89
DP	4	44	9.09
DPM	44	142	30.99
RD	70	255	27.45
RDC	48	131	36.64
...	23	92	25.00
<u>Sales</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>0.35</u>
S	2	1190	0.17
SC	0	100	0.00
E	1	93	1.08
E/S	0	10	0.00
...	2	26	7.69
<u>Other</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>15.49</u>
C	4	36	11.11
DS	7	101	6.93
I	1	13	7.69
MP	8	18	44.44
N	1	27	3.70
P	1	59	1.69
RC	17	51	33.33
RC/RD	4	15	26.67
...	16	61	26.23

Complexity

Simple	337	2714	12.42
Complex	285	1203	23.69

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>11.40</u>
O	51	648	7.87
O/CC	24	126	19.05
O/LC	12	37	32.43
...	8	22	36.36
<u>Copy</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>35.50</u>
C	28	95	29.47
C/CC	31	83	37.35
C/CC/LC	6	12	50.00
C/LC	17	40	42.50
...	0	1	0.00

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>395</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>16.60</u>
CC	334	2223	15.02
CC/LC	59	153	38.56
...	2	3	66.67
<u>Other</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>10.53</u>
LC	40	127	31.50
L	8	310	2.58
PO	0	26	0.00
...	2	12	16.67

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>524</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>14.45</u>
A	513	3598	14.26
A/S	6	14	42.86
A/I	5	15	33.33
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>22.73</u>
S	5	21	23.81
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>39.62</u>
I	21	53	39.62
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>32.23</u>
A/F	3	12	25.00
S/F	2	10	20.00
I/F	4	10	40.00
F	59	179	32.96

FIGURES

Figure 56

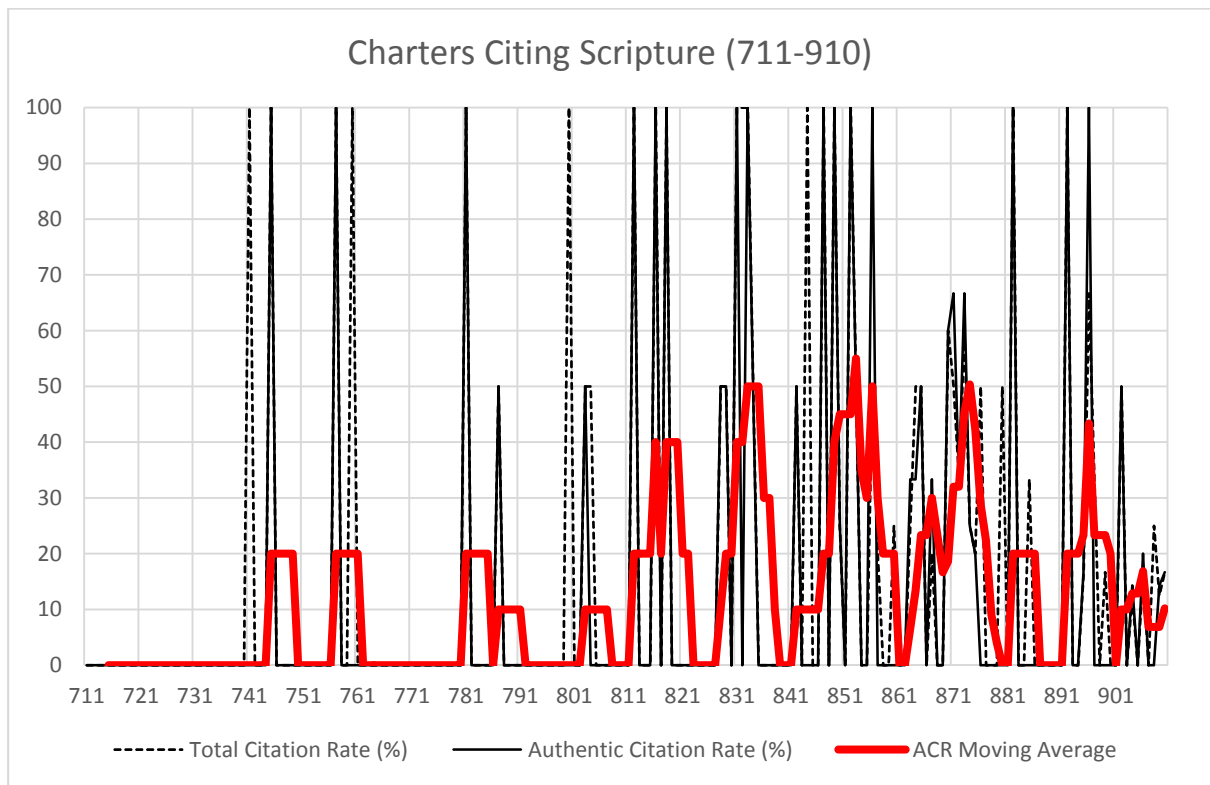
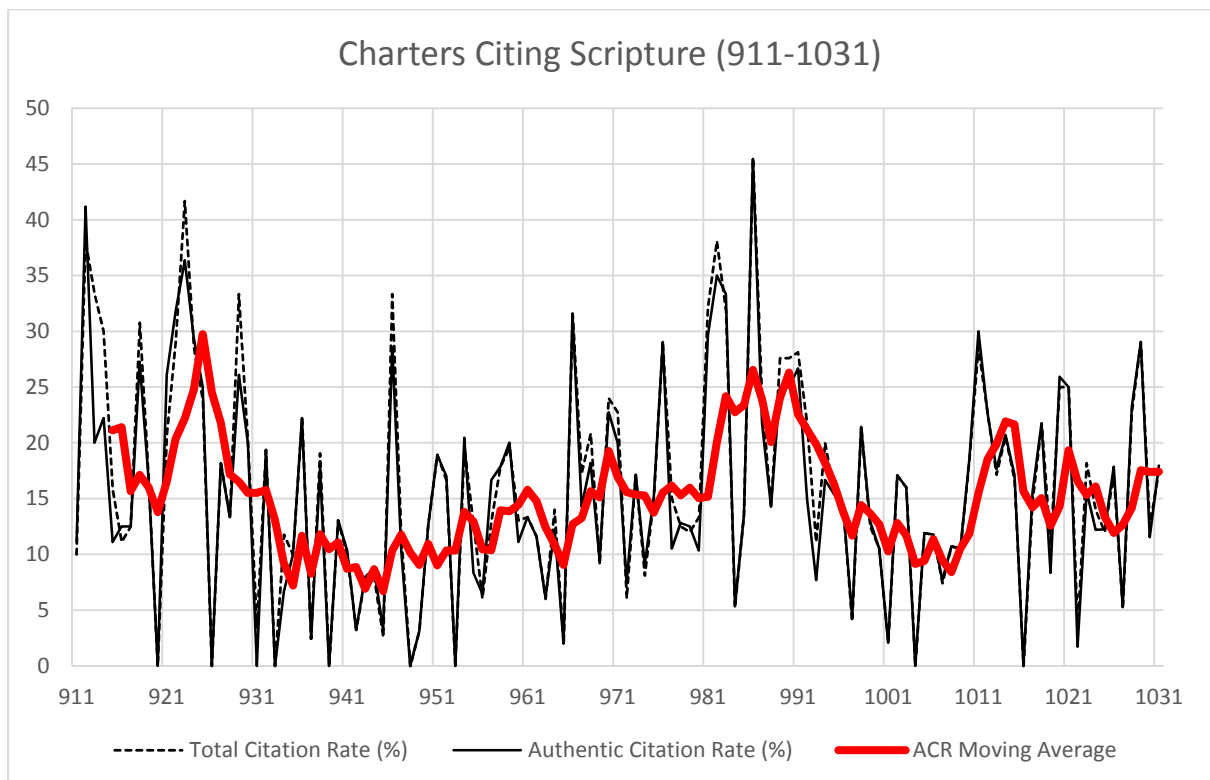


Figure 57



FIGURES

Figure 58

Scriptural Citations

Old Testament

112

Genesis 1:22
Genesis 1:26
Genesis 2:18
Genesis 2:23
Genesis 3:15
Genesis 4:4
Genesis 4:7
Genesis 4:15
Genesis 14:18-20
Genesis 19:24-5
Genesis 21:1
Genesis 28:17
Genesis 34:9

Exodus 3:14-5
Exodus 14:26-8
Exodus 35:29

cf. Exodus 15:1-21, Psalm 136:13-5

Numbers 15:3
Numbers 16:31-2
Numbers 28:2

cf. Leviticus 2:12?
cf. Numbers 26:9-10, Deuteronomy 11:6, Psalm 106:17

Deuteronomy 4:24
Deuteronomy 11:6
Deuteronomy 12:6
Deuteronomy 16:16
Deuteronomy 26:11?
Deuteronomy 27:9-26
Deuteronomy 28:15-68
Deuteronomy 32:7
Deuteronomy 33:16

Joshua 6:20
Joshua 8:24-5
Joshua 10:28-39
Joshua 11:14

I Samuel 2:30
I Samuel 4:4-18
I Samuel 22:9-23

I Kings 8:17-8?

II Kings 5:27

I Chronicles 29:11-2

cf. II Chronicles 20:6?

FIGURES

I Chronicles 29:14-5
I Chronicles 29:16
I Chronicles 29:18

Tobias 13:8?

Job 3:8
Job 7:6
Job 7:20
Job 16:7
Job 24:18
Job 25:5-6
Job 34:24

cf. Psalm 74:13-4, Isaiah 27:1

Psalm 19:9
Psalm 22:6
Psalm 37:27
Psalm 44:23
Psalm 45:15-6?
Psalm 49:7-8
Psalm 49:10
Psalm 50:5
Psalm 50:10-12

cf. Psalm 44/45:24?

Psalm 50:14
Psalm 50:16-7
Psalm 52:1-7
Psalm 66:12
Psalm 69:28
Psalm 73:28
Psalm 76:1-2
Psalm 76:10
Psalm 76:11
Psalm 77:11
Psalm 83:13
Psalm 84:4
Psalm 89:28
Psalm 90:4
Psalm 97:10
Psalm 105:4?
Psalm 115:17-8
Psalm 116:12
Psalm 121:4
Psalm 128:5-6
Psalm 137:8
Psalm 141:2
Psalm 143:2
Psalm 144:2
Psalm 146:4

cf. Psalm 76:11

cf. Exodus 32:32-3

cf. Psalm 50:14

Proverbs 1:7
Proverbs 3:9
Proverbs 9:10

FIGURES

Proverbs 15:8
Proverbs 25:2

Ecclesiastes 12:6

Wisdom 7:6

Sirach 1:4
Sirach 1:16-7
Sirach 3:33
Sirach 35:11

Isaiah 1:18
Isaiah 14:5
Isaiah 34:9
Isaiah 56:1?
Isaiah 58:6

Jeremiah 10:6
Jeremiah 13:16
Jeremiah 22:19
Jeremiah 29:6

Lamentations 3:27

Ezekiel 3:19?
Ezekiel 18:32
Ezekiel 33:11

Micah 6:6?
Micah 7:11-3?

Zephaniah 1:15

Zachariah 5:7
Zachariah 7:14

New Testament

Matthew 3:10
Matthew 5:3
Matthew 5:7
Matthew 5:12
Matthew 5:17
Matthew 6:19-20
Matthew 6:21
Matthew 7:6
Matthew 7:7
Matthew 7:14
Matthew 10:9
Matthew 10:32-3
Matthew 10:37-8

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cf. Matthew 7:19, Luke 3:9

cf. Luke 11:9

cf. Mark 10:29-30

FIGURES

Matthew 11:28	
Matthew 15:37	
Matthew 16:17	
Matthew 16:18-9	
Matthew 16:24	<i>cf.</i> Luke 9:23, Mark 8:34
Matthew 19:17	
Matthew 19:27-9	
Matthew 21:19	<i>cf.</i> Mark 11:14
Matthew 22:14	
Matthew 24:42	<i>cf.</i> Matthew 25:13, Mark 13:33, Luke 12:40
Matthew 25:11	
Matthew 25:12	
Matthew 25:21	<i>cf.</i> Matthew 25:23
Matthew 25:31-46	
Matthew 26:29?	
Mark 10:28	<i>cf.</i> Luke 18:28
Mark 10:29-30	
Mark 10:43-4	<i>cf.</i> Matthew 20:26-7
Luke 2:7	
Luke 6:38	
Luke 10:1	
Luke 11:41	
Luke 12:33-4	
Luke 12:49	
Luke 14:26	
Luke 14:33	
Luke 16:9	
Luke 18:22	<i>cf.</i> Luke 12:33, Matthew 19:21, Mark 10:21
Luke 19:46	
Luke 22:32	
John 1:1	
John 5:7	
John 10:30	
John 11:26	
John 12:35	<i>cf.</i> Ephesians 5:8
John 13:35	
John 14:9	
John 15:14-5	
John 17:4-24?	
John 18:9?	
Acts 4:32	
Acts 5:1-11	
Acts 7:49	<i>cf.</i> Isaiah 66:1
Acts 14:23	
Romans 10:10	
Romans 12:5	
Romans 13:12-3	

FIGURES

I Corinthians 6:10	<i>cf.</i> II Corinthians 6:10?
I Corinthians 9:27	
I Corinthians 10:24	<i>cf.</i> Philippians 2:4
I Corinthians 13:12	
I Corinthians 16:22	
II Corinthians 9:7	
II Corinthians 10:18	<i>cf.</i> II Corinthians 10:12
Ephesians 2:11-22?	
Philippians 1:21	
Philippians 2:8	
Philippians 3:18	
Colossians 2:14	
I Thessalonians 4:14	
I Timothy 1:14	<i>cf.</i> II Timothy 1:14?
I Timothy 5:14	
I Timothy 6:18?	
II Timothy 2:22	
Titus 1:16	
Hebrews 11:13	
James 5:16?	
I Peter 1:18-9	
I John 1:7	
I John 5:4	
Revelation 2:8-11?	
Revelation 11:15	
Revelation 14:4	
Revelation 21:2	

FIGURES

Figure 59

Charters Citing Canons

	Citations	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>3.06</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>6.79</u>
CEL	18	384	4.69
COR	2	136	1.47
PMH	14	270	5.19
SDC	8	77	10.39
SJS	22	104	21.15
SLM	2	122	1.64
...	12	55	21.82
<u>Centre</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>1.79</u>
ACA	4	243	1.65
ACL	14	897	1.56
ACO	2	45	4.44
OLD	0	196	0.00
SAH	3	428	0.70
SDM	2	43	4.65
SPE	3	33	9.09
STL	2	82	2.44
SVO	1	30	3.33
...	6	71	8.45
<u>East</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>0.71</u>
SJP	2	54	3.70
SMA	0	31	0.00
SMC	1	196	0.51
SMV	1	48	2.08
SPA	0	29	0.00
SPC	0	234	0.00
SSL	1	22	4.55
SSO	0	24	0.00
...	0	65	0.00
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>8.10</u>
RE	37	433	8.55
ER	1	7	14.29
RL	2	44	4.55
LR	0	14	0.00
...	1	8	12.50
<u>Comital</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>0.00</u>
CE	0	54	0.00
CL	0	12	0.00
...	0	5	0.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>3.04</u>
LE	24	1652	1.45
EL	6	115	5.22

FIGURES

EE	49	791	6.19
E	0	33	0.00
...	0	8	0.00
<u>Lay</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>0.00</u>
LL	0	722	0.00
...	0	2	0.00

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>4.44</u>
D	12	1062	1.13
D/DPM	3	49	6.12
D/S	0	30	0.00
DC	41	293	13.99
DC/DPM	4	19	21.05
DP	0	44	0.00
DPM	3	142	2.11
RD	8	255	3.14
RDC	19	131	14.50
...	4	92	4.35
<u>Sales</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>0.35</u>
S	1	1190	0.08
SC	2	100	2.00
E	1	93	1.08
E/S	0	10	0.00
...	1	26	3.85
<u>Other</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>5.51</u>
C	0	36	0.00
DS	5	101	4.95
I	0	13	0.00
MP	3	18	16.67
N	0	27	0.00
P	0	59	0.00
RC	8	51	15.69
RC/RD	2	15	13.33
...	3	61	4.92

Complexity

Simple	22	2714	0.81
Complex	98	1203	8.15

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>1.68</u>
O	6	648	0.93
O/CC	2	126	1.59
O/LC	4	37	10.81
...	2	22	9.09
<u>Copy</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>10.82</u>
C	9	95	9.47
C/CC	9	83	10.84
C/CC/LC	3	12	25.00
C/LC	4	40	10.00
...	0	1	0.00

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>3.11</u>
CC	47	2223	2.11
CC/LC	25	153	16.34
...	2	3	66.67
<u>Other</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>1.47</u>
LC	4	127	3.15
L	3	310	0.97
PO	0	26	0.00
...	0	12	0.00

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>2.56</u>
A	91	3598	2.53
A/S	1	14	7.14
A/I	1	15	6.67
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.00</u>
S	0	21	0.00
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>15.09</u>
I	8	53	15.09
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>8.53</u>
A/F	1	12	8.33
S/F	1	10	10.00
I/F	2	10	20.00
F	14	179	7.82

FIGURES

Figure 60

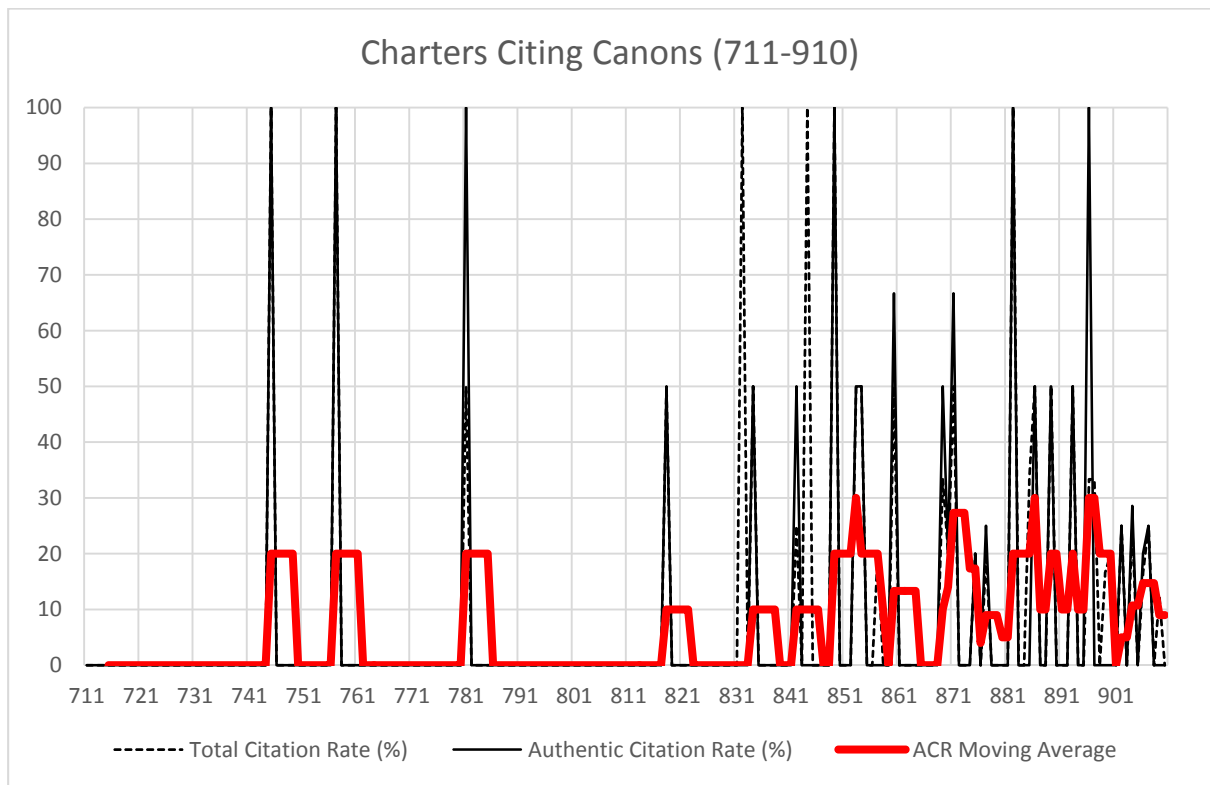
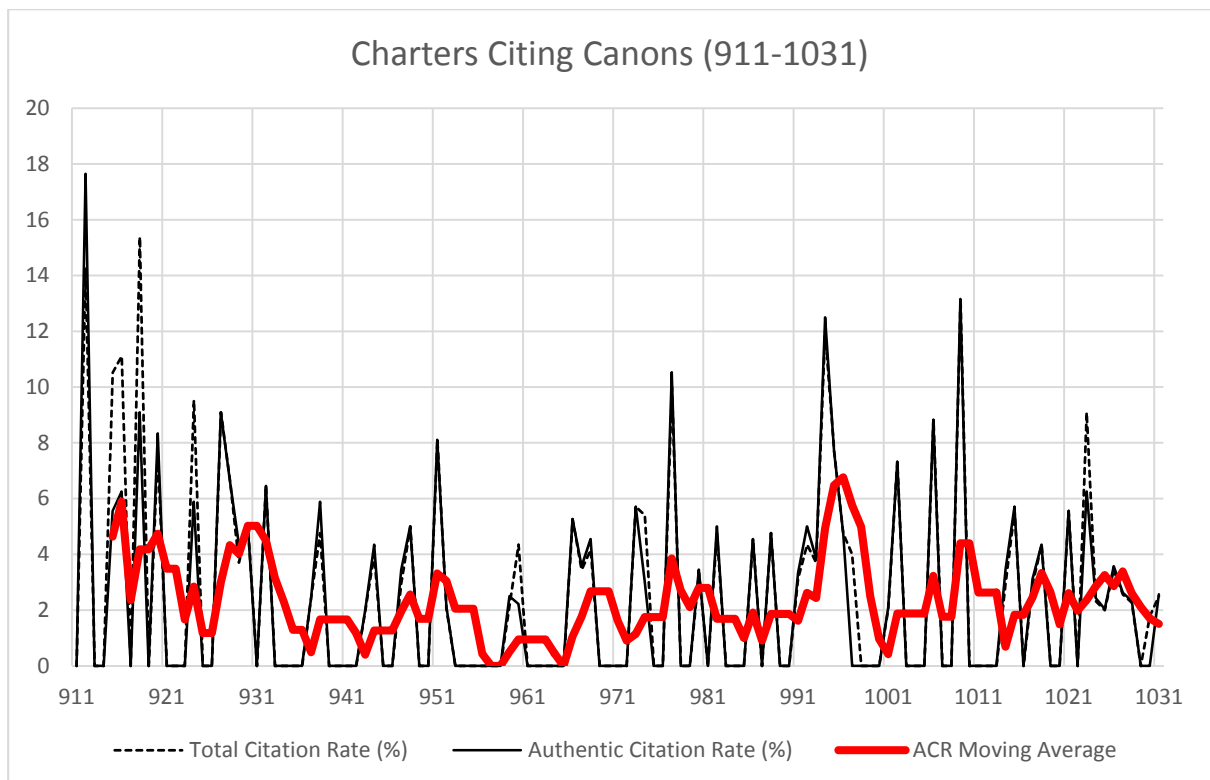


Figure 61



FIGURES

Figure 62

Canonical Citations

Elvira 7-10	Narbonne 10	XI Toledo 7
Elvira 12-8		XI Toledo 12
Elvira 20	I Seville 3	
Elvira 30-31		III Braga 4
Elvira 33	Toledo (597) 1	
Elvira 47		XII Toledo 2-3
Elvira 61	Huesca	XII Toledo 6
Elvira 63-70		
Elvira 77-8	II Barcelona 4	
I Toledo 1-6	Egara	
I Toledo 12		
I Toledo 16-7	II Seville 4	
I Toledo 19	II Seville 10	
Tarragona 3	IV Toledo 19-20	
Tarragona 5	IV Toledo 23	
Tarragona 9	IV Toledo 42-4	
Tarragona 12	IV Toledo 51	
	IV Toledo 54-5	
Gerona 6-9	IV Toledo 75	
II Toledo 3-4	V Toledo 2-5	
	V Toledo 7-8	
I Barcelona 6-8		
	VI Toledo 5	
Lérida 3	VI Toledo 7-8	
Lérida 5-6	VI Toledo 12	
Lérida 15-6	VI Toledo 15	
	VI Toledo 17-8	
Valencia 2-3		
	VII Toledo 4	
I Braga 6		
	VIII Toledo 2	
II Braga c. 1-10	VIII Toledo 4-6	
II Braga c. 14-7		
II Braga c. 26-8	IX Toledo 1-6	
II Braga c. 30-32	IX Toledo 9-10	
II Braga c. 43-4		
II Braga c. 61-2	X Toledo 2-3	
II Braga c. 76-80		
II Braga c. 82	Mérida 4	
	Mérida 6	
III Toledo 3-5	Mérida 8	
III Toledo 10	Mérida 11	
III Toledo 19		

FIGURES

Figure 63

Charters Citing Rules

	Citations	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>220</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>5.61</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>7.23</u>
CEL	20	384	5.21
COR	12	136	8.82
PMH	10	270	3.70
SDC	3	77	3.90
SJS	23	104	22.12
SLM	11	122	9.02
...	4	55	7.27
<u>Centre</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>4.26</u>
ACA	7	243	2.88
ACL	28	897	3.12
ACO	3	45	6.67
OLD	2	196	1.02
SAH	28	428	6.54
SDM	2	43	4.65
SPE	2	33	6.06
STL	4	82	4.88
SVO	2	30	6.67
...	10	71	14.08
<u>East</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>6.97</u>
SJP	2	54	3.70
SMA	5	31	16.13
SMC	10	196	5.10
SMV	19	48	39.58
SPA	3	29	10.34
SPC	3	234	1.28
SSL	4	22	18.18
SSO	1	24	4.17
...	2	65	3.08
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>9.29</u>
RE	46	433	10.62
ER	0	7	0.00
RL	0	44	0.00
LR	0	14	0.00
...	1	8	12.50
<u>Comital</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>4.23</u>
CE	3	54	5.56
CL	0	12	0.00
...	0	5	0.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>169</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>6.50</u>
LE	61	1652	3.69
EL	4	115	3.48

FIGURES

EE	104	791	13.15
E	0	33	0.00
...	0	8	0.00
<u>Lay</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>0.00</u>
LL	0	722	0.00
...	0	2	0.00
Typology			
<u>Donations</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>8.79</u>
D	68	1062	6.40
D/DPM	9	49	18.37
D/S	1	30	3.33
DC	44	293	15.02
DC/DPM	4	19	21.05
DP	1	44	2.27
DPM	9	142	6.34
RD	14	255	5.49
RDC	26	131	19.85
...	10	92	10.87
<u>Sales</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>0.42</u>
S	4	1190	0.34
SC	1	100	1.00
E	0	93	0.00
E/S	0	10	0.00
...	1	26	3.85
<u>Other</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>7.35</u>
C	5	36	13.89
DS	8	101	7.92
I	0	13	0.00
MP	4	18	22.22
N	0	27	0.00
P	2	59	3.39
RC	3	51	5.88
RC/RD	2	15	13.33
...	4	61	6.56
Complexity			
Simple	89	2714	3.28
Complex	131	1203	10.89
Palaeography			
<u>Original</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>2.52</u>
O	12	648	1.85
O/CC	4	126	3.17
O/LC	1	37	2.70
...	4	22	18.18
<u>Copy</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>16.45</u>
C	10	95	10.53
C/CC	11	83	13.25
C/CC/LC	4	12	33.33
C/LC	12	40	30.00
...	1	1	100.00

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>140</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>5.88</u>
CC	120	2223	5.40
CC/LC	20	153	13.07
...	0	3	0.00
<u>Other</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>4.42</u>
LC	16	127	12.60
L	3	310	0.97
PO	0	26	0.00
...	2	12	16.67

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>182</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>5.02</u>
A	181	3598	5.03
A/S	1	14	7.14
A/I	0	15	0.00
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>4.55</u>
S	1	21	4.76
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>28.30</u>
I	15	53	28.30
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>9.95</u>
A/F	1	12	8.33
S/F	0	10	0.00
I/F	2	10	20.00
F	18	179	10.06

FIGURES

Figure 64

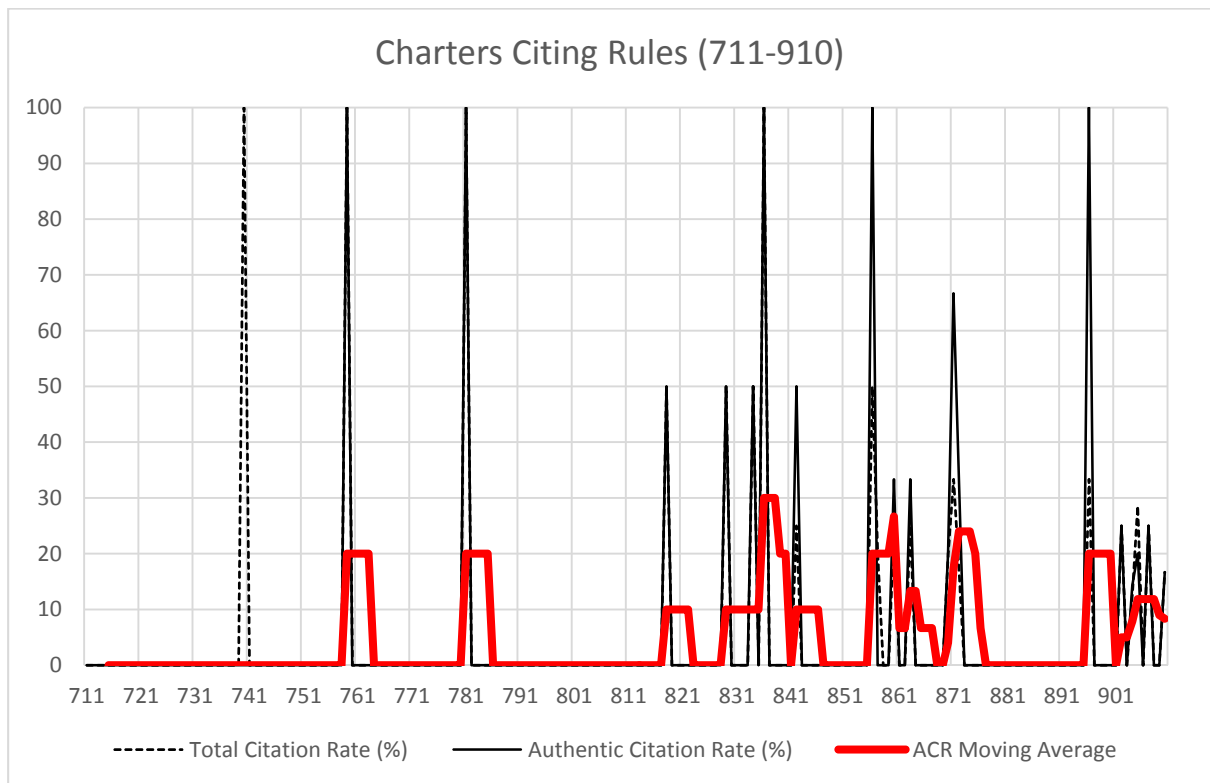
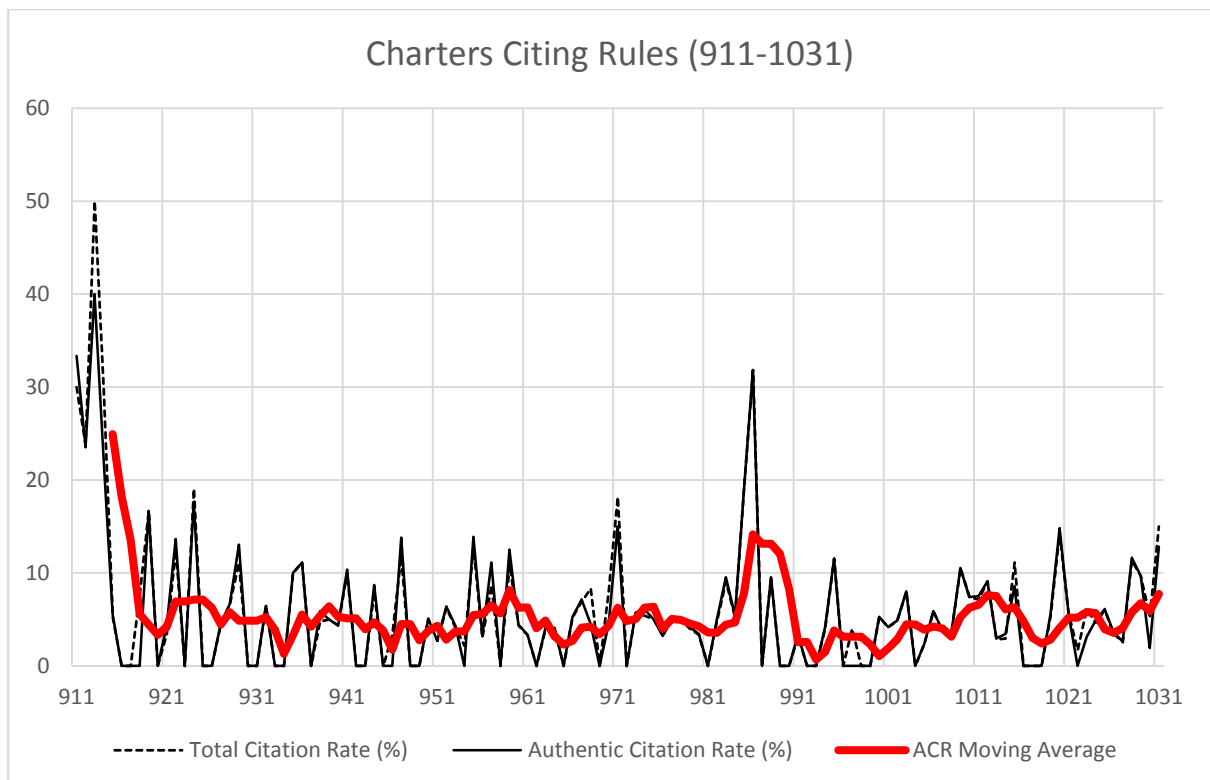


Figure 65



FIGURES

Figure 66

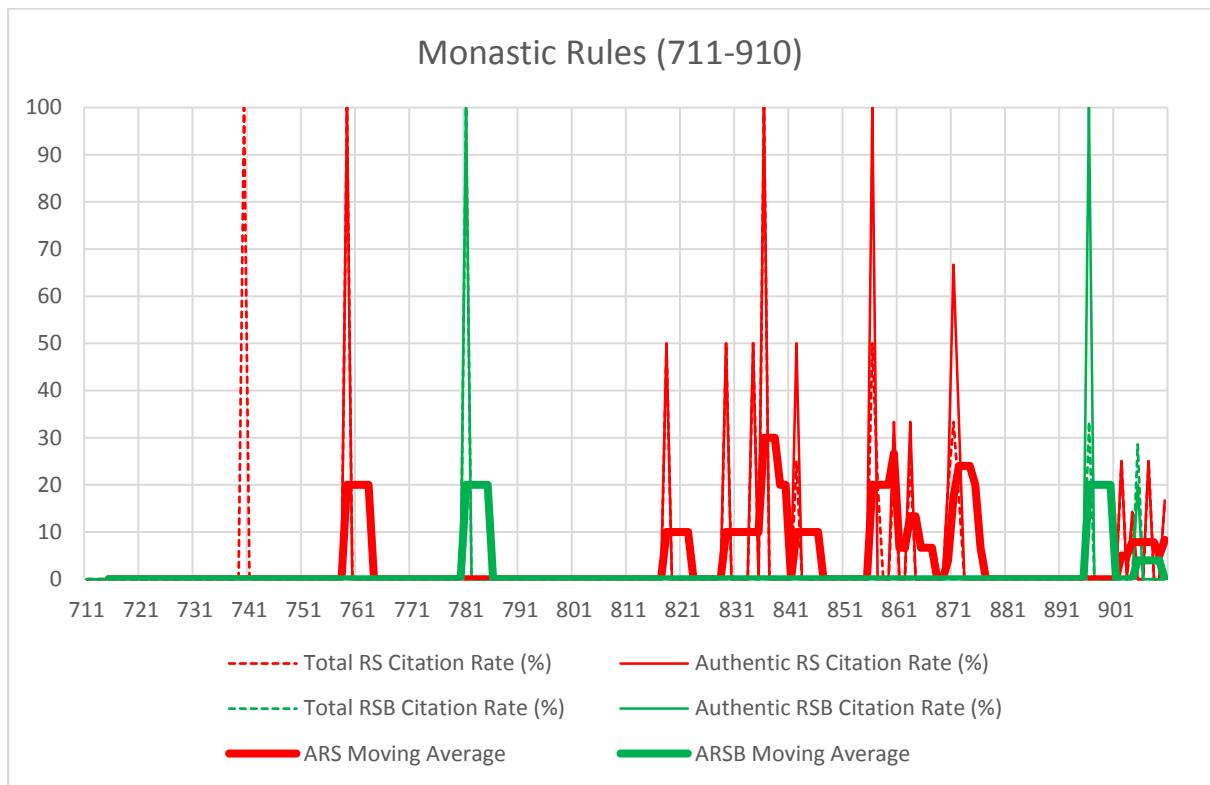
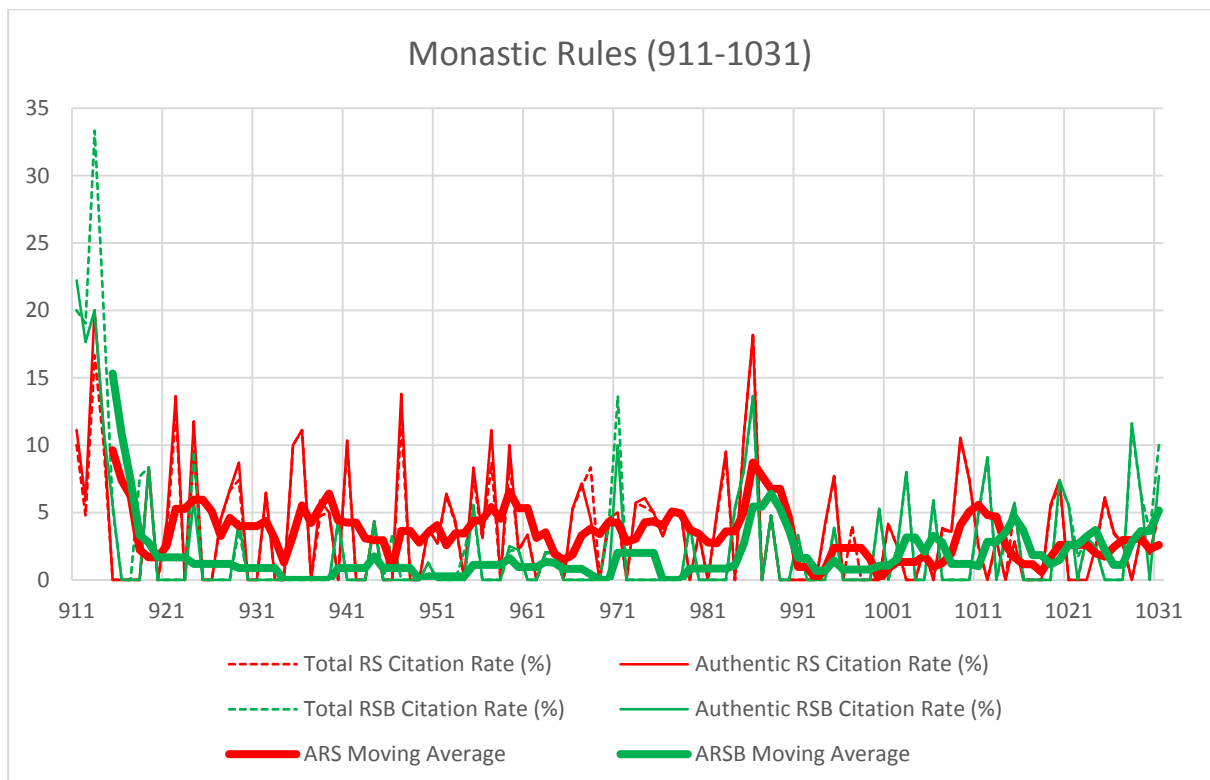


Figure 67



FIGURES

Figure 68

Charters Citing Texts

	Citations	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>1332</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>33.99</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>518</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>45.12</u>
CEL	132	384	34.38
COR	41	136	30.15
PMH	115	270	42.59
SDC	60	77	77.92
SJS	81	104	77.88
SLM	55	122	45.08
...	34	55	61.82
<u>Centre</u>	<u>653</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>31.58</u>
ACA	47	243	19.34
ACL	267	897	29.77
ACO	31	45	68.89
OLD	66	196	33.67
SAH	122	428	28.50
SDM	19	43	44.19
SPE	11	33	33.33
STL	35	82	42.68
SVO	10	30	33.33
...	45	71	63.38
<u>East</u>	<u>161</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>22.90</u>
SJP	22	54	40.74
SMA	8	31	25.81
SMC	27	196	13.78
SMV	24	48	50.00
SPA	16	29	55.17
SPC	25	234	10.68
SSL	12	22	54.55
SSO	5	24	20.83
...	22	65	33.85
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>287</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>56.72</u>
RE	253	433	58.43
ER	6	7	85.71
RL	25	44	56.82
LR	1	14	7.14
...	2	8	25.00
<u>Comital</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>35.21</u>
CE	17	54	31.48
CL	7	12	58.33
...	1	5	20.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>871</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>33.51</u>
LE	406	1652	24.58
EL	53	115	46.09

FIGURES

EE	398	791	50.32
E	13	33	39.39
...	1	8	12.50
<u>Lay</u>	<u>147</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>20.30</u>
LL	145	722	20.08
...	2	2	100.00

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>957</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>45.21</u>
D	379	1062	35.69
D/DPM	32	49	65.31
D/S	8	30	26.67
DC	190	293	64.85
DC/DPM	16	19	84.21
DP	8	44	18.18
DPM	62	142	43.66
RD	106	255	41.57
RDC	107	131	81.68
...	49	92	53.26
<u>Sales</u>	<u>145</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>10.22</u>
S	66	1190	5.55
SC	47	100	47.00
E	20	93	21.51
E/S	0	10	0.00
...	12	26	46.15
<u>Other</u>	<u>230</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>60.37</u>
C	21	36	58.33
DS	78	101	77.23
I	11	13	84.62
MP	10	18	55.56
N	5	27	18.52
P	27	59	45.76
RC	31	51	60.78
RC/RD	13	15	86.67
...	34	61	55.74

Complexity

Simple	606	2714	22.33
Complex	726	1203	60.35

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>263</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>31.57</u>
O	180	648	27.78
O/CC	48	126	38.10
O/LC	20	37	54.05
...	15	22	68.18
<u>Copy</u>	<u>138</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>59.74</u>
C	50	95	52.63
C/CC	56	83	67.47
C/CC/LC	9	12	75.00
C/LC	22	40	55.00
...	1	1	100.00

FIGURES

<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>829</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>34.85</u>
CC	715	2223	32.16
CC/LC	111	153	72.55
...	3	3	100.00
<u>Other</u>	<u>102</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>21.47</u>
LC	63	127	49.61
L	28	310	9.03
PO	7	26	26.92
...	4	12	33.33

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>1174</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>32.37</u>
A	1157	3598	32.16
A/S	9	14	64.29
A/I	8	15	53.33
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>36.36</u>
S	7	21	33.33
...	1	1	100.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>75.47</u>
I	40	53	75.47
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>50.24</u>
A/F	4	12	33.33
S/F	2	10	20.00
I/F	7	10	70.00
F	93	179	51.96

FIGURES

Figure 69

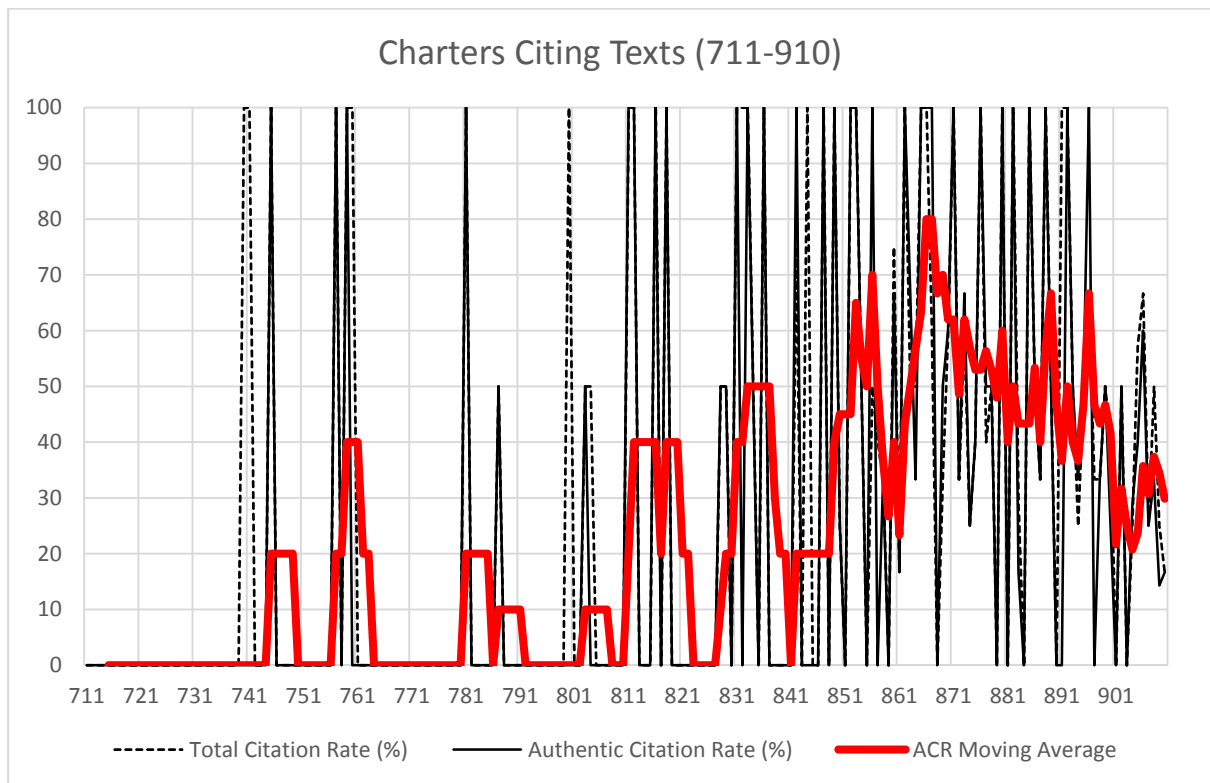
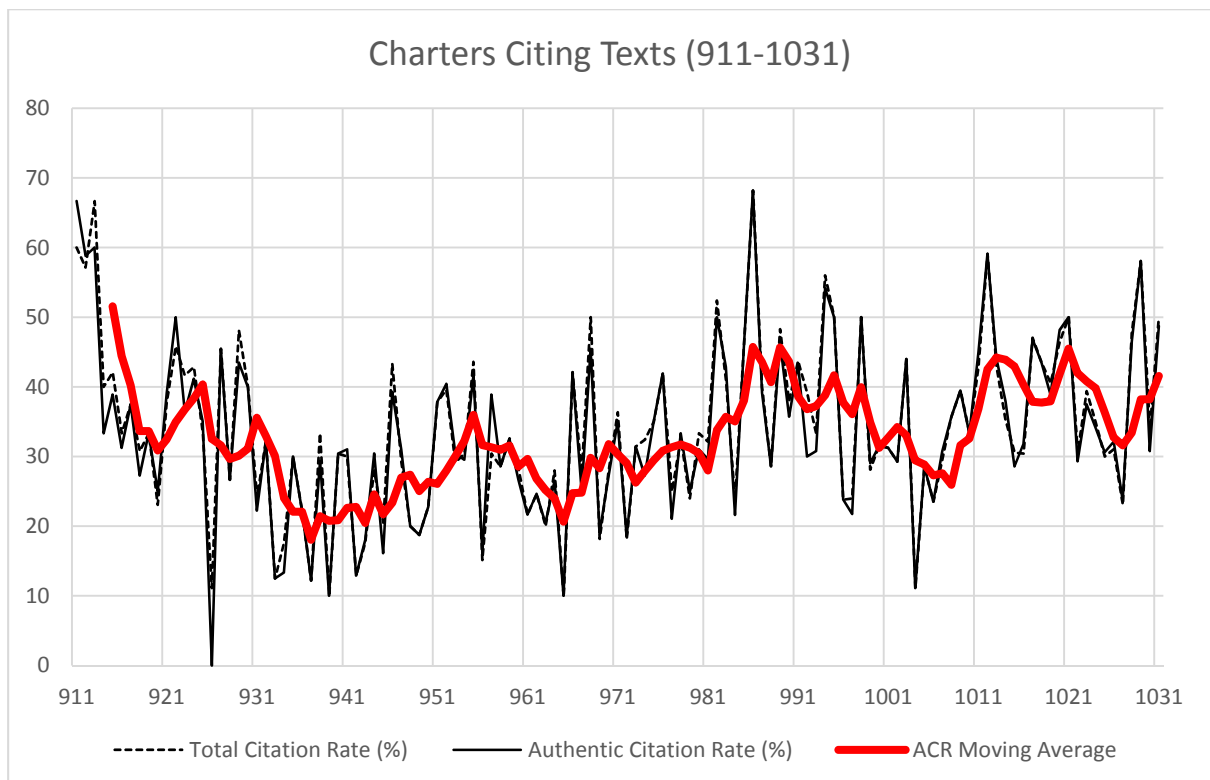


Figure 70



FIGURES

Figure 71

Charters Mentioning Books

	Citations	Overall	Rate (%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>173</u>	<u>3919</u>	<u>4.41</u>
Collections			
<u>West</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>1148</u>	<u>6.97</u>
CEL	16	384	4.17
COR	6	136	4.41
PMH	21	270	7.78
SDC	3	77	3.90
SJS	21	104	20.19
SLM	8	122	6.56
...	5	55	9.09
<u>Centre</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>2068</u>	<u>2.95</u>
ACA	6	243	2.47
ACL	12	897	1.34
ACO	11	45	24.44
OLD	1	196	0.51
SAH	11	428	2.57
SDM	11	43	25.58
SPE	0	33	0.00
STL	2	82	2.44
SVO	1	30	3.33
...	6	71	8.45
<u>East</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>703</u>	<u>4.55</u>
SJP	0	54	0.00
SMA	0	31	0.00
SMC	12	196	6.12
SMV	7	48	14.58
SPA	1	29	3.45
SPC	6	234	2.56
SSL	0	22	0.00
SSO	4	24	16.67
...	2	65	3.08
Personnel			
<u>Royal</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>3.36</u>
RE	16	433	3.70
ER	1	7	14.29
RL	0	44	0.00
LR	0	14	0.00
...	0	8	0.00
<u>Comital</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>2.82</u>
CE	1	54	1.85
CL	0	12	0.00
...	1	5	20.00
<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>154</u>	<u>2599</u>	<u>5.93</u>
LE	33	1652	2.00
EL	0	115	0.00

FIGURES

EE	121	791	15.30
E	0	33	0.00
...	0	8	0.00
<u>Lay</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>724</u>	<u>0.00</u>
LL	0	722	0.00
...	0	2	0.00

Complexity

Simple	91	2714	3.35
Complex	82	1203	6.82

Typology

<u>Donations</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>2117</u>	<u>7.09</u>
D	80	1062	7.53
D/DPM	3	49	6.12
D/S	1	30	3.33
DC	45	293	15.36
DC/DPM	3	19	15.79
DP	1	44	2.27
DPM	6	142	4.23
RD	4	255	1.57
RDC	5	131	3.82
...	2	92	2.17
<u>Sales</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1419</u>	<u>0.49</u>
S	4	1190	0.34
SC	0	100	0.00
E	1	93	1.08
E/S	0	10	0.00
...	2	26	7.69
<u>Other</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>4.20</u>
C	1	36	2.78
DS	2	101	1.98
I	0	13	0.00
MP	4	18	22.22
N	1	27	3.70
P	0	59	0.00
RC	2	51	3.92
RC/RD	3	15	20.00
...	3	61	4.92

Complexity

Simple	91	2714	3.35
Complex	82	1203	6.82

Palaeography

<u>Original</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>833</u>	<u>3.36</u>
O	17	648	2.62
O/CC	6	126	4.76
O/LC	4	37	10.81
...	1	22	4.55
<u>Copy</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>10.82</u>
C	11	95	11.58

FIGURES

C/CC	11	83	13.25
C/CC/LC	1	12	8.33
C/LC	2	40	5.00
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Cartulary</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>2379</u>	<u>4.50</u>
CC	84	2223	3.78
CC/LC	23	153	15.03
...	0	3	0.00
<u>Other</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>2.74</u>
LC	6	127	4.72
L	5	310	1.61
PO	0	26	0.00
...	2	12	16.67

Diplomatic

<u>Authentic</u>	<u>148</u>	<u>3627</u>	<u>4.08</u>
A	146	3598	4.06
A/S	2	14	14.29
A/I	0	15	0.00
<u>Suspicious</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0.00</u>
S	0	21	0.00
...	0	1	0.00
<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>13.21</u>
I	7	53	13.21
<u>Falsified</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>8.06</u>
A/F	0	12	0.00
S/F	1	10	10.00
I/F	0	10	0.00
F	16	179	8.94

FIGURES

Figure 72

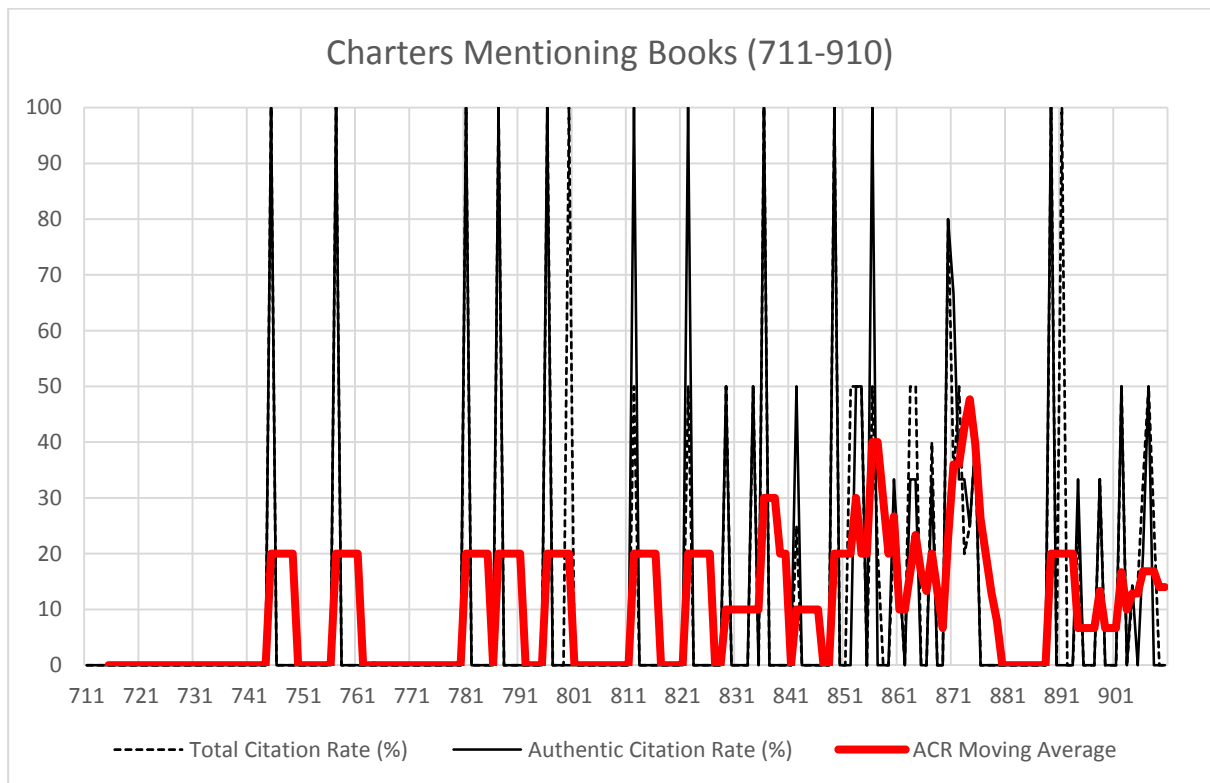
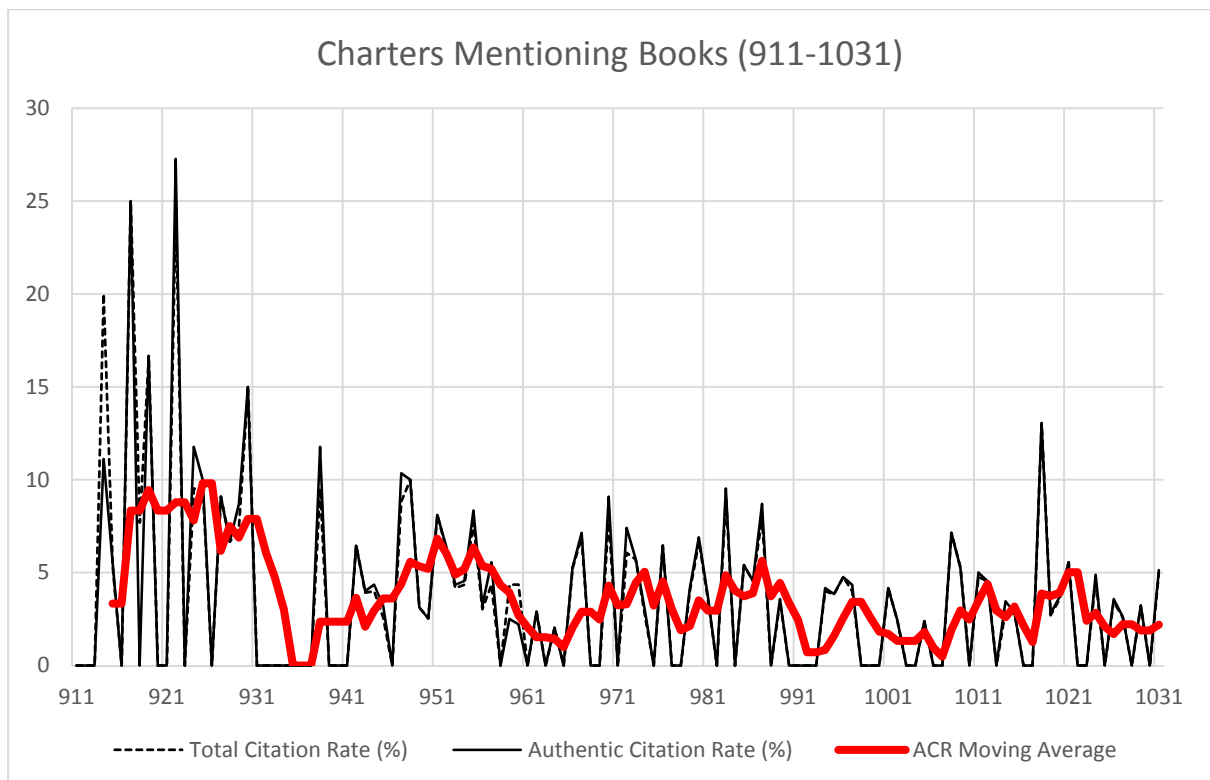


Figure 73



FIGURES

Figure 74

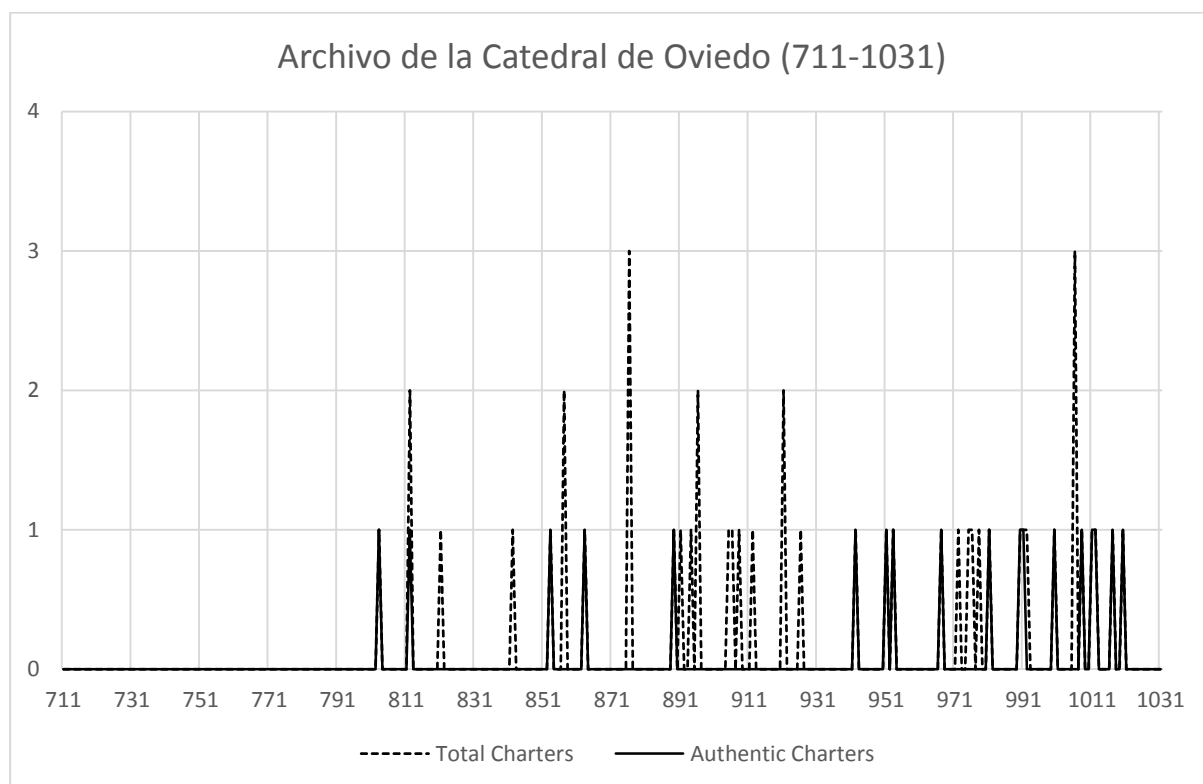
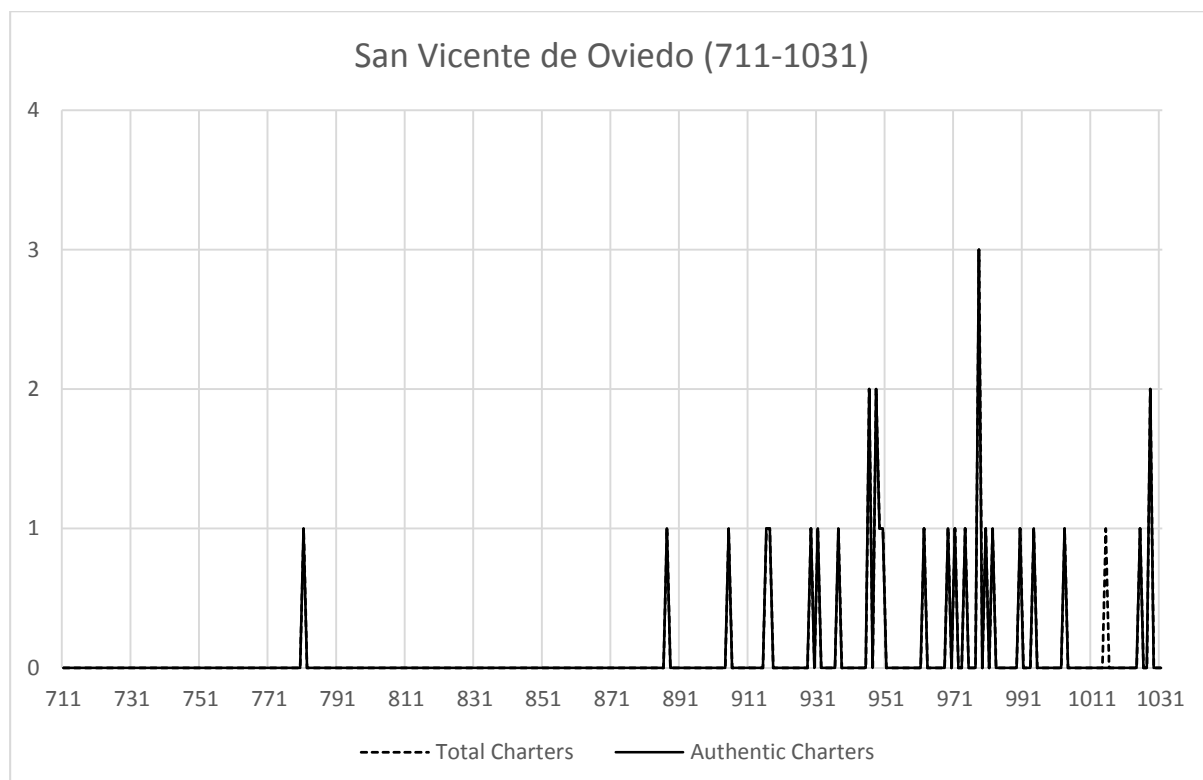


Figure 75



FIGURES

Figure 76

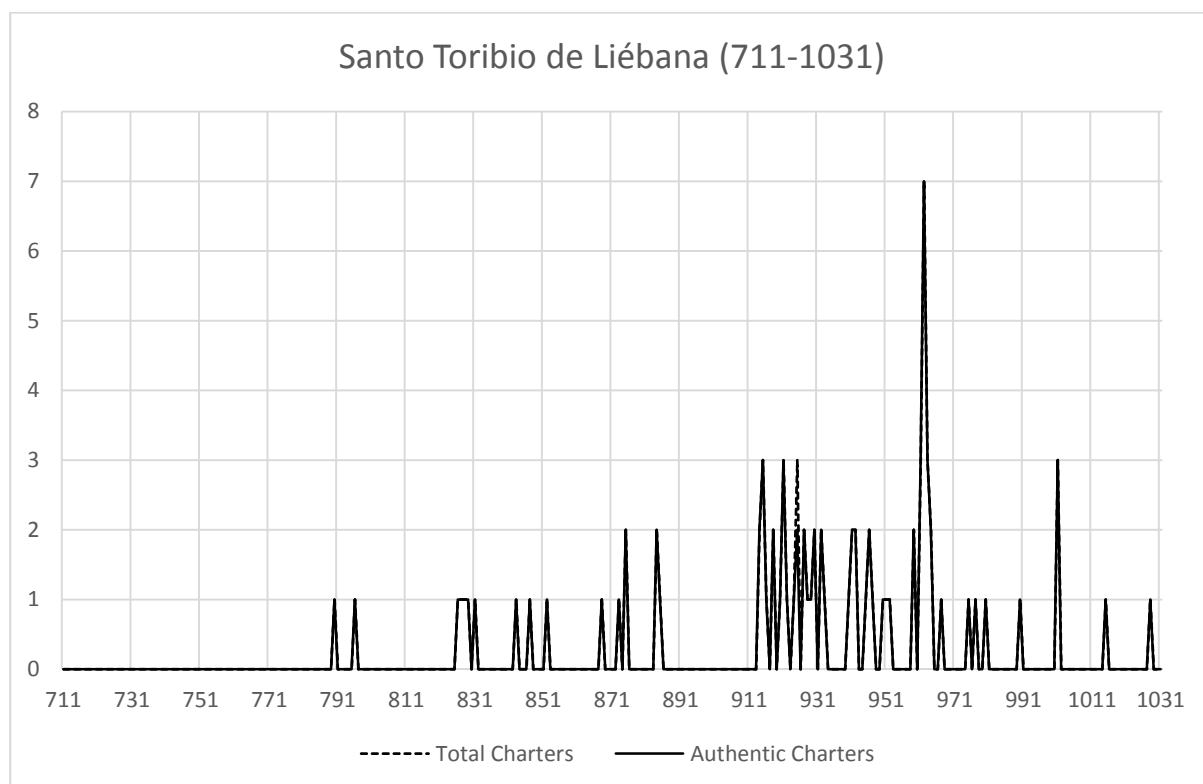
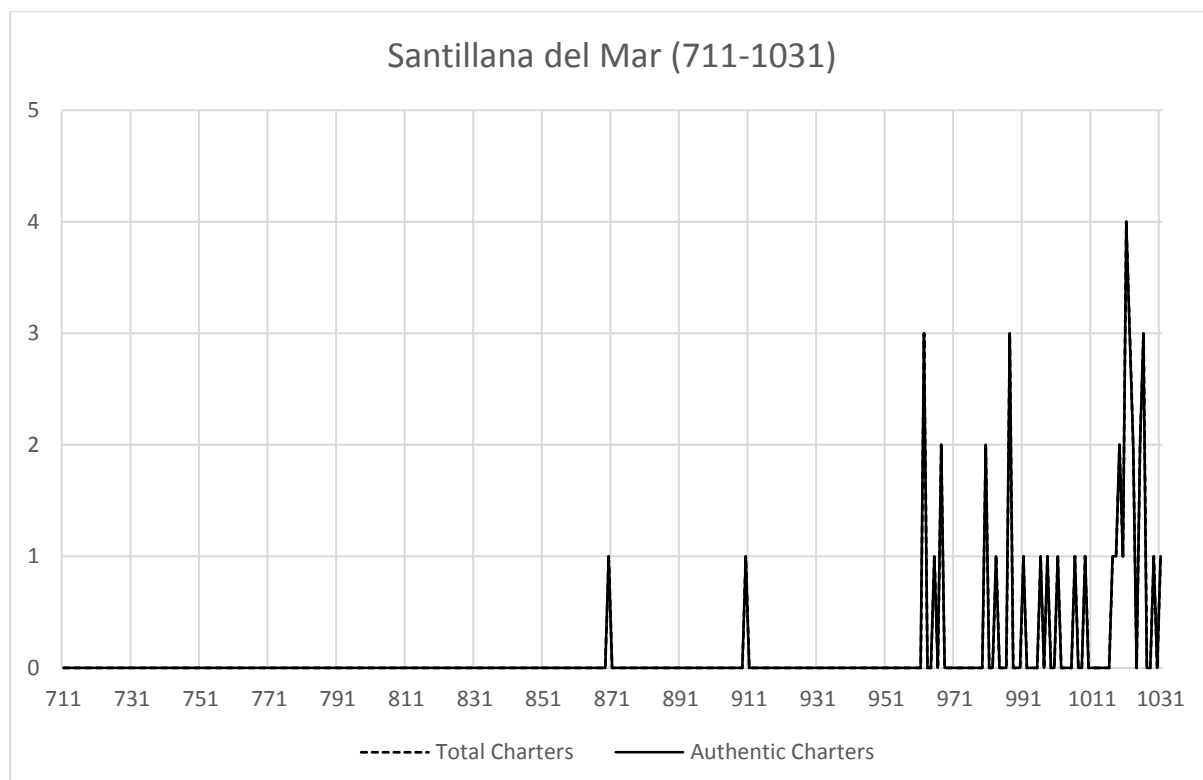


Figure 77



FIGURES

Figure 78

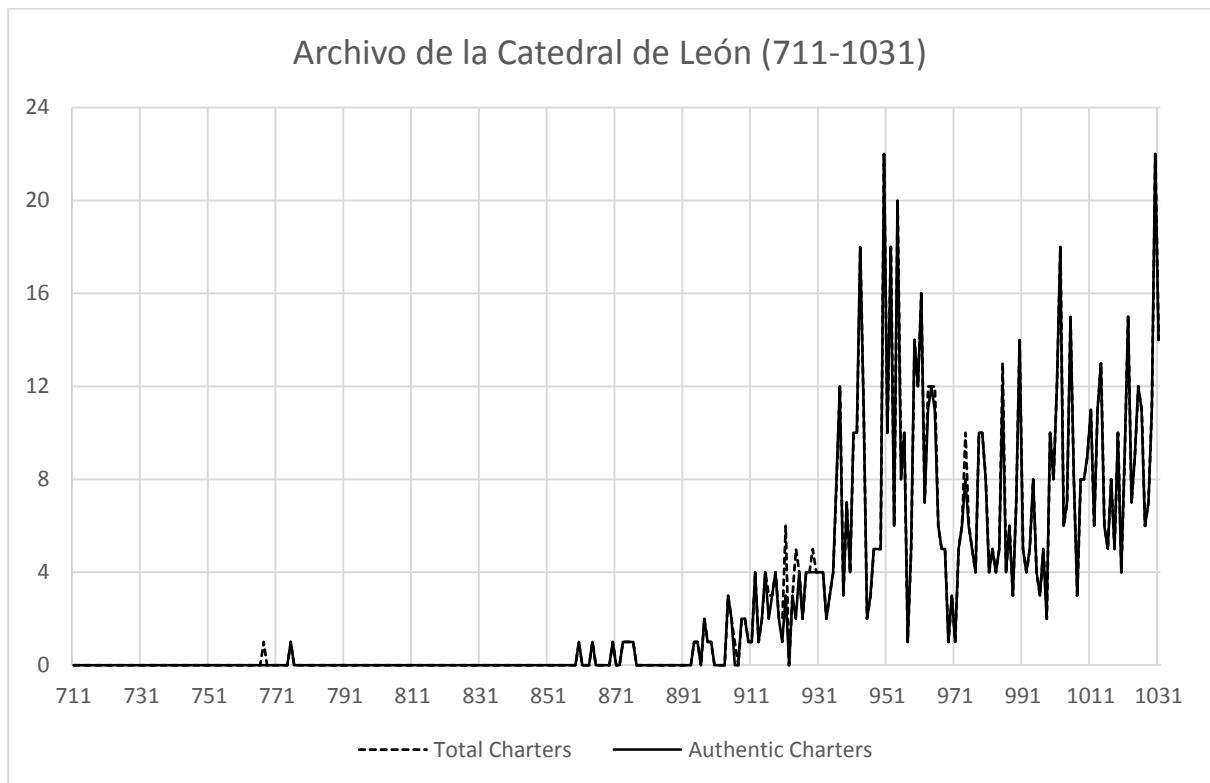
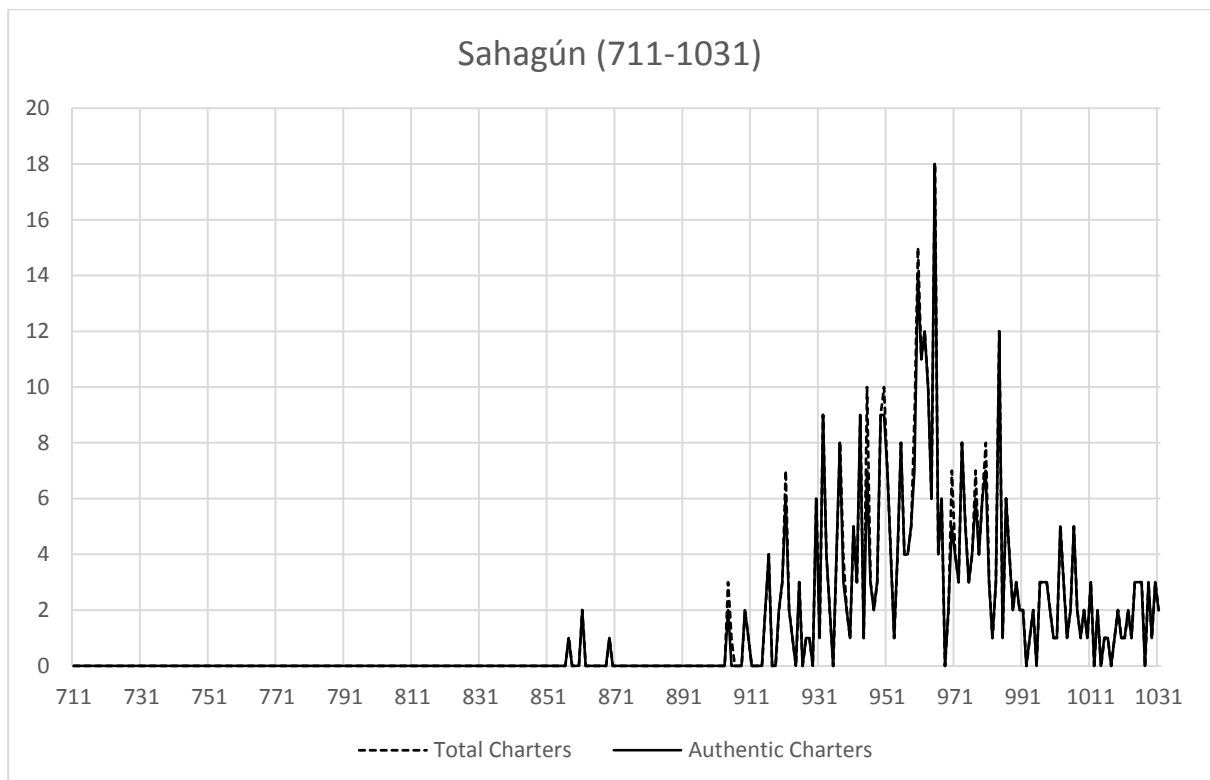


Figure 79



FIGURES

Figure 80

Archivo de la Catedral de Astorga Concordance and Corrections

ACA.2	16 May 857
ACA.3	28 October 877
ACA.4	November 877
ACA.5	[6 June/10 November 878]
ACA.6	18 March 883
ACA.7	4 October 894
ACA.8	2 February 895
ACA.9	18 March 912
ACA.10	1 September 912
ACA.11	28 May 915
ACA.12	915
ACA.13	8 January 916
ACA.14	28 September 916
ACA.15	28 September 916
ACA.16	28 September 916
ACA.18	28 January 919
ACA.19	1 October 920
ACA.21	17 September 921
ACA.22	922
ACA.23	922
ACA.24	4 January 923
ACA.25	26 June 923
ACA.26	25 February 924
ACA.27/ACA.41	[18 May 924]
ACA.28	15 April 925
ACA.29	1 August 925
ACA.31	926
ACA.32	13 June 927
ACA.33	17 November 927
ACA.34	24 September 928
ACA.35	13 June 929
ACA.36	14 January 931
ACA.37	6 June 932
ACA.38	18 October 933
ACA.43	1 February 935
ACA.44	28 April 935
ACA.45	12 December 935
ACA.135	[29 April 936]
ACA.48	9 February 937
ACA.49	1 August 937
ACA.51	13 January 938
ACA.52	14 July 938
ACA.53	26 February 939
ACA.54	9 October 939
ACA.55	11 April 940
ACA.56	22 October 940
ACA.57	8 November 940

FIGURES

ACA.58	1 January 943
ACA.59	13 April 943
ACA.60	13 April 943
ACA.61	21 January 944
ACA.62	18 March 945
ACA.63	17 June 945
ACA.64	1 September 946
ACA.66	1 September 946
ACA.65	5 September 946
ACA.67	4 November 946
ACA.68	1 August 947
ACA.69	20 May 952
ACA.71/ACA.70	1 October 952
ACA.50	937-52
ACA.72	25 March 953
ACA.73	953
ACA.74	7 March 954
ACA.75	28 April 954
ACA.76	22 May 954
ACA.77/ACA.47	[16 November 954]
ACA.78	23 December 954
ACA.79	22 January 955
ACA.80	25 January 955
ACA.81	15 December 955
ACA.82	1 April 956
ACA.30/ACA.46/ACA.83	[15 June 956]
ACA.84	24 December 956
ACA.85	29 April 958
ACA.86	4 May 958
ACA.87	28 June 959
ACA.88	7 January 960
ACA.89	31 July 960
ACA.90	5 August 960
ACA.91	5 August 960
ACA.92/ACA.93	[30/31 September 960]
ACA.94	1 November 960
ACA.95	960
ACA.96	26 January 961
ACA.97	12 February 962
ACA.98	26 February 962
ACA.99	3 April 962
ACA.100	9 April 962
ACA.101	11 April 962
ACA.102	15 April 962
ACA.103	14 October 962
ACA.104	23 October 962
ACA.105	962
ACA.106	23 January 963
ACA.107	27 January 963
ACA.108	22 February 963
ACA.110	17 March 963
ACA.111	24 June 963

FIGURES

ACA.109	1 July 963
ACA.112	5 January 964
ACA.113	22 February 964
ACA.114	22 February 965
ACA.115	30 December 965
ACA.116	1 May 967
ACA.117	967
ACA.118	30 April 969
ACA.119	20 June 970
ACA.120	24 June 970
ACA.20	[23 December 970]
ACA.121	15 February 971
ACA.122	23 April 971
ACA.123	1 July 971
ACA.124	1 April 972
ACA.125	1 May 972
ACA.126	18 January 973
ACA.127	18 June 973
ACA.39/ACA.128	[17 January 974]
ACA.40	[23 January 974]
ACA.129	29 July 974
ACA.130	30 November 974
ACA.42	[974]
ACA.133/ACA.132	16 September 975
ACA.134	18 December 975
ACA.136	2 August 977
ACA.137	29 April 978
ACA.138	3 August 978
ACA.139	28 October 979
ACA.140	979
ACA.141	15 February 980
ACA.142	3 April 980
ACA.143	18 May 980
ACA.144	30 June 981
ACA.145	1 January 983
ACA.146-8	28 June 983
ACA.149	1 July 983
ACA.150	19 March 984
ACA.152	22 June 984
ACA.153	25 November 984
ACA.154	30 November 984
ACA.156	11 March 986
ACA.180	[3 December 986]
ACA.157	11 April 987
ACA.158	18 July 987
ACA.159	12 November 987
ACA.160	23 November 988
ACA.161	12 February 989
ACA.162	25 July 989
ACA.163	19 January 990
ACA.164	20 November 990
ACA.165	1 July 991

FIGURES

ACA.166	1 January 992
ACA.167	23 January 992
ACA.170	1 April 992
ACA.171	15 May 992
ACA.172	19 November 992
ACA.173/ACA.181	12 May 994
ACA.175	1 December 995
ACA.176	24 February 996
ACA.169/ACA.177	29 March 996
ACA.178	10 May 996
ACA.179	1 September 996
ACA.182	13 January 997
ACA.185	14 February 999
ACA.151	8 May 984-99
ACA.186	27 October 999
ACA.187	12 June 1000
ACA.188	12 June 1000
ACA.189	1 October 1000
ACA.190	29 February 1001
ACA.191	1 March 1001
ACA.194	8 August 1003
ACA.196	28 March 1004
ACA.197	1 August 1005
ACA.131/ACA.341	[15 September 1005]
ACA.198	21 December 1005
ACA.199	12 May 1006
ACA.200	26 June 1006
ACA.201	18 December 1006
ACA.202	13 February 1007
ACA.203	19 February 1007
ACA.204	27 February 1007
ACA.205	1 August 1007
ACA.206	13 April 1009
ACA.207	3 February 1010
ACA.262	[28 November 1010]
ACA.155	[28 December 1010]
ACA.208	22 May 1011
ACA.209	9 June 1012
ACA.210	30 March 1013
ACA.211	25 November 1013
ACA.212	29 April 1014
ACA.213	12 November 1014
ACA.214	22 January 1015
ACA.215	24 January 1015
ACA.216	5 February 1015
ACA.217	17 April 1015
ACA.371	[14 September 1014-5]
ACA.218	12 October 1015
ACA.219	1 March 1016
ACA.220	24 November 1016
ACA.17	[8 January 1017]
ACA.221	18 January 1017

FIGURES

ACA.222	1 October 1017
ACA.223	19 December 1017
ACA.224	1017
ACA.225	22 January 1018
ACA.226	22 January 1018
ACA.227	28 September 1019
ACA.228	25 December 1019
ACA.229	1019
ACA.230A	29 May 1020
ACA.231	23 August 1020
ACA.230B	3 June 1021
ACA.232	1021
ACA.234	26 December 1022
ACA.235	1022
ACA.192	[6 September 1012-23]
ACA.236	18 October 1023
ACA.238	24 August 1024
ACA.195	1003-1024
ACA.239	1 February 1025
ACA.240	16 October 1025
ACA.241	17 October 1025
ACA.243	28 December 1025
ACA.245	24 April 1026
ACA.247	1 February 1027
ACA.168	[15 February 1014-27]
ACA.248	29 April 1027
N/A	[24 September 1005/1027]
ACA.250	14 November 1027
ACA.251	22 December 1027
ACA.252/ACA.237	1027
ACA.253	1027
ACA.254	[22 January 1028]
ACA.255	[22 February 1026/1028]
ACA.256	12 April 1028
ACA.258	31 October 1029
ACA.259	28 February 1030
ACA.260	28 February 1030
ACA.261	25 June 1030
ACA.263	19 January 1031
ACA.264	18 October 1031

FIGURES

Figure 81

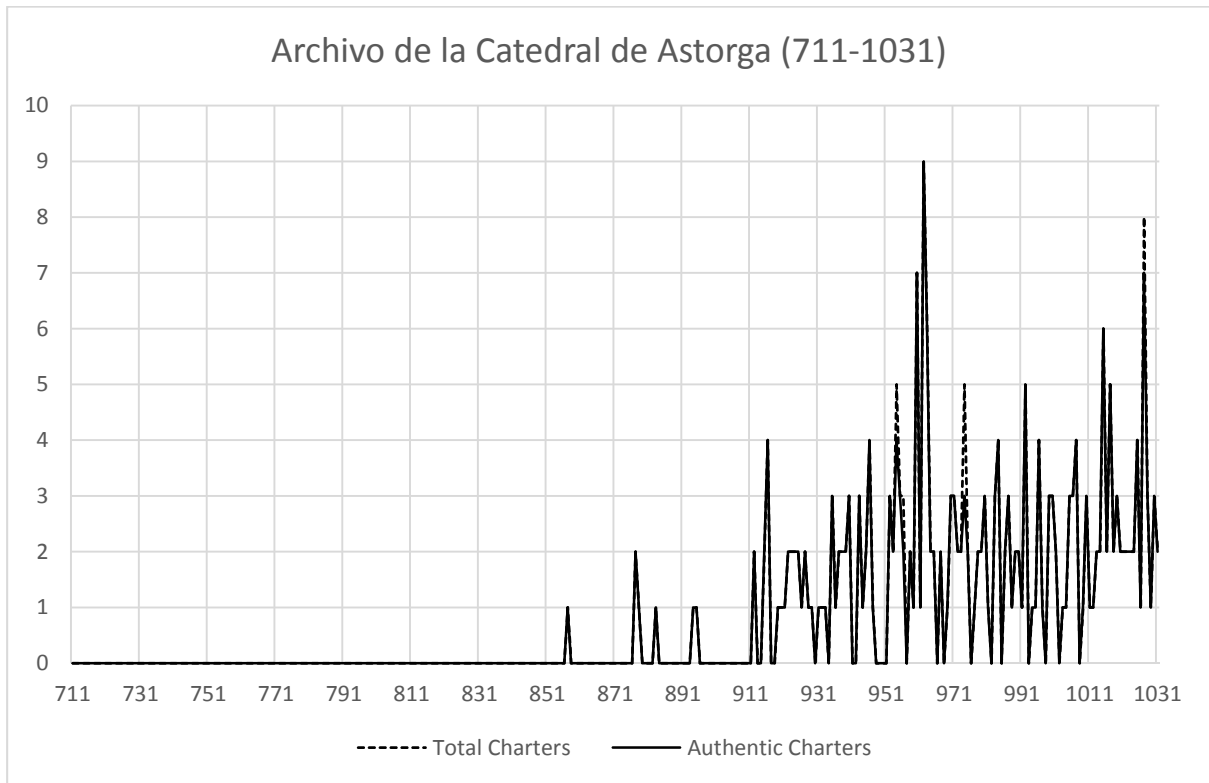
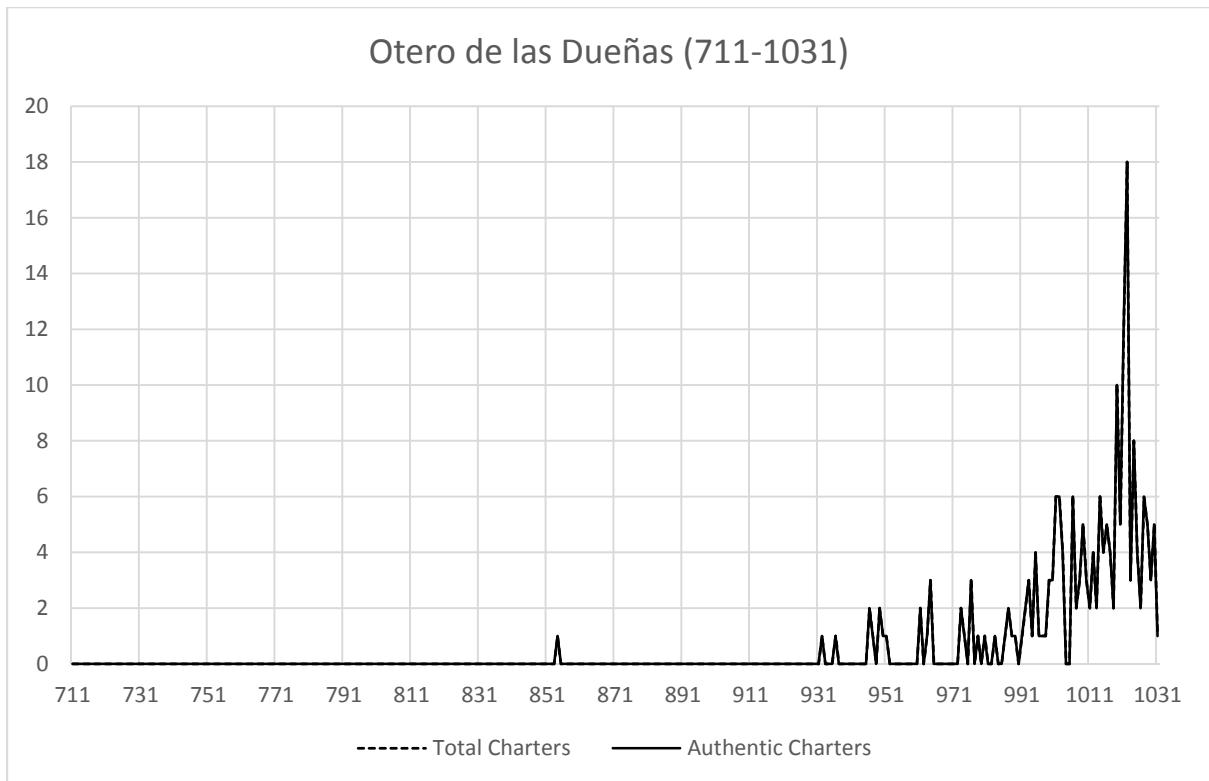


Figure 82



FIGURES

Figure 83

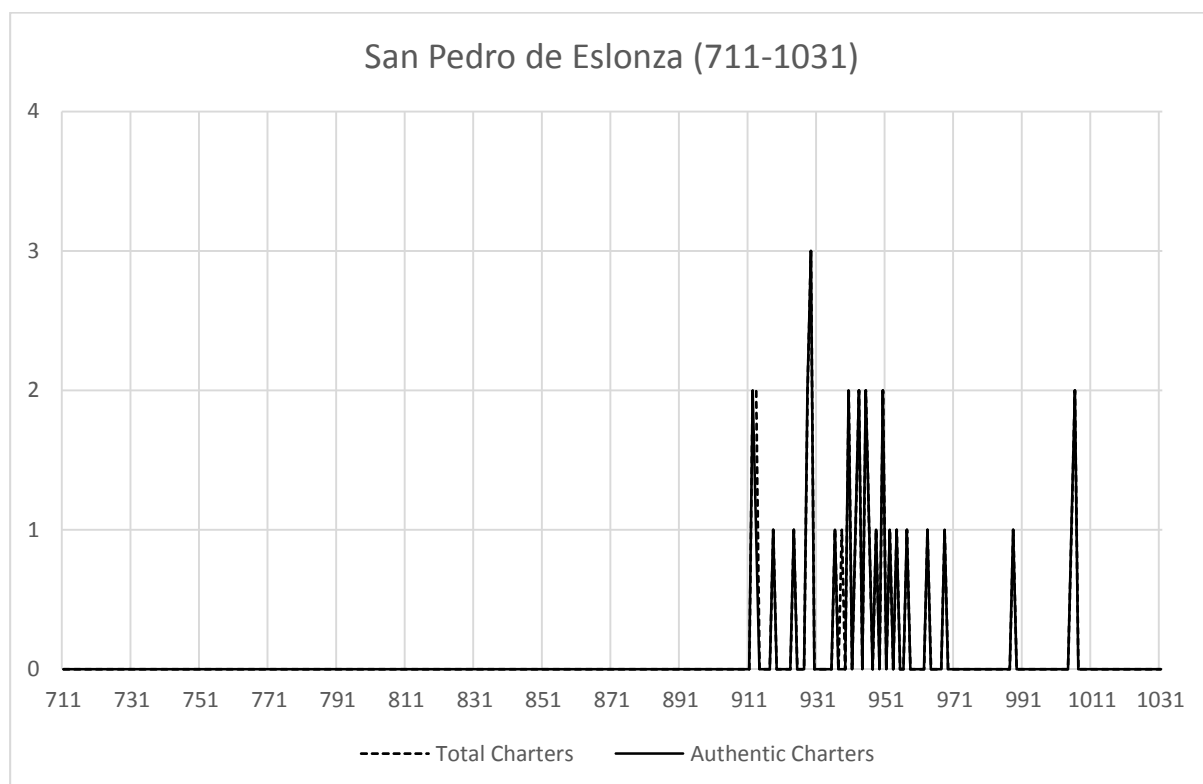
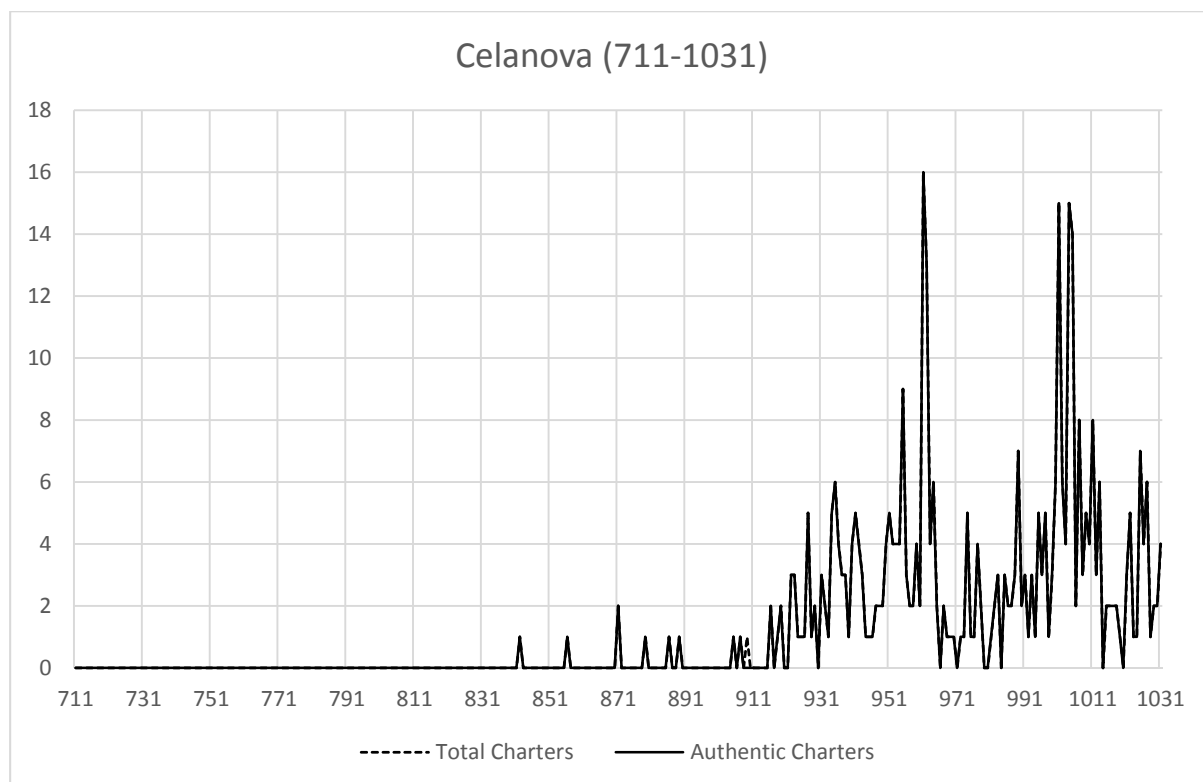


Figure 84



FIGURES

Figure 85

Celanova Concordance of Editions

CEL	Sáez	#	Andrade Cernadas
	Date		Date
1	24 January 842	208	24 January 842
2	7 March 856	442	7 March 826
3	5 June 871	60	5 June 871
4	5 June 871	61	5 June 871
5	1 April 879	441	1 April 879
6	13 April 886	233	13 April 886
7	24 October 889	36	24 October 889
8	1 December 905	101	2 December 905
9	27 January-May 907	429	907
10	9 May 909	271	9 May 879
11	21 June 916	71	21 June 916
12	18 August 916	576	18 August 916
13	13 April 918	493/508	13 April 918
14	21 January 919	348	15 July 1075
15	27 May 919	130	27 May 919
16	10 March 922	431	10 March 922
17	9 May 922	578	9 May 922
18	26 September 922	569	26 September 922
19	22 April 923	232	20 April 923
20	25 June 923	213	25 June 923
21	18 July 923	568	18 July 873
22	23 February 924	436	22 February 924
23	9 March 925	75	9 March 955
24	24 September 926	577	24 September 926
25	25 March 927	509	25 March 937
26	16 April 927	533	16 April 927
27	25 May 927	247	25 May 927
28	25 June 927	498	25 June 927
29	23 December 927	179	23 December 927
30	20 February 928	234	19 February 928
31	10 June 929	257	10 June 929
32	16 August 929	207	16 August 929
33	30 May 931	168	30 May 931
34	11 September 931	460	11 September 931
35	8 October 931	518	8 October 931
36	13 January 932	501	13 January 932
37	18 August 932	163	18 August 932
38	28 May 933	444	28 May 933
39	11 February 934	242	11 February 884
40	11 March 934	478	11 March 934
41	11 May 934	237	11 May 934
42	11 December 934	424	11 December 934
43	31 December 934	224	1 January 934
44	6 January 935	505	6 January 935
45	15 January 935	223	16 January 935

FIGURES

46	13 April 935	494	13 April 935
47	3 July 935	62	3 July 935
48	30 December 935	342/348	30 December 885/15 July 1075
49	935	348	15 July 1075
50	25 July 936	33	25 July 936
51	15 August 936	218	15 August 936
52	19 August 936	228	19 August 936
53	12 September 936	256	12 September 936
54	1 May 937	565	1 May 937
55	8 November 937	304	8 November 937
56	2 December 937	167	2 December 937
57	27 February 938	4	27 February 938
58	17 July 938	510	17 July 938
59	934-8	N/A	N/A
60	30 July 939	221	30 July 939
61	30 April 940	40	1 March 940
62	6 October 940	502	6 October 940
63	10 October 940	162	10 October 940
64	30 December 940	456	30 December 940
65	9 January 941	48	9 January 941
66	19 January 941	476	19 January 941
67	21 January 941	452	21 January 941
68	24 June 941	418	24 June 941
69	11 August 941	219/249	11 August 941/1065
70	18 May 942	451	18 May 942
71	23 May 942	254	23 May 942
72	26 September 942	2	26 September 942
73	942	499	942
74	7 March 943	437	7 March 943
75	1 June 943	231	1 June 943
76	22 September 943	172	22 September 943
77	2 March 944	116	2 March 944
78	4 February 945	504	4 February 950
79	28 April 946	450	28 April 946
80	8 January 947	229	8 January 947
81	26 March 947	567	26 March 947
82	27 January 948	500	27 January 948
83	25 May 948	566	950-59
84	4 February 949	357	4 February 949
85	18 March 949	264	18 March 949
86	13 June 950	93/467	13 June 950
87	17 July 950	527	17 July 950
88	8 October 950	95	8 October 950/20 December 951
89	11 December 950	497	11 December 950
90	19 February 951	426	19 February 951
91	25 August 951	7	25 August 950
92	21 September 951	176	21 September 951
93	1 December 951	430	1 December 951
94	20 December 951	95	8 October 950/20 December 951
95	23 January 952	558	23 January 952
96	18 May 952	72	18 May 952
97	19 August 952	173	19 August 922

FIGURES

98	7 September 952	177	6 September 952
99	12 May 953	535	12 May 953
100	2 August 953	489	2 August 953
101	29 November 953	529	29 November 953
102	23 December 953	117	23 December 953
103	8 July 954	222	8 July 954
104	19 July 954	575	19 July 954
105	954	73	954
106	954	420	954
107	27 February 955	570	29 June 955
108	4 April 955	453	4 April 955
109	13 April 955	166	post-942
110	19 May 955	54	19 May 955
111	21 June 955	511	21 June 955
112	30 June 955	128	30 June 955
113	19 July 955	506	19 July 955
114	18 December 955	496	18 December 955
115	18 December 955	170	post-942
116	5 May 956	394	5 May 956
117	3 August 956	391	3 August 956
118	5 December 956	373	5 December 956
119	11 January 957	65	11 January 957
120	22 March 957	423	22 March 957
121	26 January 958	485	26 January 958
122	28 August 958	440	28 August 958
123	28 March 959	356	28 March 959
124	12 April 959	525	post-942
125	21 May 959	416	21 May 959
126	15 June 959	446	15 June 959
127	30 January 960	171	30 January 960
128	4 April 960	378	4 April 960
129	8 March 961	392	8 March 961
130	14 March 961	395	14 March 961
131	14 March 961	413	14 March 961
132	14 March 961	386	14 March 961
133	14 March 961	385	14 March 961
134	28 March 961	401	28 March 961
135	3 April 961	374	3 April 961
136	3 April 961	380	3 April 961
137	3 April 961	406	3 April 961
138	5 April 961	402	5 April 961
139	9 April 961	399	9 April 961
140	11 April 961	384	3 April 961
141	29 April 961	393	29 April 961
142	12 July 961	449	12 July 961
143	4 December 961	390	4 December 961
144	961	477	961
145	7 February 962	408	7 February 962
146	11 February 962	415	11 February 962
147	12 February 962	414	12 February 962
148	9 March 962	376	9 March 962
149	9 March 962	400	9 March 962

FIGURES

150	21 March 962	396	21 March 962
151	26 March 962	388	1 April 969
152	13 April 962	397	13 April 961
153	7 May 962	169	8 May 962
154	11 June 962	8	June 962
155	14 September 962	70	14 September 962
156	ca. 962	390	4 December 961
157	22 March 963	398	22 March 963
158	1 April 963	74	1 April 963
159	28 April 963	212	29 April 963
160	18 December 963	165	18 December 963
161	21 January 964	403	21 January 964
162	13 April 964	405	13 April 964
163	17 July 964	379	17 July 964
164	17 July 964	379	17 July 964
165	22 August 964	404	22 August 964
166	964	174	964
167	24 April 965	544	24 April 965
168	965	161	965
169	29 January 967	164	29 January 967
170	17 September 967	381	17 September 967
171	1 January 968	92	1 March 968
172	7 August 969	246	7 August 969
173	7 December 970	407	8 December 970
174	11 August 972	217	11 August 1002
175	973	81	973
176	20 March 974	N/A	N/A
177	ca. 974	160	?
178	6 May 974	370	6 May 974
179	10 June 974	175	10 June 974
180	9 September 974	243	9 September 974
181	11 July 975	514	11 July 975
182	8 March 976	235	8 March 976
183	977	158	942-77
184	942-77	454	936-77
185	17 January 977	1	17 January 977
186	21 March 977	206	21 March 977
187	23 October 978	481	23 October 978
188	17 December 978	557	17 December 978
189	22 April 981	571	22 April 981
190	11 September 982	461	11 September 982
191	1 October 982	265	1 October 982
192	19 February 983	487	19 February 983
193	13 June 983	432	13 June 983
194	31 August 983	428	31 February 983
195	30 May 985	507	30 May 985
196	13 August 985	462	1 August 985
197	29 September 985	503	29 September 985
198	1 January 986	5	1 January 986
199	4 February 986	84	4 February 986
200	11 May 987	94/150	11 May 987
201	987	410	987

FIGURES

202	28 June 988	316	29 June 988
203	8 October 988	492	8 October 988
204	24 December 988	53	24 December 988
205	4 January 989	338	5 January 989
206	4 January 989	338	5 January 989
207	10 December 989	68	10 December 989
208	20 December 989	354	20 December 989
209	30 December 989	327	30 December 989
210	30 December 989	328	30 December 989
211	989	411	989
212	12 January 990	345	12 January 990
213	990	409	990
214	25 March 991	N/A	N/A
215	11 July 991	210	11 July 991
216	18 October 991	248	18 October 991
217	29 November 992	490	29 November 992
218	17 June 993	272	17 June 993
219/220	26 December 993	216/251	26 December 993/23 February 993
221	8 August 994	104	8 August 994
222	24 January 995	343	25 January 995
223	25 February 995	215	25 February 995
224	8 March 995	230	8 March 995
225	23 March 995	336	23 March 995
226	18 December 995	326	18 December 995
227	19 January 996	377	19 January 996
228	8 March 996	303	8 March 996
229	1 September 996	266	1 November 996
230	1 March 997	329	1 March 997
231	27 June 997	209	27 June 997
232	29 December 997	412	29 December 997
233	997	421	997
234	997	375	997
235	31 August 998	519	31 August 998
236	9 June 999	530	9 June 999
237	27 July 999	445	27 July 999
238	20 December 999	353	20 December 999
239	2nd 1/2 10th c.	243	9 September 974
240	27 April 2nd 1/2 10th c.	438	27 April ?
241	25 January 1000	191	25 January 1000
242	10 March 100[0]	69	10 March 1000
243	30 December 1000	182	27 February 1000
244	1000	389	1000
245	1000	152	1000/1026
246	16 January 1001	236	16 January 1001
247	21 January 1001	555	21 January 1001
248	25 January 1001	190	25 January 1000
249	25 January 1001	189	25 January 1001
250	3 February 1001	188	3 February 1001
251	26 February 1001	359	26 February 1001
252	23 March 1001	346	23 March 1001
253	7 April 1001	192	7 April 1001/1005
254	7 April 1001	192	7 April 1001/1005

FIGURES

255	7 April 1001	192	7 April 1001/1005
256	7 April 1001	192	7 April 1001/1005
257	7 April 1001	192	7 April 1001/1005
258	7 April 1001	192	7 April 1001/1005
259	7 April 1001	192	7 April 1001/1005
260	23 December 1001	252	20 February 1000
261	11 January 1002	252	20 February 1000/11 January 1002
262	23 January 1002	382	23 January 1002
263	19 April 1002	258	19 April 1002
264	1 May 1002	259	1 May 1002
265	26 November 1002	556	21 January 1002
266	27 November 1002	183	27 November 1002
267	1 March 1003	184	1 March 1003
268	24 March 1003	225	24 March 1003
269	11 June 1003	383	11 June 1003
270	1003	241	1003
271	19 February 1004	340	18 February 1004
272	31 August 1004	240	31 August 1004
273	989-1004	368	975-1009
274	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
275	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
276	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
277	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
278	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
279	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
280	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
281	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
282	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
283	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
284	pre-1004	348	15 July 1075
285	1004	348	15 July 1075
286	23 January 1005	186	23 January 1005
287	24 April 1005	187	24 April 1005
288	27 April 1005	185	27 April 1005
289	post-27 April 1005	186	23 January 1005
290	31 May 1005	181	31 May 1005
291	7 August 1005	448	7 August 1005
292	13 September 1005	275	13 February 1005
293	1 October 1005	368	975-1009
294	3 December 1005	573	3 December 1005
295	1005	523	1005
296	989-1005	204	1005
297	1005	204	1005
298	1005	204	1005
299	1005	192	7 April 1001/1005
300	22 April 1006	562	22 April 1006
301	1006	524	1006

Continuation

CEL	Date	#	Fernández de Viana y Vieites
302	1 February 1007	3	
303	15 February 1007	198	
304	26 October 1007	301	

FIGURES

305	15 December 1007	199	15 February 1007
306	15 December 1007	200	15 February 1007
307	15 December 1007	201	15 February 1007
308	1007	193	
309	1007	203	
310	24 February 1008	335	25 February 1008
311	22 October 1008	495	
312	1008	194	
313	20 July 1009	471	
314	28 December 1009	202	
315	975-1009	368	1 October 975-1009
316	1009	195	
317	1009	196	
318	3 February 1010	334	
319	30 March 1010	427	
320	28 November 1010	318	
321	1010	180	
322	17 February 1011	491	
323	post-17 February 1011	425	
324	27 February 1011	333	1011
325	4 August 1011	149	
326	2 December 1011	276	
327	975-1011	197	
328	975-1011	205	
329	1011	372	
330	23 February 1012	366	
331	26 February 1012	548	27 February 1012
332	13 May 1012	572	1022
333	26 January 1013	367	
334	2 February 1013	473	
335	2 February 1013	484	
336	26 February 1013	332	
337	17 April 1013	371	
338	8 July 1013	310	
339	6 March 1015	387	
340	19 April 1015	311	
341	23 February 1016	313	24 February 1016
342	31 July 1016	341	
343	26 December 1017	365	
344	1 June 1018	363	
345	21 December 1018	364	
346	18 January 1020	314	1019
347	1 March 1020	250	22 February 1012
348	17 March 1021	362	
349	16 November 1021	532	
350	7 December 1021	472	
351	5 March 1022	321	1017
352	8 June 1022	521	
353	6 September 1022	547	
354	18 December 1022	305	
355	1022	306	
356	8 March 1023	486	

FIGURES

357	25 February 1024	281	26 February 1024
358	23 January 1025	308	
359	27 March 1025	34	
360	20 April 1025	463	19 April 1025
361	18 May 1025	435	
362	25 June 1025	369	
363	1 September 1025	479	
364	20 December 1025	358	
365	16 January 1026	337	
366	17 January 1026	309	
367	11 July 1026	32	
368	1026	468	
369	4 January 1027	574	
370	10 April 1027	85	
371	25 July 1027	434	26 July 1027
372	8 October 1027	319	
373	21 November 1027	322	
374	1027	144	
375	15 February 1028	339	
376	1 December 1029	457	
377	15 December 1029	553	
378	17 January 1030	10	
379	25 November 1030	323	
380	8 March 1031	108	
381	17 November 1031	55	
382	1031	148	
383	1031	315	
		Addition	
CDA.vii	6 April 1017	552	1007/1017

FIGURES

Figure 86

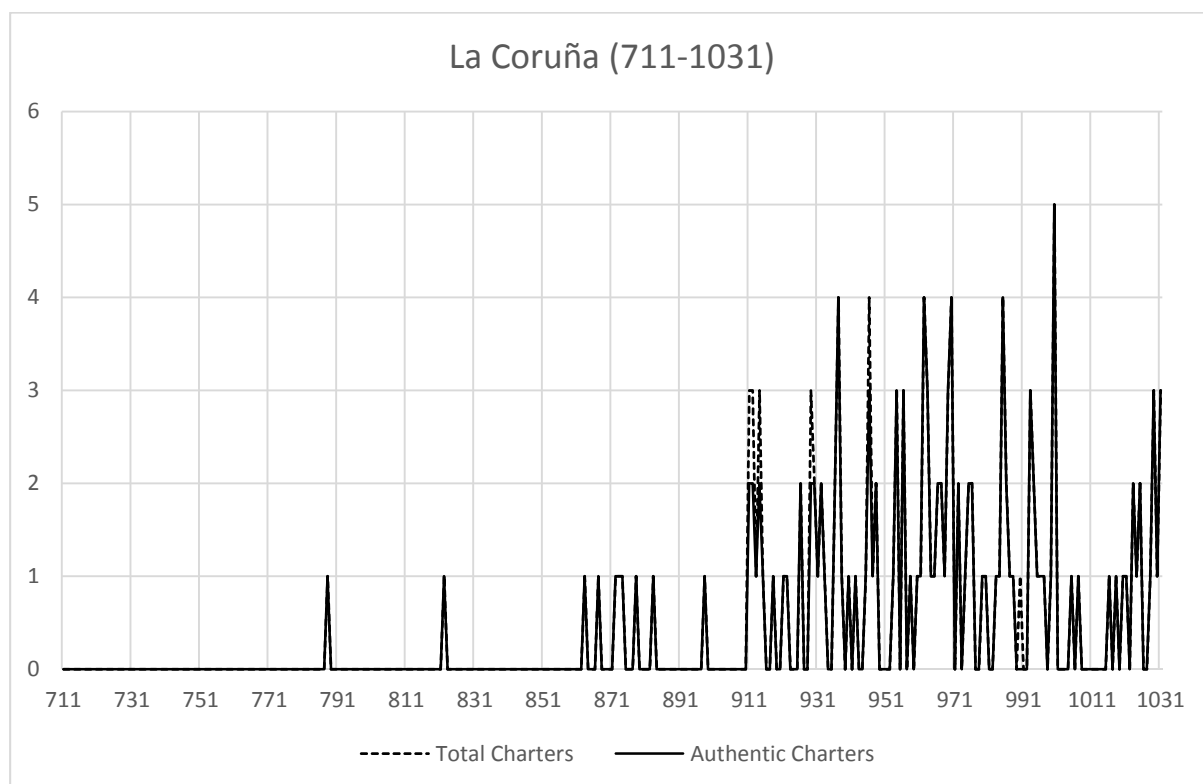
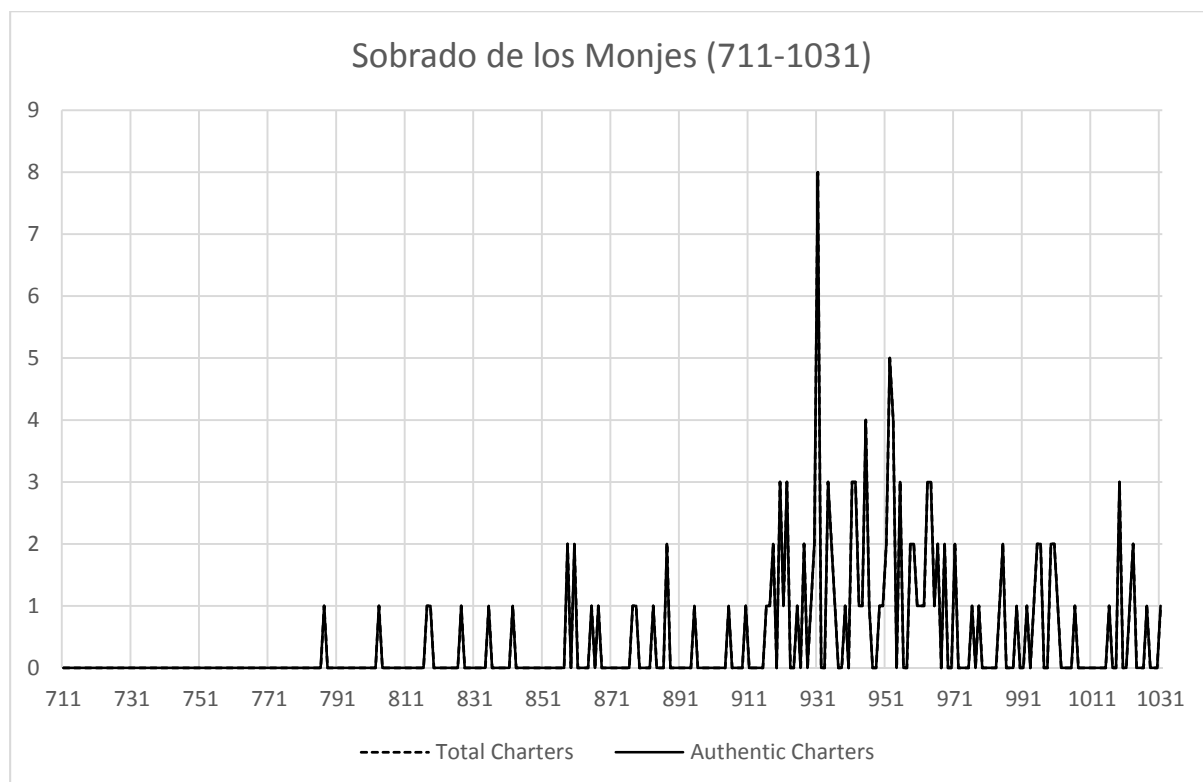


Figure 87



FIGURES

Figure 88

Sobrado de los Monjes Concordance

#	Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano	Date
SLM.1	II.172	28 December 787
SLM.2	I.82	25 June 803
SLM.3	I.77	10 May 817
SLM.4	I.43	1 September 818
SLM.5	I.83	8 October 827
SLM.6	I.18	18 September 835
SLM.7	I.34	8 April 842
SLM.8	I.72	21 April 858
SLM.9	I.75	25 August 858
SLM.10	I.76	1 August 860
SLM.11	I.124	14 December 860
SLM.12	I.58	5 March 865
SLM.13/COR.4	I.123	7 May 867
SLM.14	I.63	29 July 877
SLM.15	I.84	10 May 878
SLM.16	I.73	24 November 883
SLM.17	I.119	29 April 887
SLM.18	I.80	9 September 887
SLM.19	I.81	27 July 895
SLM.20	I.65	2 March 905
SLM.21	I.33	28 February 910
SLM.22	I.60	7 June 916
SLM.23	I.66	10 January 917
SLM.25	I.104	21 July 918
SLM.24	I.71	918
SLM.26	I.28	22 January 920
SLM.27	I.67	20 May 920
SLM.28	I.59	25 November 920
SLM.29	I.105	20 April 921
SLM.30	I.120	27 February 922
SLM.31	I.25	9 May 922
SLM.32	I.74	15 December 922
SLM.33	I.26	28 February 925
SLM.34	I.79	1 June 927
SLM.35	I.27	30 July 927
SLM.36	I.85	16 March 929
SLM.37	I.54	2 April 930
SLM.38	I.52	17 September 870/930
SLM.39	I.78	14 March 931
SLM.40	I.101	18 March 931
SLM.41	I.19	13 June 931
SLM.42	I.24	4 July 931
SLM.43	I.29	4 July 931
SLM.44	I.21	7 July 931
SLM.45	I.22	15 November 931
SLM.46	I.53	18 November 931

FIGURES

SLM.47	I.91	30 October 934
SLM.48	I.92	30 October 934
SLM.49	I.93	30 October 934
SLM.50	I.118	6 May 935
SLM.51	I.102	31 December 935
SLM.52	I.111	7 November 936
SLM.53	I.41	939
SLM.54	I.32	15 May 941
SLM.55	I.70	23 August 941
SLM.56	I.62	27 December 941
SLM.58	I.86	17 August 942
SLM.59	I.14	18 October 942
SLM.57	I.129	942
SLM.60	I.10	3 November 943
SLM.61	I.61	6 June 944
SLM.62	I.12	15 May 945
SLM.63	I.15	18 July 945
SLM.64	I.11	25 July 945
SLM.65	I.100	27 September 945
SLM.66	I.69	30 September 946
SLM.67	I.23	11 December 949
SLM.68	I.16	10 October 950
SLM.69	I.31	28 June 951
SLM.70	I.90	30 June 951
SLM.71	I.3	14 May 952
SLM.72	I.103	17 June 952
SLM.73	I.1	9 October 952
SLM.74	I.98	22 December 952
SLM.75	I.99	22 December 952
SLM.76	I.68	26 April 953
SLM.77	I.95	15 June 953
SLM.78	I.87	29 October 953
SLM.79	I.89	29 October 953
SLM.80	I.110	30 March 955
SLM.81	I.30	10 April 955
SLM.82	I.2	30 December 955
SLM.83	I.56	16 February 958
SLM.84	I.106	13 November 958
SLM.85	I.20	9 July 959
SLM.86	I.4	13 November 959
SLM.87	I.122	3 March 960
SLM.88	I.7	3 June 961
SLM.89	I.57	4 May 962
SLM.91	I.45	5 June 963
SLM.92	I.94	24 October 963
SLM.90	I.46	963
SLM.93	I.36	17 June 964
SLM.94	I.121	23 October 964
SLM.95	I.8	29 November 964
SLM.96	I.96	8 April 965
SLM.97	I.5	10 December 966
SLM.98	I.6	10 December 966

FIGURES

SLM.100	I.13	24 March 968
SLM.101	I.107	17 September 968
SLM.103	I.97	30 November 971
SLM.102	I.112	971
SLM.104	I.17	14 May 976
SLM.105	I.108	18 July 978
SLM.106	I.64	11 November 984
SLM.107	I.38	5 May 985
SLM.108	I.44	30 August 985
SLM.110	I.114	9 February 989
SLM.111	I.130	992
SLM.112	I.48	18 July 994
SLM.113	I.55	15 May 995
SLM.114/COR.110	I.137	1 July 995
SLM.116	I.88	29 March 996
SLM.115	II.278	996
SLM.99	I.49	966-99
SLM.109	I.109	998/999
SLM.118	I.131	15 August 1000
SLM.117	II.46	1000
SLM.119	I.132	5 June 1001
SLM.120	I.117	[20] February 1006
SLM.121	I.9	17 September 1016
SLM.122	I.115	29 May 1019
SLM.122bis	I.116	ca. 29 May 1019
SLM.123	I.35	30 September 1019
SLM.124	I.133	22 January 1022
SLM.125	I.39	13 February 1023
SLM.126	I.126	25 November 1023
SLM.127	I.134	23 August 1027
SLM.128	I.42	13 October 1031

FIGURES

Figure 89

San Julián de Samos Concordance

#	Lucas Álvarez	Date
SJS.1	137	24 April 785
SJS.2	36	11 June 811
SJS.3	128	849
SJS.4	41	13 July 853
SJS.5	99	26 April 854
SJS.6	1	17 April 857
SJS.7	3	20 May 861
SJS.8	5	25 July 872
SJS.9	144	22 April 878
SJS.10	33	1 January 902
SJS.S1	S1	24 May 904
SJS.11	210	18 March 907
SJS.12	247	3 December 909
SJS.13	37	1 April 922
SJS.S2	S2	1 August 922
SJS.14	170	29 June 930
SJS.15	119	8 February 931
SJS.16	34	31 August 932
SJS.17	46	13 May 933
SJS.18	38	30 September 937
SJS.19	43	31 May 938
SJS.20	35	4 October 944
SJS.21	226	1 May 947
SJS.22	78	14 January 948
SJS.23	93	17 February 951
SJS.24	2	19 March 951
SJS.25	127	29 March 958
SJS.26	126	9 May 960
SJS.27	248	17 May 960
SJS.S3	S3	3 March 961
SJS.S4	S4	4 March 961
SJS.28	32	21 May 962
SJS.29	39	17 June 962
SJS.S5	S5	28 November 963
SJS.30	141	26 January 964
SJS.31	91	30 October 967
SJS.32	241	1 April 969
SJS.S6	S6	24 June 969
SJS.33	158	12 November 969
SJS.S7	S7	23 December 969
SJS.34	102	17 April 970
SJS.35	175	11 March 973
SJS.36	217	17 September 973
SJS.37	44	29 August 975
SJS.39	61	3 June 976
SJS.38	29	31 January post-976

FIGURES

SJS.40	132	25 February 978
SJS.41	181	11 July 981
SJS.42	27	11 October 981
SJS.43	23	5 January 982
SJS.44/SJS.45	115/199	30 March 982
SJS.46	202	8 April 982
SJS.47	153	9 December 982
SJS.48	104	18 December 983
SJS.49	156	983
SJS.50	239	9 June 985
SJS.51	171	6 February 988
SJS.52	178	2 June 988
SJS.53	56	26 July 988
SJS.54	164	30 April 989
SJS.55	16	17 November 989
SJS.56	24	982-90
SJS.57	100	30 July 991
SJS.58	151	16 May 992
SJS.59	26	25 January 993
SJS.60	18	1 June 993
SJS.61	40	13 August 993
SJS.62	157	28 September 993
SJS.S9	S9	July/August 995
SJS.63	6	14 May 997
SJS.64	188	17 September 997
SJS.S10	S10	5 May 1001
SJS.65	154	27 June 1002
SJS.66	203	16 March 1003
SJS.67	112	14 May 1003
SJS.68	98	22 November 1007
SJS.69	64	21 January 1009
SJS.70	167	23 February 1009
SJS.71	129	18 May 1009
SJS.72	58	1009
SJS.73	82	25 May 1010
SJS.74	211	6 May 1011
SJS.75	76	18 August 1011
SJS.76	111	16 September 1011
SJS.77	94	9 October 1011
SJS.78	198	2 May 1013
SJS.79	212	22 September 1017
SJS.80/SJS.81	19/69	16 November 1020
SJS.82	214	19 December 1020
SJS.S11	S11	1021
SJS.83	191	30 June 1023
SJS.84	177	9 December 1023
SJS.85	182	1024
SJS.86	180	12 April 1025
SJS.87	7	28 January 1026
SJS.88	136	16 July 1026
SJS.89	152	8 May 1028
SJS.90	95	24 September 1028

FIGURES

SJS.91	190	23 March 1029
SJS.92	227	13 April 1029
SJS.93	73	14 April 1030
SJS.94	149	5 May 1030
SJS.95	74	24 April 1031
SJS.96	103	28 August 1031

FIGURES

Figure 90

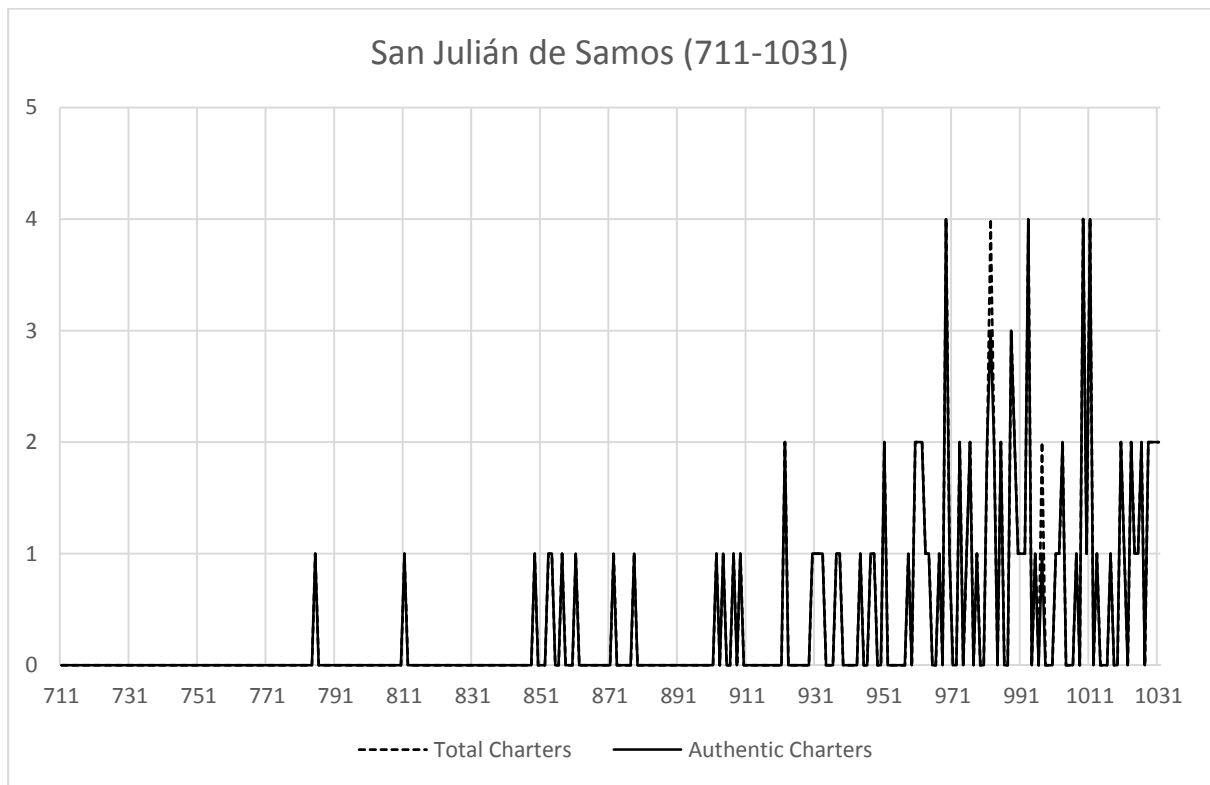
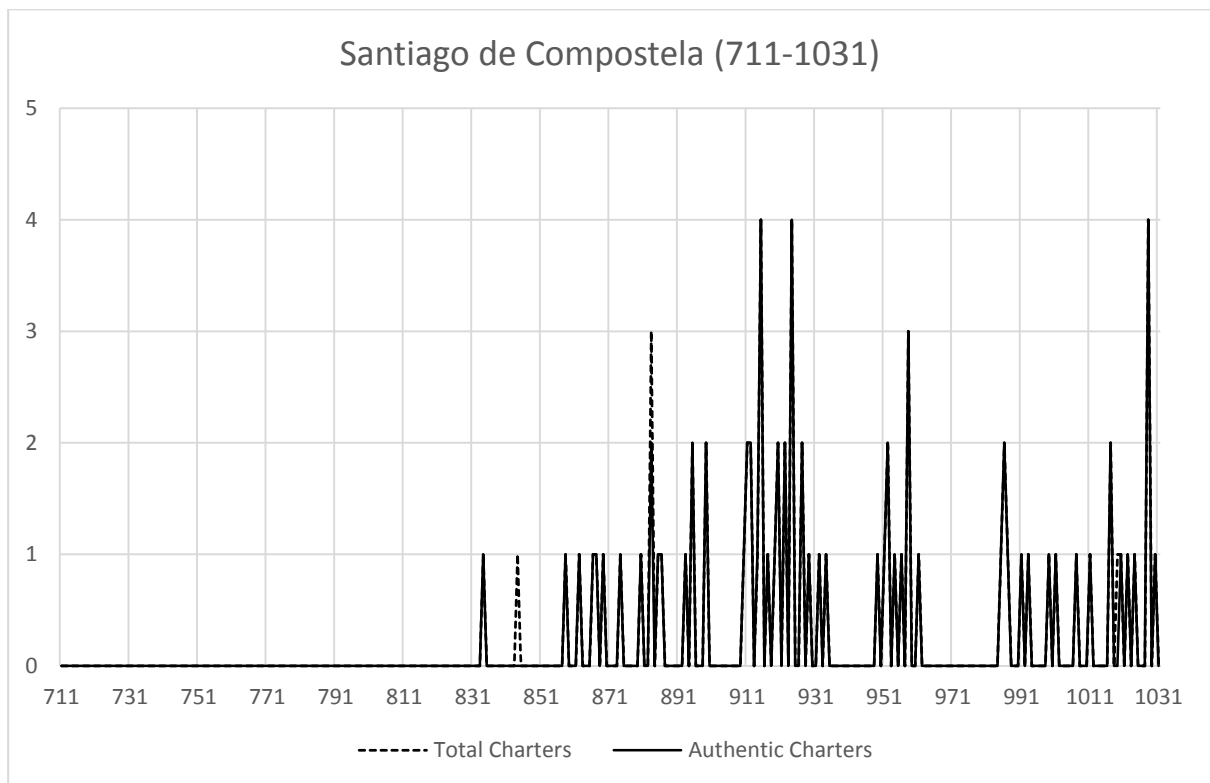


Figure 91



FIGURES

Figure 92

Santiago de Compostela Concordance

#	Lucas Álvarez	Date
SDC.1	1	4 September 834
SDB.236/ACB.2	N/A	25 May 844
SDC.2	2	858
SDC.3	3	862
SDC.4	4	18 June 866
SDC.5	5	20 January 867
SDC.6	6	15 April 869
SDC.7	7	14 February 874
SDC.8	8	30 June 880
SDC.9	9	9 August 883
SDC.10	10	17 August 883
SDC.11/LPC.12/PMH.11	11	25 September 883
SDC.12	12	885
SDC.13	13	24 June 886
SDC.14	14	25 July 893
SDC.15	16	11 July 895
SDC.16	15	25 November 895
SDC.17	18	6 May 899
SDC.18	17	30 December 899
SDC.19	19	880-910
SDC.20	21	20 April 911
SDC.21	22	22 April 911
SDC.22	23	30 May 912
SDC.23	24	2 June 912
SDC.24	25	6 December 914
COR.14/SDC.25	28	29 January 912/915
SDC.26/SDB.210/PMH.18	26	30 January 915
SDC.27/PMH.19	27	30 January 915
SDC.28	30	20 January 917
SDC.29	31	22 November 919
SDC.30	32	18 May 920
SDC.31	29	17 August 920
SDC.32	33	27 February 922
SDC.33	34	18 December 922
SDC.34	37	28 June 924
SDC.35/SDB.237	38	17 September 924
SDC.36	36	25 October 924
SDC.37	50	25 August 927
SDC.38	51	21 November 927
SDC.39	20	8 August 929
SDC.40	39	13 November 932
SDC.41	40	21 February 934
SDC.42	41	3 June 949
SDC.43	35	5 March 951
SDC.44	43	18 May 952
SDC.45	44	11 November 952

FIGURES

SDC.46	45	12 September 954
SDC.47	49	13 November 956
SDC.48	46	2 March 958
SDC.49	47	2 March 958
SDC.50	48	21 May 958
SDC.51	42	27 February 961
SDC.52	53	29 September 985
SDC.53	52	7 February 986
SDC.54	54	1 June 986
SDC.55	55	7 March 987
SDC.56	56	24 May 991
SDC.57	57	12 April 993
SDC.58	58	22 June 999
SDC.59	89	8 July 1001
SDC.60	59	22 August 1007
SDC.61	60	5 March 1011
SDC.62	90	18 August 1017
SDC.63	91	10 December 1017
SDC.64	61	30 March 1019
SDC.65	62	30 December 1020
SDC.66	63	6 August 1022
SDC.67	64	29 October 1024
SDC.68	93	1 March 1028
SDC.69	92	26 September 1028
SDC.70	65	15 November 1028
SDC.71	66	30 December 1028
SDC.72	94	27 January 1030

FIGURES

Figure 93

Portugaliae Monumenta Historica Concordance

#	New Edition	Date
PMH.5	VMH.1	[11 February] 870
PMH.6		[30 April] 870
PMH.7		[2 April] 874
PMH.8		[10 January] 875
PMH.9		27 March 882
PHM.11	SDC.11/LPC.12	25 September 883
PMH.10		[22 December] 883
PMH.1	LPC.454	[19 April 773/902]
PMH.13A	LPC.356	11 January 906
PMH.13B	LPC.354	11 January 906
PMH.13C	LPC.355	11 January 906
PMH.14		13 April 907
PMH.15	LTL.19	[13 April] 907
PMH.16		[28 February] 908
PMH.17	CDO.7	[28 September] 911
PMH.3	LTL.47	[28 September 911]
PMH.4	LPC.360	867-912
PMH.18	SDC.26/SDB.210	[30 January] 915
PMH.19	SDC.27	[30 January] 915
PMH.20	LPC.169	1 October 915
PMH.21		[20 November] 915
PMH.22		[24 August] 919
PMH.23	LTL.50	[24 August] 919
PMH.24		921
PMH.25	LPC.81	12 June 922
PMH.26	SSG.130	18 December 922
PMH.28	LPC.514	5 April 924
PMH.29	VMH.2	[28 July] 924
PMH.2	LTL.41	[4 September 777/857/31 August 911-24]
PMH.27		924
PMH.30		[7 February] 925
PMH.31	VMH.3	[22/23 February] 926
PMH.32	LTL.72	[24 January] 927
PMH.33	LTL.40	[25 March] 927
PMH.34	LTL.33	[5 December] 928
PMH.35		[31 August] 929
PMH.12		[21 February post-931]
PMH.37	LTL.1/CDR.8	4 March 933
PMH.38		[29 May] 933
PMH.39	LTL.7	[1 December] 933
PMH.40	LTL.4	[30 August] 935
PMH.41		[26 June] 936
PMH.42	LTL.36	[6 August] 936
PMH.43		[12 February] 937
PMH.44	LTL.12	[28 May] 937
PMH.45	LTL.69	[18 November] 937

FIGURES

PMH.47	LTL.34	[6 August] 938
PMH.48		[29 October] 938
PMH.46		938
PMH.49	LTL.54	[13 May] 939
PMH.50	LTL.3/CDR.47	26 January 943
PMH.51	LTL.22	[29 March] 943
PMH.52	LTL.56	[1 September] 943
PMH.53		[18 October] 943
PMH.54	LPC.526	5 October 944
PMH.56		[1 June] 946
PMH.57		[17 September] 946
PMH.55	LTL.45	946
PMH.71	VMH.8	[8 June 947]
PMH.58		[11 May] 949
PMH.59	VMH.4	[28 August] 949
PMH.61	VMH.6	[7 August] 950
PMH.62	LTL.18	[2 December] 950
PMH.36	VMH.5	[18 December 950]
PMH.60		950
PMH.63		[7 September] 951
PMH.64		[27 May] 952
PMH.65	LTL.66	[13 November] 952
PMH.66		[18 November] 952
PMH.67		[26 March] 953
PMH.68	LTL.73	[11 March] 954
PMH.100	LPC.56	22 December 951-5
PMH.69		[23 December] 955
PMH.70	VMH.7	[16 February] 956
PMH.72		[30 September] 957
PMH.73	LPC.111	14 October 957
PMH.74	LTL.17	[2 November] 957
PMH.75	LPC.368	25 December 957
PMH.76	AVE.1/VMH.9	26 January 959
PMH.77		[20 June] 959
PMH.78	VMH.10	[17 February] 960
PMH.79		[19/20 March] 960
PMH.80		[26 May] 960
PMH.81	VMH.11	[13 July] 960
PMH.82	VMH.12	[10 March] 961
PMH.83	LTL.46/LTL.75	[25 March] 961
PMH.84	LTL.61	[12 November] 961
PMH.85	LTL.23	[18 December] 961
PMH.86		28 January 964
PMH.87	LPC.139	26 September 964
PMH.88	VMH.13	[17 October] 964
PMH.89		[18 October] 965
PMH.90		[16 November] 965
PMH.91		[30 December] 965
PMH.92	LTL.5	[15 November] 966
PMH.93	LPC.530	13 July 967
PMH.94	LTL.2	[24 July] 967
PMH.95		[25 January] 968

FIGURES

PMH.97	AVE.1/VMH.14	[4 December] 968
PMH.98		[5 December] 968
PMH.99	VMH.15	[10 December] 968
PMH.101	LTL.57	[24 April] 970
PMH.102		[13 February] 971
PMH.103		[12 March] 971
PMH.104	LTL.16	[30 April] 972
PMH.105		[25 November] 972
PMH.106	LTL.13	[9 January] 973
PMH.107	LTL.58	[22 March 963/973]
PMH.108	LTL.53	[22 March] 973
PMH.109	LPC.205	24 March 973
PMH.110		[5 June] 973
PMH.111	VMH.16	[6 November] 973
PMH.112	LPC.187	12 May 974
PMH.113	LTL.21	[29 May] 974
PMH.114	LPC.2	22 July 974
PMH.115		[22 February] 976
PMH.116	LTL.32/LOR.2	15 March 976
PMH.117	LTL.6	[11 August] 976
PMH.118	LTL.24	[1 November] 976
PMH.119		[30 December] 976
PMH.120	LPC.291	22 April 977
PMH.121	LTL.76	[12 July] 977
PMH.123	LTL.70	[15 April] 978
PMH.122	LTL.55	[24 April] 978
PMH.124		[8 September] 978
PMH.125	LTL.25	[24 November] 978
PMH.126		[March] 979
PMH.127	LTL.43	[25 February] 980
PMH.128	LTL.68	[28 May] 980
PMH.129		[12 November] 980
PMH.130	LTL.60	[22 December] 981
PMH.132	LTL.29	[22 December] 981
PMH.131	LTL.28	[23 December] 981
PMH.133	LTL.26	981
PMH.134		[18 July] 982
PMH.135	LPC.524	17 August 982
PMH.136	LTL.27	[1 September] 982
PMH.137		[24 February] 983
PMH.138	VMH.17	[6 July] 983
PMH.139	LTL.48	[6 January] 984
PMH.140		[28 February] 984
PMH.141		[30 November] 984
PMH.142		[18 December] 984
PMH.143	LTL.44	984
PMH.144		[18 January] 985
PMH.145	LTL.49	[25 April] 985
PMH.146		[16 July] 985
PMH.147	LPC.1	22 July 985
PMH.148	LTL.51	[22 July] 985
PMH.149		[30 September] 985

FIGURES

PMH.150		[18 October] 985
PMH.152	VMH.18	[1 December] 986
PMH.151		986
PMH.153	LPC.515	5 August 987
PMH.154	LTL.52	[21 September] 988
PMH.155		[29 September] 988
PMH.156	LPC.208	18 March 989
PMH.157		[22 March] 989
PMH.158		[29 April] 990
PMH.159	LPC.366	19 November 990
PMH.160		[27 January] 991
PMH.161		[27 February] 991
PMH.162		[27 April] 991
PMH.163		[18 August] 991
PMH.164		[29 August] 991
PMH.165	LTL.42	[15 June] 992
PMH.166		[7 September] 992
PMH.167A		[18 May] 993
PMH.167B		[18 May 993]
PMH.168	VMH.19	[23 January] 994
PMH.169		[22 February] 994
PMH.170	LPC.517	6 April 994
PMH.171	LPC.194	21 November 994
PMH.172		[23 December] 994
PMH.173	LPC.200	4 March 995
PMH.174		[17 April] 995
PMH.175		[25 May] 995
PMH.177		[29 June] 995
PMH.176		[30 December] 995
PMH.180		[22 February] 998
PMH.178		[15 March] 998
PMH.179	LTL.37	[21 March] 998
PMH.181		998
PMH.182		[2 May] 999
PMH.183		[mid-May/1 November] 999
PMH.184		[November] 999
PMH.185	LPC.522	11 October 1001
PMH.188		[18 March] 1002
PMH.189	LTL.31	[18 March] 1002
PMH.190		[5 June] 1002
PMH.191	LPC.126	30 November 1002
PMH.192	LPC.191	18 March 1003
PMH.193	LPC.212	6 August 1004
PMH.194	LPC.135	13 December 1005
PMH.195	LPC.518	28 March 1006
PMH.196	LPC.72	18 May 1006
PMH.197		[2 February] 1008
PMH.198		[22 February] 1008
PMH.199	LPC.523	3 March 1008
PMH.200	VMH.20	[25 July] 1008
PMH.202	LPC.155	25 August 1008
PMH.201	VMH.21	[9 October] 1008

FIGURES

PMH.203	LPC.204	1008
PMH.204	LPC.206-7	1008
PMH.205		[17 February] 1009
PMH.206		[29 April] 1009
PMH.208	LPC.529	18 July 1009
PMH.209	LPC.193	31 August 1009
PMH.210		[16 October] 1009
PMH.211		[18 November] 1009
PMH.212	VMH.22	[23 December] 1009
PMH.207		1009
PMH.213	LPC.211	4 January 1010
PMH.214		[14 March] 1010
PMH.215	LPC.527	15 December 1010
PMH.216		[20 August 985-98/1011]
PMH.217	LTL.39	[1 February] 1012
PMH.219		[8 May] 1012
PMH.218		[25 May] 1012
PMH.220		[2 June] 1013
PMH.221	VMH.23	[21 November] 1013
PMH.223	CDA.15/VMH.24	14 August 1014
PMH.224	LPC.197	30 October 1014
PMH.225	VMH.25	[21 December] 1014
PMH.237	LPC.118	1014
PMH.226		[11 June] 1015
PMH.227	LPC.124	10 February 1016
PMH.228	LPC.202	30 December 1016
PMH.96/PMH.229	LTL.8/LTL.10	[9 December 1016-6 January 1017]
PMH.230	LTL.9	[9 December 1016-6 January 1017]
PMH.231		[mid-January] 1017
PMH.233	LPC.123	13 January 1018
PMH.234A	LPC.129	30 January 1018
PMH.234B	LPC.161	30 January 1018
PMH.246	LPC.156	20 February 1018
PMH.235		[6 March] 1018
PMH.236		[20 May] 1018
PMH.238	LPC.120	1018
PMH.239	LPC.122	1018
PMH.241	LPC.121	28 February 1019
PMH.242	LPC.134	2 December 1019
PMH.243		[9 December] 1019
PMH.244		[26 October] 1020
PMH.245	LPC.91	1 December 1020
PMH.240	LTL.15	[1018-20]
PMH.247	VMH.26	[15 May] 1021
PMH.248	LPC.142	20 November 1021
PMH.249		[24 November] 1021
PMH.250		[28 November] 1021
PMH.251	VMH.27	[21 August] 1022
PMH.252	LPC.128	31 July 1023
PMH.253	LPC.109/LPC.143-4	21 September 1023
PMH.255		[1 August] 1024
PMH.254		[20 September] 1024

FIGURES

PMH.256		[29 March] 1025
PMH.257		[25 May] 1025
PMH.258	LPC.203	16 June 1025
PMH.259		[3 September] 1025
PMH.260	LPC.359	21 September 1025
PMH.261		[29 April] 1026
PMH.262		[23 February] 1027
PMH.232/PMH.263		[14 May] 1027
PMH.222	LPC.147	4 December 1027-37
PMH.264	VMH.28	[27 September] 1028
PMH.265		[31 December] 1028
PMH.266		[29 January] 1029
PMH.267		[28 May] 1030
PMH.268		[4 September] 1030
PMH.269	SSG.169	4 December 1030
PMH.270		[24 September] 1031
PMH.271		[18 December] 1031
Additions		
N/A	CGO.5	30 June 951
N/A	ARO.1	12 April 956
N/A	ARO.2	18 August 972
N/A	LOR.3	982
N/A	LOR.1	966-85
Deletions		
PMH.186	LPC.416	[11 December 1101]
PMH.187	LPC.435	[17 February 1102]

FIGURES

Figure 94

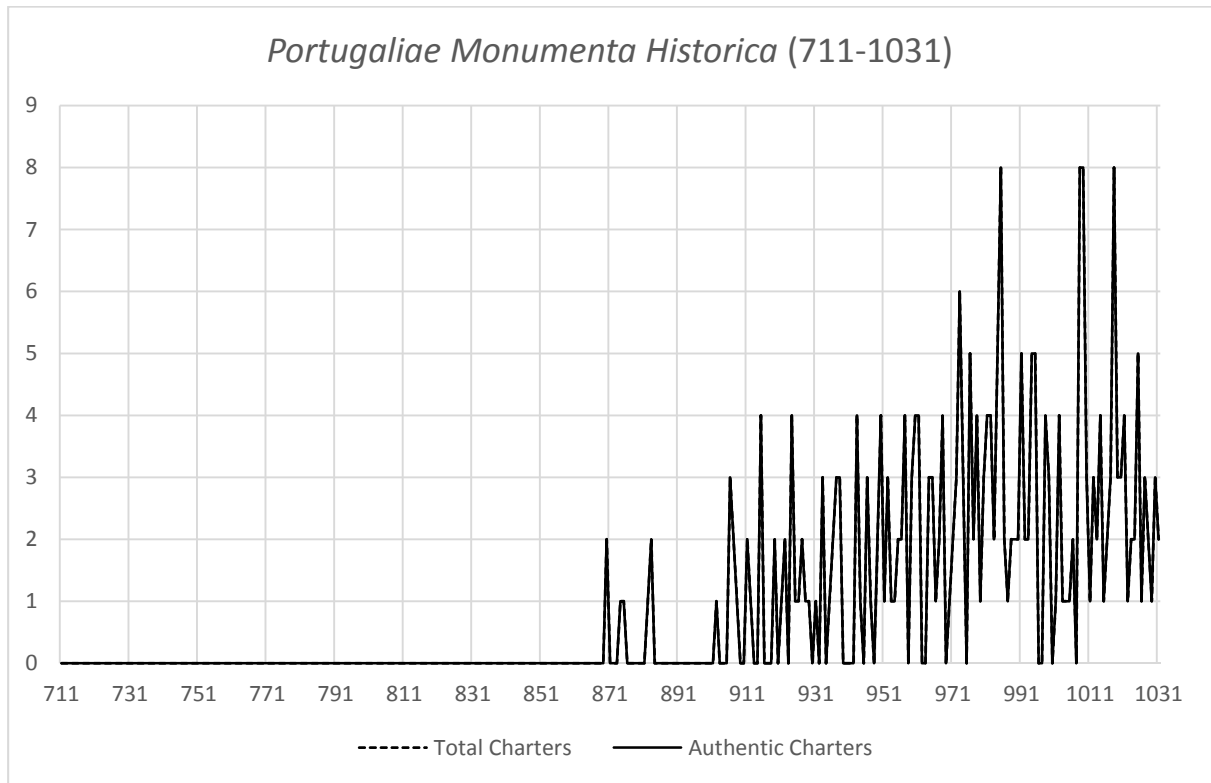
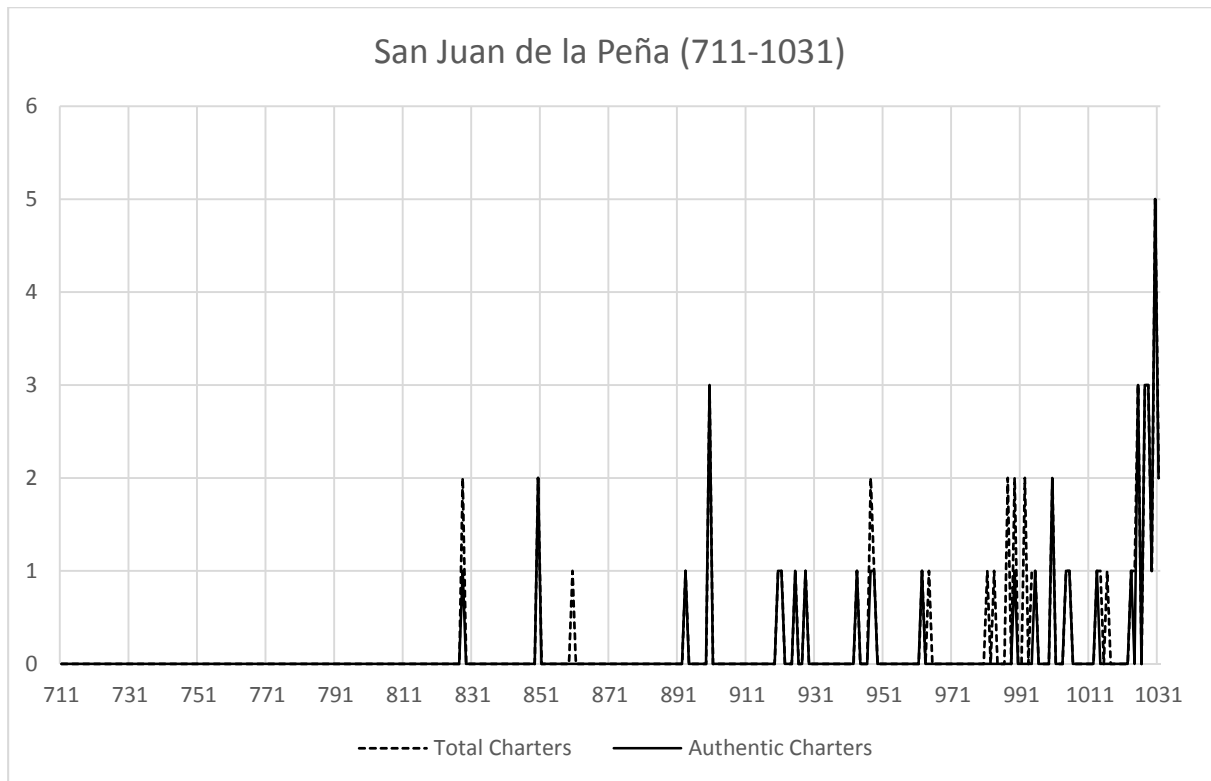


Figure 95



FIGURES

Figure 96

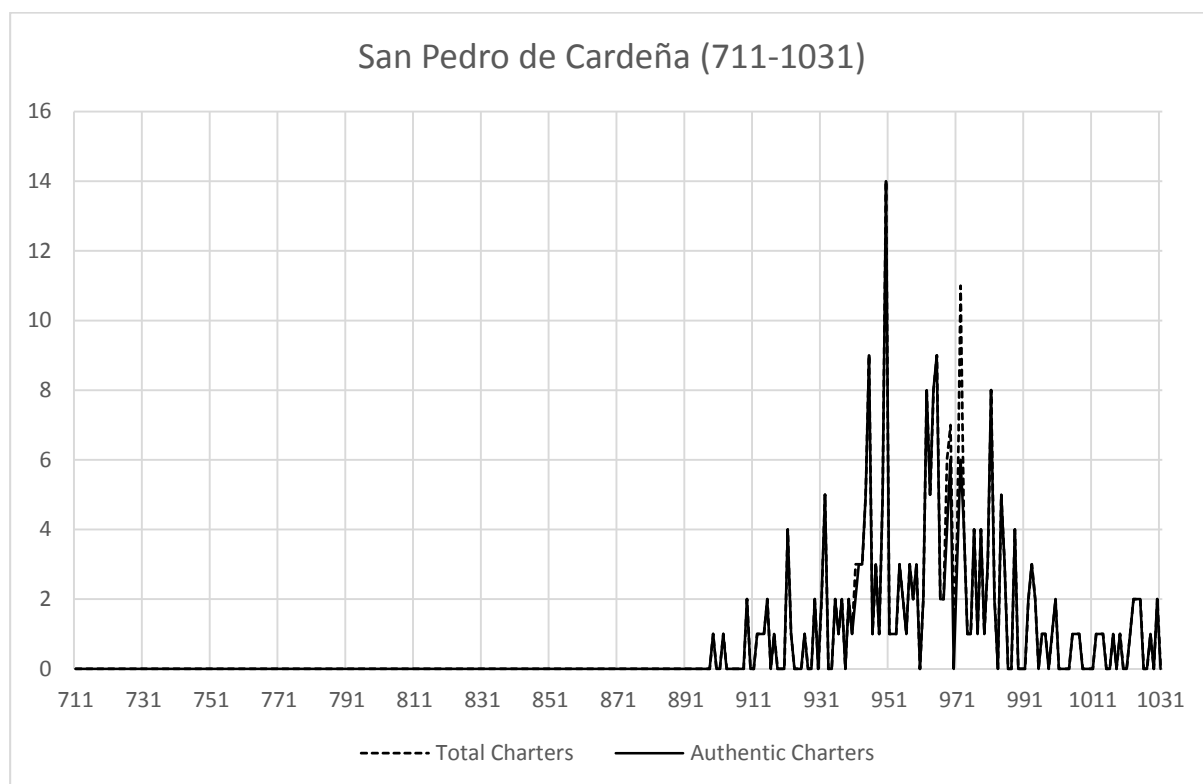
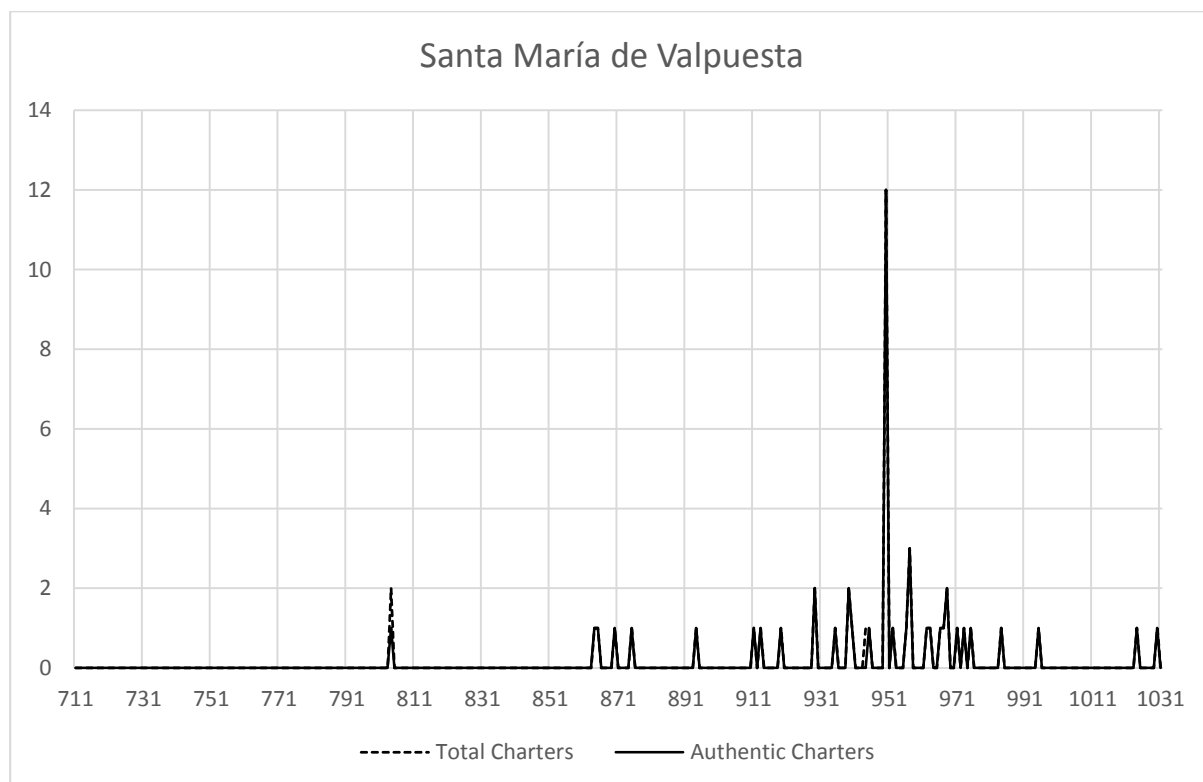


Figure 97



FIGURES

Figure 98

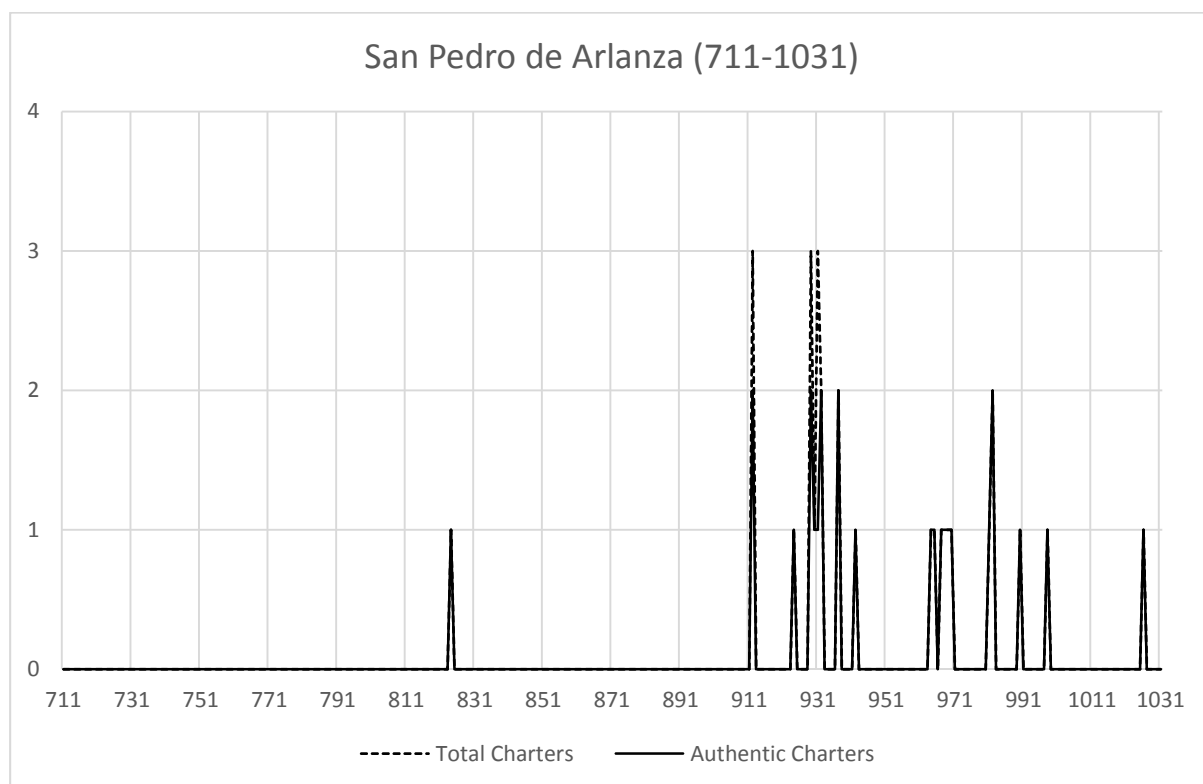
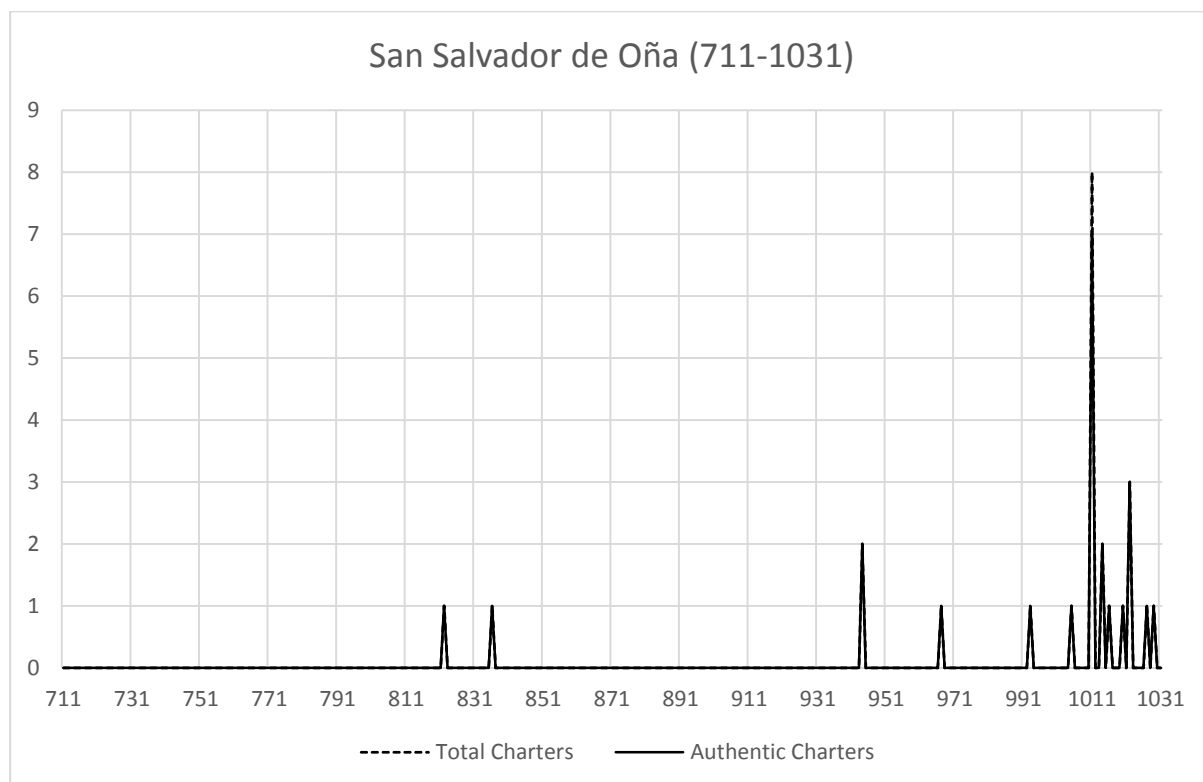


Figure 99



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Figure 100

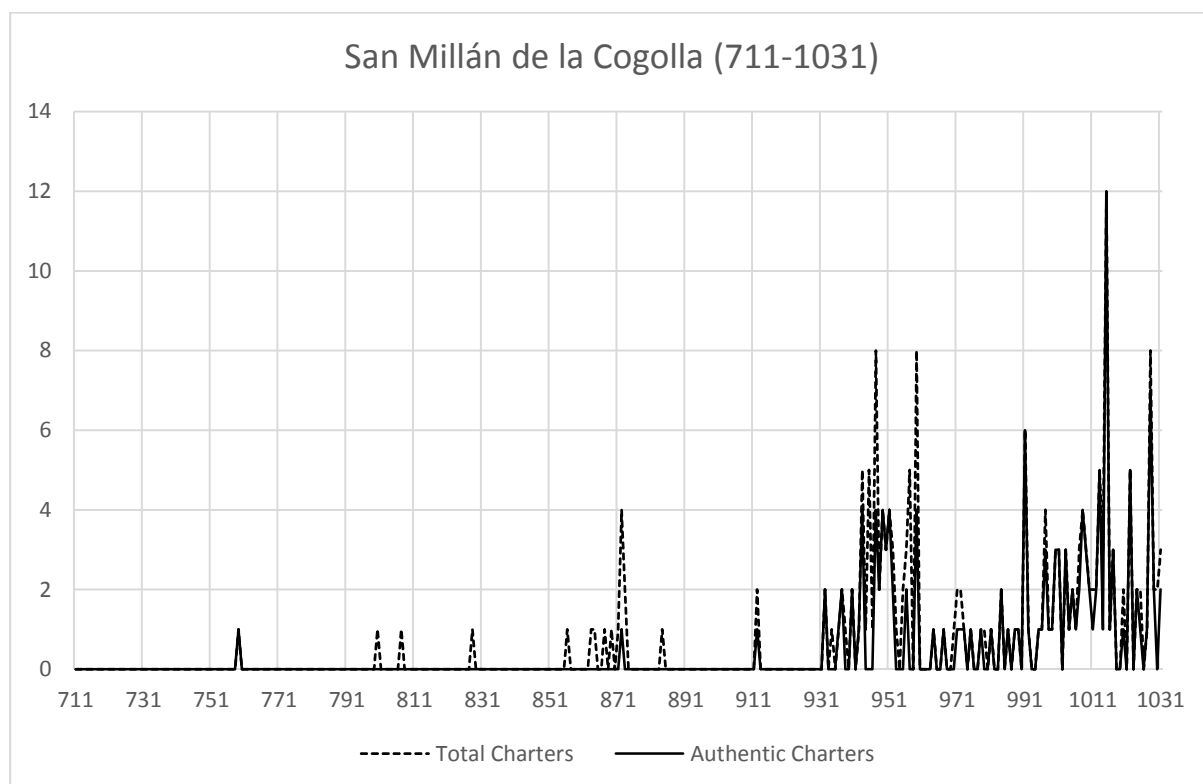
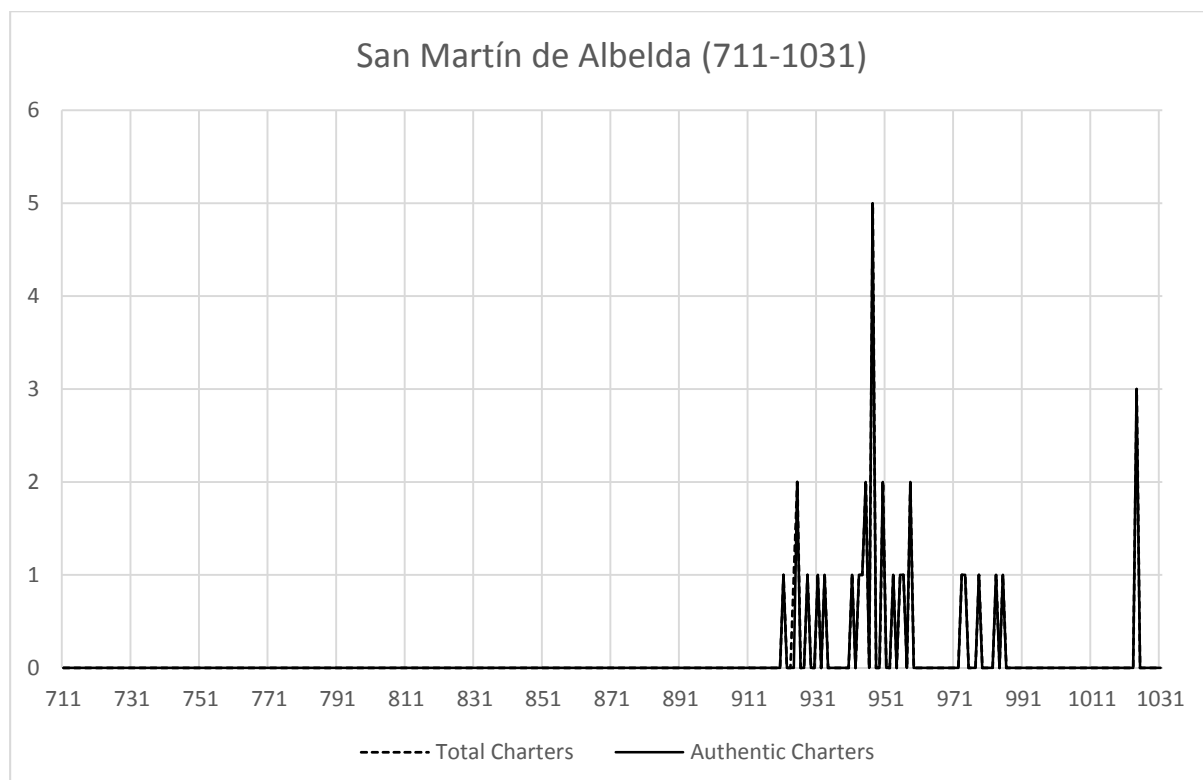
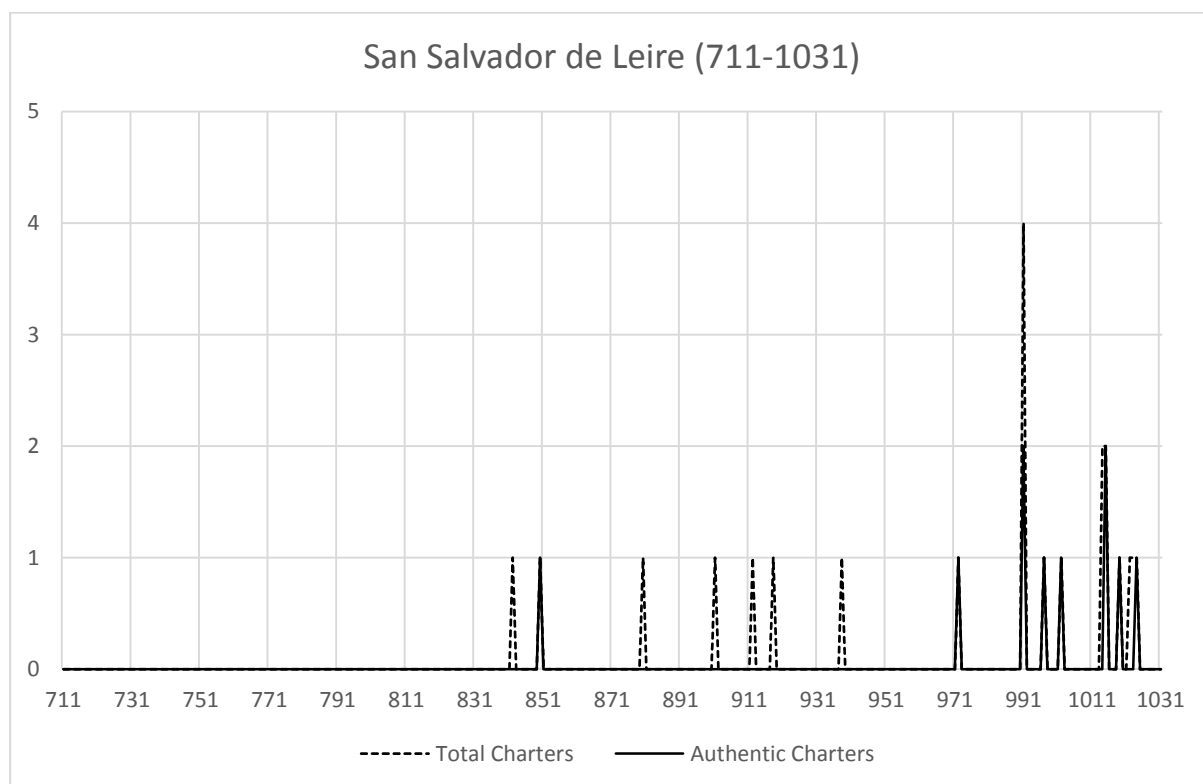


Figure 101



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Figure 102



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